A

FOURTH COLLECTION

OF

SCARCE and VALUABLE

TRACTS,

ON THE MOST

Intereſting and *Entertaining* Subjects:

But chiefly ſuch as relate to the

Hiſtory *and* Conſtitution *of theſe* Kingdoms.

Selected from an infinite Number in *Print* and *Manuſcript*, in the ROYAL, COTTON, SION, and other Public, as well as Private Libraries.

Particularly that of the

Late LORD *SOMERS*.

Reviſed by EMINENT HANDS.

VOL III.

The Bent and Genius of the Age is beſt known, in a free Country, by the Pamphlets and Papers that come daily out, as the Senſe of Parties, and ſometimes the Voice of the Nation. Preface to KENNET's Regiſter.

Judex qui aliquid ſtatuit, unâ parte auditâ tantum, & inauditâ alterâ, licet æquum ſtatuerit, haud æquus fuerit. *Ld.* COKE *&* JUST. *Inſt.*

LONDON:

Printed for F. COGAN, at the *Middle-Temple-Gate*, in *Fleet-Street*.

MDCCLI.

A

FOURTH COLLECTION

OF

SCARCE and VALUABLE

TRACTS

A FOURTH COLLECTION OF TRACTS.

A new Teſt of the Church of England's *Loyalty: Or, Whiggiſh Loyalty and Church Loyalty compared. By* Daniel D'Foe. 1702.

IN all the unhappy Contentions among Parties and Factions, in this brangling Nation, the Champions of the Church of *England, as they wou'd have themſelves call'd*, have laid it down as the diſtinguiſhing Mark of their Hierarchy, that it is her Practice, and has been deriv'd from her very Conſtitution, as well as Doctrine, to fix in all her Members Principles of unſhaken Loyalty to her Prince, entire and undiſputed Obedience to all her Commands, and an Abhorrence of the very Thoughts of thoſe Helliſh Principles, *That it can be lawful, on any Account, whatſoever to reſiſt the eſtabliſh'd Power of their Kings.*

'Twou'd be endleſs to quote the Reverend Dr. *B——ge*, who, from the Text in the ——————— *Reſiſt not the Powers*, &c. *for whatſoever Powers are, be ordained of God; whoſoever therefore reſiſteth the Power, reſiſteth the Ordinance of God*; tells us, "That if the King ſhou'd, by his Royal "Command, execute the greateſt Violence upon either our Perſon or Eſtate, "our Duty was to ſubmit by Prayers and Tears firſt to God Almighty, to "turn the Wrath of his Vicegerent from his Servant, and by humble En"treaty to beg his Majeſty's Grace and Pardon; but *to lift up the Hand "againſt the Lord's Anointed, or reſiſt the Evil of Puniſhment he thought fit "to inflict*, this were a Crime unpardonable either before God or Man, and "a Crime (ſays the Reverend Doctor) which we bleſs God the very Prin"ciples of our *ever loyal Mother*, the Church of *England*, abhors and deteſts."

" Let Incendiaries, Phanatics, and bloody peace-breaking Whigs (ſays
" another learned Divine) nouriſh the vip'rous Principles of Treaſon and
" Rebellion, and let them meet the due Reward of their factious Doings in
" the Reſentments of a righteous, but provok'd, Nation: But, God be
" prais'd, our Mother the Church of *England* has always brought up her Sons
" in an unſpotted Loyalty and Obedience; none have been found lifting up
" their Hands againſt their Sovereign, or poſſeſſing the Rights of the
" Anointed of God, *&c.*"

" The very Being and Life, the Original and Principles of the Church
" of *England*, (ſays another Thirtieth of *January* Sermon) is Loyalty and
" Fidelity to God as the immediate Supream, and to the King as the lively
" Image of Divine Authority, whoſe Power is immediately derived from,
" holds of, and is accountable to none but to God himſelf."

To avoid Prolixity of Quotation, the Reader is deſired to accept of theſe as ſufficient Proofs of what I lay down *upon this Condition*; nevertheleſs, that beſides the general Appeal which I might make to the Memory of moſt Men, I oblige myſelf upon Demand to produce ten Thouſand fair Quotations out of the Writings of our late modern Authors ſince the Reſtoration, wherein the Doctrines of Non-reſiſtance of Princes, Paſſive Obedience, and the Divine Authority of the Kingly Power, is own'd and declar'd to be an eſſential Part of the Profeſſion and Practice of the Church of *England*; and upon this Foot, which I hold to be ſufficient, I think I cannot be cenſured if I take it for granted.

Now, as this too much divided Nation has always been compoſed of two contending Parties, thoſe Parties have been diſtinguiſhed, *as in like Caſes*, by Names of Contempt; and tho' they have often chang'd them on either Side, as Cavalier and Roundhead, Royaliſts and Rebels, Malignants and Phanatics, Tories and Whigs, yet the Diviſion has always been barely *the Church and the Diſſenter*, and there it continues to this Day.

As the Church of *England* Party have boaſted of their own Loyalty, ſo they have branded the Diſſenter with Rebellion and Faction, not only in their Nature, but in their very Principles; they have laid it down in their Writing and Sermons, and Multitudes of their ignorant Hearers believe it, that *the very Doctrine of the Diſſenter is made up of Principles, in their own Nature, tending to Confuſion and Rebellion*; they wont be content that we ſhould own there may be Men among all Parties of bad Deſigns, and who would, on all Occaſions, embroil their Native Country, but it muſt be woven with the very Articles of Faith, and that 'tis the Religion of a Diſſenter to diſturb Government, kill Kings, and oppoſe Laws.

" The Phanatical Enemies of our King and Church (ſays the learned
" Dr. *P——n)* drink in Rebellion as Water; 'tis the very Subſtance of
" their Schiſmatical Doctrine to overwhelm and deſtroy; and Common-
" wealths and Confuſions are the Doctrines they preach."

" He that lays out one Groat with a Diſſenter (ſays the worthy Sir *Roger*,
" in one of his famous *Obſervators)* contributes juſt ſo much as the Profits

" of

" of that Groat amounts to in Trade towards the Subverſion of the Mo-
" narchy, and erecting a Commonwealth; for the very Nature and Ten-
" dency of their Profeſſion is deſtructive of Kingly Power, and the Govern-
" ment of the Nation."

This has been the Opinion of the Church of *England*, both of themſelves on one Hand, and of the Diſſenters on the other Hand. I ſhould be glad if I could only ſay, *It has been*; for we find 'tis ſtill too much their Opinion.

Let no Man ſay that the Author of theſe Sheets is either widening or keeping unheal'd the Breaches of this Nation; for if I can make it appear that there is really no Occaſion of ſuch unnatural Diviſions, and that neither the extraordinary Opinion of themſelves, nor the Contempt of their Neighbours, as to the Matter of Loyalty, is a becoming Principle, no, nor a rational one neither; (for that as to Loyalty, Paſſive Obedience, Non-reſiſtance, *&c.* there is really no great Difference between one Side or other;) I go as far towards healing the Breach as any Man; for there can be no better Way to end the Strife on both Sides, than to prove that neither Side has any juſt Cauſe to contend.

To examine the Matter on both Sides ſeems very uſeful at this Time, in order to reconcile Parties, and to ſettle the univerſal Character of the Nation.

The Government of *England* is a limited Monarchy, compoſed of King, Lords, and Commons; each have their ſevéral, their ſeparate, and their conjunctive Powers; which, acting in Concert, make the Harmony of the Conſtitution. I ſhall not invade the Province of thoſe learned Gentlemen, who have undertaken to ſet forth the Branches of the Conſtitution in all their Powers, Limitations, and Prerogatives: 'Tis enough to ſay the Conſtitution is known, the Government is confin'd by Laws, the Crown limited by Statutes, and the People's Right confirm'd by the Conceſſion of Ages.

To this Government, all Diſtinction of Names ſet apart, I am of Opinion all Parties have, in their Turns, been equally loyal; I was going to ſay equally diſloyal: And if I were to uſe the Language of late Times, it would be a very proper Way of ſpeaking.

Affirming without demonſtrating is an abſurd Way of arguing, and therefore it will be needful to come to Particulars, and to examine the ſeveral Acts and Deeds of both Parties, when the Kingly Prerogative has ſhock'd or claſh'd with the People.

In order to this 'tis needful to examine the Date of the Difference, and ſo to enter a little into Hiſtory.

Our firſt Reformation from Popery was in the Days of King *Edward* VI. I call it the firſt, becauſe 'twas under him that the whole Nation and the Government embraced the Proteſtant Reform'd Religion; this Proteſtant Religion was eſtabliſhed by *that zealous King*, and by his Parliament back'd with the Force of Laws, and confirm'd by all the Sanction of Authority it was capable of; and here it began to be called the Church of *England*.

Some enquiring Chriſtians were for making farther Steps, and carrying on the Reformation to a higher Degree; and if that good reforming King had liv'd, his Zeal and Integrity was ſuch, that there was no doubt he would have gone on to perfect every thing he had begun, as new Light or more Knowledge had encreaſed; but the Return of Popery under Queen *Mary* put a Stop to the Work in general, and went very far towards overturning the whole Structure of the Reformation.

Queen *Elizabeth* reſtor'd it again; but as ſhe was a zealous Proteſtant Queen, yet ſhe was not for ſubjecting the Reformation to any Amendment. Not that ſhe believ'd it perfect; but ſhe was a politick Princeſs, ſurrounded with Enemies that were not to be dallied with, and ſhe was loth to ſuppoſe ſuch Defects in the Reformation as were alledg'd, becauſe 'twas to leſſen the Reputation of it, and conſequently her Intereſt in the World.

Thoſe who inſiſted upon the further Reformation were then call'd *Puritans*, becauſe they ſet up for a greater Purity of Worſhip, and they ſeparated themſelves from the eſtabliſh'd Church, becauſe, as they ſaid, their Conſciences inform'd them they could ſerve God more agreeable to his Will.

I ſhall not meddle with the Arguments made uſe of on both Sides, either to defend or expoſe this Principle; 'tis ſufficient to acquaint my Reader that this is the true Original of Diſſenters: We are now to examine a little farther back. Before this Reformation there was no ſuch Thing as Church of *England*; it was then the Church of *Rome* that was the eſtabliſh'd national Church.

The Proteſtants, under the Titles of *Lollards*, *Wickliffians*, *Huſſites*, &c. what did they do? Did they, *as our modern People ſay every Body ſhould*, conform to what the Government commanded? No, the preſent Church of *England* Party were the Diſſenters, the Schiſmaticks and Phanaticks, in the Days of King *Henry* VIII. were perſecuted for not coming to Church; many of them put to Death, and always treated with Scorn and Contempt, as Enemies to the Government, Broachers of new Opinions, and Contemners of Authority; as in the Caſe of that famous Proto-Martyr of *Chriſt*'s Church, *John Lambert*, and others.

In the next Ages theſe came to have the Power in their Hands, and forgetting that they had found it *righteous in the Sight of God to obey God rather than Man*, they treat thoſe whoſe Conſciences oblige them to diſſent from them with the ſame Contempt which themſelves had received from the *Roman* Government.

Thus far they are upon even Terms, as to Obedience to their Superiors.

The Diſſenters have the firſt Occaſion after this to ſhew their Submiſſion under extraordinary Preſſures. Queen *Elizabeth* diſcountenanced them continually; and as good a Queen as ſhe was, put ſome of them to Death. King *James* I. hunted them quite out of the Kingdom, made Thouſands of them fly into *Holland* and *Germany*, and at laſt to *New-England*.

During the long Reign of theſe two Princes we find no Charge of Treaſon or Rebellion upon them; they bore the Diſpleaſure of their Princes with Patience

tience and Paſſive Obedience, *if I may be allowed that ridiculous Phraſe*; being perſecuted in one City, they fled to another; they bore illegal Proſecutions, and Things contrary to their Right, as *Engliſhmen*, but never took up Arms againſt their Prince.

Under the Reign of King *Charles* I. the Caſe alter'd, the King and Parliament fell out about Matters of Civil Right. and Invaſion of the Liberty and Properties of the People, the *Puritans* or Diſſenters, call them what we pleaſe, fell in unanimouſly with the Parliament.

And here 'tis worthy Remark, that the firſt Difference between the King and the *Engliſh* Parliament did not reſpect Religion, but Civil Property; nor were the Majority of the Houſe *Puritans*, but true Church Proteſtants, and *Engliſhmen*; who ſtood upon the Rights of the People as *Engliſhmen*; and none were more zealous in the firſt Diſputes than the Lord *Digby*, Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, and ſuch as were afterwards deep Sufferers for the King.

But the Parliament finding the Puritan Party ſtuck cloſe to their Cauſe, they alſo came over to them when Things came to a Rupture, and ſo the War begun on the Score of Right, Invaſion of Liberty, Breach of the Laws, private Leagues, and Male Adminſtration; a Game we have ſeen play'd over again by the very ſame Church of *England* that have exclaim'd ſo much againſt it, ſo damn'd it, and ſo damn'd themſelves, by Oaths, Declarations, Teſts, and God knows what, againſt it.

'Tis allow'd here the Puritan broke thro' his Loyalty, and his former Obedience, and fought his Way to the Liberty he demanded. Well, the War ended to his Advantage, he ſubdued his Sovereign, and brought him to the Block, to the Aſtoniſhment of the whole World.

I wont diſpute here which or which Party did or did not do it; but to give the Enemy all juſt Advantage, I am willing to grant it in the largeſt Senſe, that the Diſſenters, or Phanaticks, or Whigs, call them as you pleaſe, did embrue their Hands in the Blood of the Lord's Anointed, put to Death that bleſſed Martyr, King *Charles* I. whom a learned Divine, in a Sermon on the 30th of *January*, before the Parliament, compares both in the Manner of his Sufferings, and the People by whom, to our Saviour and the *Jews*, and boldly runs on in the blaſphemous Parallel, to ſhew that the Indignities and Sufferings of King *Charles* exceed thoſe of *Jeſus Chriſt*.

I think I have granted as largely as a fair Adverſary can deſire; for I have yielded for Peace-ſake to ſeveral Things which I could fairly diſprove.

Nor ſhall I return to a Repetition of the ill Uſage the Diſſenters have received from the contrary Party on this Account for above thirty Years; the conſtant Reproaches they and their Children after them have met with from thoſe Gentlemen, who on all Occaſions have (as I hinted before) particularly taken Care to extol their own unſhaken Fidelity to their Prince, till at laſt an Occaſion preſents to touch them in the ſame moſt ſenſible Part, *their Right and Property*; and *alas!* their Loyalty, what became of it? Truly the *faithful, paſſively obedient, unſhaken loyal* Church, returned to the original Nature

ture of their Neighbours, and did the ſame Thing exactly which the Whigs, *the factious rebellious Whigs*, had done before.

" No, that's falſe, (ſays a Diſciple of Dr. *Sherlock*'s) we did not kill our " King, we did not dip our Hands in Royal Blood, nor hurt the Lord's " Anointed."

No, that's true; but the Lord's Anointed may thank himſelf for that; for my Part I think the Difference only lies here; the Whigs in 41 to 48, took up Arms againſt their King, and having conquered him, and taken him Priſoner, cut off his Head, *becauſe they had him:* The Church of *England* took Arms againſt their King in 88, and did not cut off his Head, *becauſe they had him not.* King *Charles* loſt his Life *becauſe he did not run away*; and his Son, King *James*, ſav'd his Life *becauſe he did run away.*

'Tis ſuch a Jeſt, ſuch a Banter, to ſay we did take up Arms, but we did not kill him: *Bleſs us, kill our King! we wou'd not have hurt a Hair of his Head!* Why, every Bullet ſhot at the Battle of the *Boyne* was a killing the King; for if you did not, 'twas becauſe you could not hit him.

If a Highwaymen fires at you upon the Road, when he is taken, and brought upon his Trial, our learned Recorder, before he pronounces Sentence of Death, harangues him in this Manner: " And beſides all this, Sir, you " are plainly guilty of Murder; for you not only aſſaulted this honeſt Man, " in Order to take away his Money, but you endeavoured to murder him; " for you ſhot at him in Order to kill him; and the Intention of Murder is " equally criminal in the Eyes of God with the Act itſelf."

Now who did we ſhoot at at the *Boyne? 'Tis true, King* James *generally ſtood out of the Way*; but who did we ſhoot at? What! was our Orders to *fight againſt both ſmall and great, and not againſt the King of* Iſrael? Had your Bullets Commiſſion to ſhew their Loyalty, and not to touch the Lord's Anointed? If he had charg'd in the firſt Squadrons of his Horſe, had you not kill'd him if you could? I think this needs no further Proof.

Nay, if Arguments may be allowed to have equal Weight on both Sides, the Whigs have been the honeſter of the two; for they never profeſs'd any ſuch blind, abſolute, and undiſputed Obedience to Princes as the others have done.

It has always been their Opinion, that Government was originally contrived by the Conſent, and for the mutual Benefit of the Parties govern'd, that the People have an original Native Right to their Property, the Liberty of their Perſons and Poſſeſſions, *unleſs forefaulted to the Laws*; that they cannot be diveſted of this Right, but by their own Conſent; and that all Invaſion of this Right is deſtructive of the Conſtitution, and diſſolves the Compact of Government and Obedience.

They have always declared, that they underſtand their Allegiance to their Governors to be, *ſuppoſing they govern them according to the Laws of the Land*; and that if Princes break this Bond of Government, the Nature of it is inverted, and the Conſtitution ceaſes of Courſe.

Buchanan,

Buchanan, in *Scotland*, *Algernoon Sidney*, in *England*, have ſet their Names, *and the latter his Blood*, to this Doctrine; and the Author of the *True-born Engliſhman* is worth quoting in the Caſe.

" The Government's ungirt when Juſtice dies,
" And Conſtitutions are Non-Entities:
" The Nation's all a Mob, there's no ſuch Thing
" As Lords or Commons, Parliament or King:
" A great promiſcuous Crowd the Hydra lies,
" Till Laws revive, and mutual Contract ties;
" A Chaos, free to chuſe for their own Share
" What Caſe of Government they pleaſe to wear;
" If to a King they do the Reins commit,
" All Men are bound in Conſcience to ſubmit;
" But then that King muſt by his Oath aſſent
" To Poſtulata's of the Government;
" Which, if he breaks, he cuts off the Entail,
" And Power retreats to its Original.

True-born Engliſhman, P. 74.

This has been the avow'd Doctrine of the Diſſenters, and is indeed the true Senſe of the Conſtitution itſelf; purſuant to this Doctrine they thought they had a Right to oppoſe Violence with Force, believing that when Kings break Coronation Oaths, the ſolemn Compact with their People, and encroach upon their Civil Rights, contrary to the Laws of the Land, by which they are ſworn to rule, they ceaſe to be the Lord's Anointed any longer, the Sanction of their Office is vaniſhed, and they become Tyrants and Enemies of Mankind, and may be treated accordingly.

Now it is no Wonder to find People of theſe Principles vigorouſly withſtanding their Governors, when they tread upon the tender ſore Places of the Conſtitution; it is nothing but what they all along pretended to, and declared to be their Opinion.

But to find the Church of *England* Men, whoſe Loyalty has been the Subject of a thouſand learned Authors, and numberleſs Sermons; whoſe Character and Mark of Diſtinction has been choſen more for her ſteady Adherence and Fidelity to her Prince, than to God Almighty; whoſe Obedience to her Monarch has been declared to be inviolate and immoveable; and who pretends to be famous through the whole World for her Faithfulneſs to Kings; *for her*, as ſoon as ever the King did but, as it were, ſeem to aim at cruſhing her Authority, as ſoon as he did but begin to call her Clergy to an Account, and clap up her golden Candleſticks for Diſobedience, for her to winch and kick, fly to Foreign Princes for Protection, and riſe in Arms againſt her Prince, O *Pelin!* O *Brady!* O *Sherlock!* O *Hominem!* O *Mores!*

Where

Where is the worthy Dr. *B———ge*'s Loyalty now? His immoveable Loyalty, that, after all his abſolute Submiſſion, is ſo far from being a Martyr to his own Doctrine, that he could not loſe a ſmall Benefice for it?

Where is the famous Dr. *S———k*; who having ſtood out long in his old antiquated Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience, and confirmed the Faith of his ſuffering Brethren, by ſtrong and wonderful Arguments, at laſt, at the powerful Inſtigation of a Wife, and a good Salary, *has ſold all his Loyalty for a Meſs of Pottage*, ſolving his Honeſty with the wretched Diſtinction of a Power *de Facto*, and a Power *de Jure*; as if the Church of *England*'s Credit could be ſaved by ſuch an impotent Shift, or as if he could make amends to the Prebendary for his helping him to ſacrifice his Brethren, to father his Converſion upon reading honeſt Dr. *Overall*, whoſe Doctrine, it is well known, the Doctor knew before; but that he was loth Dr. *South* ſhould have the Honour of bringing him over to ſuch old Phanatick Principles?

Behold the Loyalty of the Church of *England*; now let us examine their Conſcience, as to taking Oaths; and if I do not bring them to be all Whigs, and forty-one Men, or elſe prove them all perjured, then I do nothing.

The Clergy, all the Magiſtrates and Officers of the Houſhold, of the Civil or Military Government, were Members of the Church of *England*, otherwiſe they could not be employed; the Sacramental Teſt has done the Diſſenters this Kindneſs, that it is plain all the managing Hands in the Kingdom were Diſciples of the Church; and as an additional Circumſtance, the Oath of Allegiance which they took, and which was (God be praiſed) of their own making, bound them to that ſame abſolute blind Obedience which they profeſs, and confin'd it to the King, his Heirs and Succeſſors.

If this Oath be conſidered literally, I am content to be ſilenced, when one fair Argument can be brought to evade it. The Declaration followed it, wherein they deteſt and abhor that deviliſh Doctrine, that it is lawful, *on any Pretence whatſoever*, (*mark the Emphaſis*) to take up Arms againſt the King; this (*equal to an Oath*) is declared in the Preſence of God; and the Particulars being material to our Purpoſe, are as follows:

"I *A. B.* do declare and believe that it is not lawful, upon any Pretence whatſoever, to take up Arms againſt the King; and that I do abhor that traiterous Poſition of taking Arms by his Authority againſt thoſe that are commiſſioned by him.

"*So help me God.*"

Notwithſtanding this, you have taken up Arms againſt, depoſed, and, as far as you were able, put to Death your lawful King, the very King you ſwore Allegiance to.

Now *pray, Gentlemen, give Commiſſion to ſome worthy Champion of your Church's Loyalty to bring you fairly off of your Oath and Declaration, if you can*; and till you do, be not angry with us for making one of theſe Concluſions from the Premiſes, and you ſhall chuſe for yourſelves.

Firſt,

First, That this Doctrine of abſolute, paſſive, and non-reſiſtant Obedience, is an Abſurdity in itſelf, contradictory to the Nature of Government and Allegiance, and politically introduced by State Engines into the Church of *England*, to abuſe her, and betray her Members into unforeſeen Miſchiefs and Inconveniences.

Or, *Secondly*, That the Members of the Church of *England* are all Apoſtates from the very fundamental Doctrine of their Church, perjured in the Sight of God and Man, notorious Hypocrites and Deceivers; who having ſworn Obedience without Reſerve to their Prince, are become Traitors, Rebels, and Murderers of the Lord's Anointed, and their lawful Sovereign, and not having the Fear of God before their Eyes, have depoſed and traiterouſly dethroned their rightful King, God Almighty's Vicegerent, accountable to no earthly Power, Supreme under God, abſolute, and from divine Inſtitution, undoubted ſole Lord of them and their Country.

Or, *Laſtly*, That they only are the true Church of *England*, who according to their avowed Profeſſion, have firmly adhered to their King in all his Sufferings and Solitude, have never blackened their Conſciences, nor gone back from their Obedience, forgotten their Oaths, nor ſullied their Reputation with the horrid Crimes of Treaſon and Rebellion, as they think it to be.

Now, as a fair Diſputant, I am willing the Reſpondent ſhall chuſe which of theſe three Conſequences he will ſtand by in Behalf of the Church of *England*'s Loyalty; but if they would take Advice of *a Friend to the honeſt Part of them*, I would recommend the firſt Concluſion to be fitteſt for them for the following Reaſons:

1. Becauſe ſince humane Infalibility is (*and with good Reaſon*) diſown'd by the Church of *England*, both for herſelf and every Body elſe, it can be no Diminution to her Reputation, which ſhe has found herſelf miſtaken, and impoſed upon, to acknowledge her Error; *a wiſe Man will always own, rather than defend a Miſtake.*

2. Becauſe it is my Opinion that their Way is hedged up againſt any other Pretence, Evaſion, or Reſervation, and therefore it is with me the only Thing that Charity can ſay for them, and muſt remain ſo, till I find ſomething elſe ſaid that is more to the Purpoſe.

But the Miſchief of all is, that if this be honeſtly acknowledg'd (*as is doubtleſs moſt true*) that the Church of *England* was miſtaken, and impoſed upon, to eſpouſe a ſenſleſs abſurd Principle, contrary to the Nature of Government and Allegiance, *&c.* why then they come over to this Conſequence.

That Government and Allegiance are both conditional, and Oaths of Subjects are always to be conſidered in a conſtructive Senſe, with Conditions of Protection, and the like; a Thing which is without Queſtion the real Meaning of all Oaths of Allegiance; otherwiſe Subjects may be put under an abſolute Neceſſity of Perjury, or State Martyrdom, by often ſwearing what may be impoſſible for them to perform.

The Town of *Aeth* in *Flanders* has been about ſix Times, and the Town of *Rinebergh* in *Gueldre* about 12 Times, taken and retaken; and as often as new Maſters had Poſſeſſion of the Place, ſo often the poor Inhabitants have ſworn to their new Lords: What can the Meaning of ſuch an Oath be, but that they will be faithful to them ſo long as they keep Poſſeſſion of the Place? It would be ridiculous to imagine the Impoſers of the Oath required any more.

If our zealous Churchmen worded an Oath contrary to the very Nature of ſwearing Allegiance, let them anſwer for it, who firſt made it, then took it, then broke it: But the Nature of the Thing can leave Room for no other Suggeſtion that I know of.

Till then ſome further Argument is produced, it muſt reſt here, that the Church of *England* was miſtaken, impoſed upon, *&c.* that ſhe finds when the Laws are broken, the Right of the People invaded, the Root of the Government ſtruck at, Church and State undermined, and deſpotick Tyranny at the Door, the native Right of the People is Superior, and they may aſſume a Power to right themſelves.

And ſo we are brought back to Whiggiſm and 41; *and, Gentlemen, there is no Remedy for it, help it if ye can.*

Where now is the Difference between Church Loyalty and Whiggiſh Loyalty, Roundhead or Chavalier, Churchman or Diſſenter, Whig or Tory; all are alike, they are pleaſed, when legally governed; quarrelſome and unruly if oppreſt, and will defend themſelves if aſſaulted, tho' it be by their Kings, or any Body elſe.

Why then is the Difference kept up? Methinks they might be all Friends together, for they are all alike; the Diſſenters have been in their Times as loyal, and the Church of *England* in their Time as diſloyal as one another. *Vice verſa*; the Diſſenters have been as diſloyal, and the Churchmen as loyal as one another upon the ſame Occaſion; they have been both Sufferers, and have ſubmitted to the Government; ay, and to the Oppreſſions and Perſecutions of their Superiors and Sovereigns. And again, upon the like Occaſions, they have both of them been Rebels, *if their own Language may be ſo far uſed*; they have both of them, in their Turn, taken Arms againſt, and depoſed their rightful and lawful Kings.

So that in my Opinion, *with a Latitude to all that think as they pleaſe*, the Church of *England*, and their Neighbours the Diſſenters, have nothing to quarrel with one another about, as to Loyalty; as to other Matters I have nothing to ſay to them, nor ſhall not mingle it with this Diſcourſe.

Nor do I think I am writing a Satyr againſt the Church of *England*, nor is it all intended to be ſo; and to ſtop all Pretences that Way, I take the Freedom to ſay here has been no Crime, the Church of *England* has been in the Right of it; not in taking Arms, but the Error was in eſpouſing, crying up, and pretending to a blind abſolute Obedience to Princes, be their Commands never ſo abſolute, tyrannical or illegal; this neither the Doctrine nor Practice of the Church of *England*, nor of any Church or People in the Chriſtian World, ever pretended to; and therefore the Fault lay in thoſe

People,

People, who being themſelves Members of the Church of *England*, ſuffered themſelves to be deluded by State Miniſters, to foſter a Tenent upon the Church, which her original Conſtitution never pretended to, and then call it the Doctrine of the Church of *England*.

The firſt Beginning of their pretended Doctrine was found in *Manwaring*'s and *Sibthorp*'s Libels, in the Days of King *Charles* I. cajoling the King; and then to pleaſe him, endeavouring to wheedle the People into a Belief of the divine Right of kingly Government, and affirming, that the King was not obliged by the Laws in the Adminiſtration of the Government.

Upon this prepoſterous Foundation they built the illegitimate Structure of abſolute undiſputed Obedience; for if kingly Power were once proved to be immediately derived from divine Authority, abſolute Obedience would be a Conſequence no Body could diſpute, ſince the ſame Obedience without Reſerve would be due to the delegated Power, as to the Power delegating.

And tho' this is a Point eaſily enough confuted, yet being willing to keep the preſent Diſpute within as ſmall a Compaſs as we can, I think our Argument has nothing at all to do with it.

Whether Government be of divine Original or not, ſeems not the Queſtion here; for if it be not ſo, then, as before, the Church of *England* have been miſtaken, and impoſed upon; and if it be ſo, then the Church of *England* has trampled under Foot their own Doctrine, turned Rebels to God, and Apoſtates from the Faith they have profeſt, have ſacrilegiouſly and traiterouſly taken up Arms againſt their Prince, aſſaulted the Lord's Anointed, *reſiſted the Powers which are the Ordinance of God*, depoſed their lawful Sovereign, broken their Allegiance, and conſequently *are a Parcel of perjured Rebels*; every Jot as bad as the worſt Roundhead Regicide, and Rebel of the Year forty-one.

What more or leſs can be ſaid I profeſs I know not, and am in great Expectation of ſomething in the Matter, for I cannot find in all the Writings I have met with any thing to contradict it.

The bringing Government and Obedience to the proper Circumſtances of mutual Compact between King and People, ſeems to me to be the only Method to unravel this Skein of entangled Principles; the Nature of Government has made it the neceſſary Conſequence of all Argument relating to Power; and I could give Inſtances in all the Nations in the World, and ſome Time or other, even the Right of Succeſſion to Government, *which muſt be as ſacred as the Power*, has been interrupted and limited by the People, in Caſe of Tyranny and illegal Governing; and every Nation, *and this among the reſt*, has oftentimes depoſed their Princes for the Preſervation of the State, when either Incapacity for Government, tyrannical Uſurpation, or other Male Adminiſtration, has been the Caſe.

But this I think alſo needleſs here; every one that is vers'd in Hiſtory can read the numerous Examples in the *Roman*, *Grecian* and *Perſian* Hiſtories, even ſacred Hiſtories, where Kings were more particularly of Divine Right than any where, are full of them; the Hiſtories of *Spain*, *Portugal*, *France*, *Lombardy*, the Empires of *Germany* and *Muſcovy*, even the Papal Chair, have ſuffer'd Convulſions and Revolutions, the depoſing and diſplacing their

Sovereigns, when the People's Good, *which is, and ever was, the Soul, the Center, the End, and the Cauſe of all Government*, came to be in the Diſpute.

But to return to the Principles of the two Parties we are now diſcourſing of; the Whigs, as before, have always aſſerted this to be their Notion of Government and Governors; and the Church of *England*, however ſome among them have topp'd an empty Notion upon them, have all along, and *now at laſt once for all*, own'd it by their Practice.

"That Kings when they deſcend to Tyranny,
"Diſſolve the Bond, and leave the Subject free."
True-Born Eng. Man, P. 47.

The Act for the further Limitation of the Crown paſt in the laſt Parliament, and the Right of the People therein declar'd and recognized, I would aſk my Opponent whoſe Act and Deed it was? Will they ſay it was a whiggiſh Act, made by a phanatical Houſe of Commons? *I dare ſay there was not ten Diſſenters in the Houſe*; let them deſcend with us into Particulars, let them draw out a *black Liſt* of Members, who in that loyal, honeſt *Engliſh* Parliament gave their Hands to the laſt Settlement and Declaration of Right, and let us *tell Noſes*, and put a Brand upon the *Phanaticks* among them.

Will they tell us it was a *Phanatical Parliament* that ſet the Crown upon the Queen's Head? I hope they will own her Majeſty and their Lordſhips the Biſhops, are Part of the Church of *England*; for if the Head and the principal Members are not, we know not who are.

Will they tell us, that Sir *E. S.* Sir *B. S.* Sir *J. B.* Mr. *H——y*, Sir *C——r M——ve*, and a Hundred more of that Side, were Whigs and Commonwealth-Men?

How comes it to paſs in *England* that no Papiſt can inherit? *Divine Right* ought to ſupercede all Precautions, and the young Prince of *Savoy*, not the Houſe of *Hanover*, ought to reign with a *Non Obſtante* to all human Limitation, if all was from Heaven: Where are our Right-line Men now? Why, truly the Reaſon is plain, the Church of *England*, People of *England*, a Church of *England*, Parliament of *England*, have thought fit to declare, that for the Good of the People, to which all Right of Succeſſion to Power muſt give Way, becauſe from them all Power itſelf does derive, and by the Voice of that People (in which Authority ſufficient is legally grounded) it is unanimouſly agreed, that we will not have a Papiſt to reign over us.

All this is too plain to admit of a Diſpute; and now to me it ſeems prepoſterous, why any Man ſhould keep up the Diſtinction between Parties as to Loyalty, when indeed there is no Manner of Difference in the Caſe.

I have talk'd ſeveral Times of Bearing, Suffering, being perſecuted and oppreſs'd; as the Diſſenters in their Time have been more than enough; and again, in their Turn, the Church of *England* have been perſecuted too; for, as I noted before, they were once the *Schiſmaticks*, the *Whigs*, and the *Diſſenters*. Now I think 'tis not very foreign to my Argument to examine whether

whether of the two behaved themſelves under their Sufferings with the greateſt Submiſſion, who ſhew'd moſt abſolute Obedience to their Superiors, and who firſt or oftenеſt rebell'd againſt their lawful Sovereign.

The Proteſtants under *Henry* VIII. were the firſt Diſſenters; they were kept under, perſecuted, and put to Death as Rebels and Schiſmaticks. Now upon due Search it will be found, that under the Protection of two Proteſtant Queens, Wives of King *Henry* VIII. they had more than once form'd ſuch Intereſt at Court, and in the Kingdom, as to begin to be formidable to the Popiſh Powers then reigning; and the Fall of the Lord *Cromwell* was thought a neceſſary Policy in King *Henry*, to prevent the Plots of the *Phanatical Church of* England *Hereticks*; a long Account of which may be read in the Life of that Prince.

King *Edward* VI. a zealous and pious Prince, made no Scruple for the Propogation of the Church of of *England*, which he was the glorious Founder, to ſet aſide the lawful and undiſputed Succeſſion of his own Siſters, to eſtabliſh the Crown in the Lady *Jane Grey*, who he knew would carry on the Work of Reformation.

There's an Inſtance for the Zeal for Succeſſion in the right Line, in the firſt Proteſtant Head that ever the Church of England *had.*

After this, the Goſpellers, that is, the Church of *England* Proteſtants of *Suffolk*, having ſome Senſe of Injury done to the Princeſs *Mary*, and willing to have the Succeſſion go on in the right Line, provided they could both preſerve their Religion and Loyalty too, capitulate with her, and promiſe to ſtand by her, provided ſhe would promiſe to preſerve, and make no Alteration in their eſtabliſhed Church of *England*.

Here the Church of *England* Men own'd the Liberty of their Religion to be ſuperior to their Loyalty to her; and that they had a Right to ſubmit, or not to ſubmit, as their Liberty was, or was not ſecure; and accordingly conditioned with her, before they would acknowledge her to be their Queen.

And we ſee how Heaven puniſh'd them for venturing on the Word of a Prince when their Religion and Liberty were at Stake.

In this Queen's Time the Church having been again ſuppreſs'd, and Popery erected, Sir *Thomas Wyatt*, an honeſt Church of *England* Proteſtant, with a very good Body of Men, took up Arms againſt their lawful Prince, for breaking her Word in Defence of their dear Religion, eſtabliſh'd by bleſſed King *Edward*, which were the very Words of the Manifeſto they publiſhed: The *Londoners*, with 800 Men, ſent by the Queen againſt them, thought it no Treachery to deſert their lawful Popiſh Queen, and go over to their Proteſtant Church of *England* Brethren.

We have nothing to do with the Juſtification of this Fact; 'tis ſufficient that ſo it was, and that theſe were Proteſtants of the Church of *England*, in the firſt and pureſt Part of their Principles, and let them juſtify the Fact if they pleaſe.

Queen *Elizabeth* ſucceeds, and the Church of *England* ſhone in its Meridian Glory, and then grew up ſome, who aiming, as I ſaid before, at a further

further Reformation; and the Church refuſing to hearken to it, form'd a new Party of Diſſenters, and theſe were call'd *Puritans*, and ſince that *Phanaticks*.

Now I challenge the Defender of this Cauſe to tell me one diſloyal Act, one Plot againſt the Government, one Diſturbance of the Civil Peace, among theſe Diſſenters, from the Beginning of this Queen, which was their own Beginning, to the Reign of King *Charles* I. which was a continued Term of 80 Years, and yet, during this Time, they ſuffered all Manner of Indignities, Reproaches, Finings, Impriſonings, Baniſhment, Confiſcations, and corporal Puniſhments.

So that hitherto the Paſſive Obedience of the Diſſenters hath far exceeded that of the Church of *England*. Theſe had but five Years Oppreſſion under Queen *Mary*, and in that five Years they once capitulated with their Sovereign to make her Queen upon Conditions, and once took Arms againſt her after ſhe was Queen; and *by that* I muſt always underſtand, that if they did not depoſe and deſtroy her, it was becauſe they could not; *and if they had done it, no doubt they had Cauſe ſufficient to juſtify them before God and Man.* The Puritans after this ſuffered all that their *too cruel Brethren* of the Church of *England* laid upon them during three tedious Reigns, before they ſo much as made the leaſt Offer at doing themſelves Juſtice; and for 80 Years together exerciſ'd that PaſſiveObedience which they never pretended to.

At laſt they took Arms; and when they did, they did it to Purpoſe, carried before them, ſubdued Monarchy, cut of their King's Head, and *all that*. After the Reſtoration Things began to return to their old Channel, and 30 Years more the Diſſenters endur'd another *Egyptian* Servitude; were perſecuted, plunder'd, indicted, impriſon'd, plagu'd with Impoſitions, ſtigmatiz'd with a Thouſand Reproaches; their Meeting-houſes demoliſh'd, their Eſtates confiſcated, their Perſons excommunicated and anathematiz'd, ſworn into Plots they never heard of, and into Crimes they never committed, dragg'd to Goals, Gibbets, and Scaffolds, and the like. *All this while Paſſive Obedience, if there were any ſuch Thing*, was found among them more than anywhere elſe; for here was no Rebellions, no Inſurrection, nor breaking of the Peace by the Diſſenters, notwithſtanding all theſe Oppoſitions.

After this comes King *James* the Second to the Crown, and he turn'd the Scale, and, together with Invaſion of Liberty, falls upon the Church, begins to rifle her of her Trophies, *for no Eſſentials had been touch'd*; and how long did She bear it? Not 80 Years, not 30 Years; no, not ſo many Months.

What did ſhe do? Truly nothing but what ſhe ought to have done; defend her Liberty and Religion by Force, againſt unjuſt Invaſion and Tyranny; nothing but what all the Nations in the World have done, and would do again if they could.

The only Error we charge upon the Church of *England*, was ſetting up Pretences of what they really would not Practice; crying up themſelves for Fools, when we knew they were wiſer Men; calling themſelves humble Slaves; but when the Trial came, proving ſtubborn, refractory, *Liberty-Mongers*, even as bad as the worſt Whig or Phanatick of them all.

For

For the future then, if a humble Moderator might be permitted to give Advice to the Gentlemen of the Church of *England*, it ſhould be in theſe ſhortand friendly Terms.

Pray, Gentlemen, never be impoſed upon, to pretend to more Loyalty, and more ſlaviſh Principles than you intend to Practice.

Never pretend to more Obedience than your Sovereing requires. Our late King, who I am not aſham'd to ſhow as a Patern for future Ages, requir'd; and her preſent Majeſty, *without Affront to her Majeſty's Authority it may be ſaid*, requires no further Obedience from the People of *England* than the Laws of *England* requires.

To govern according to Law, is a full Satisfaction to the People, and to obey according to Law, is a full Satisfaction to the Sovereign. The Laws are the Teſt both of the Royal Authority, and of the Subject's Obedience; and to pretend to more Obedience than the Law requires, is abuſing your Prince, and abuſing yourſelves.

Never be aſham'd to own with *your Brethren the Whigs*, that you are willing to ſubmit to Authority, but that you expect to be govern'd according to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm.

Let the *Scotch* Motto be ſet upon your Liberties, and according to your conſtant Practice, *as well as ours:* Let all Men know you deſign to make it Good. *Nemo me Impune Laceſſit.*

And as it really never was the Principle of the Church of *England*, *nor were a hundreth Part of the Members of the Church tainted with it*; ſo for the future 'tis hoped you will not ſuffer ſuch to mingle themſelves among you, or to act in the Name of the Church of *England*, who pretend to a blind abſolute Obedience to Princes.

And *Laſtly*, Gentlemen, a little more Modeſty to your humble Servants your Proteſtant Brethren, the Diſſenters, or Whigs; I mean as to Matter of Loyalty: For in Truth, Gentlemen, we do not ſee any Reaſon you have to reproach us in that Matter, you being in every Particular as faulty that Way as you Neighbours.

Some Neceſſary Conſiderations relating to all future Elections of Members to ſerve in Parliament, humbly offered to all Electors, whether they be true Sons of the Church of England, *as by Law eſtabliſh'd, or modeſt Proteſtant Diſſenters; to which is added, A Liſt and Account of one Hundred and ſixty-ſeven worthy good Patriots, lately traduced in a ſcandalous Libel, commonly called the Black Liſt. As alſo a Liſt of two Hundred and twenty-three honeſt Gentlemen, who ſignaliz'd themſelves in the Defence of the Rights of the Commons of* England *in the Point of Impeachments; with the Addition of a Preface in Anſwer to a Pamphlet called,* A new Teſt of the Church of *England's* Loyalty, *&c. By Dr.* Drake. 1702.

The PREFACE.

IF all Mankind were wiſe and honeſt, an Admonition from the Preſs would be impertinent: But no Age has yet deſerv'd the Compliment of having them thought ſo; and this (according to the vulgar Notion of it) leaſt of any. I have not, however, ſo ill an Opinion of it as ſome ſplenetick Writers would give me: I think it neither ſo wiſe nor ſo honeſt as it ſhould be, and yet, perhaps, I think as well of it as of any that have gone before.

But of all the extravagant Follies of this Age, which are not a few, it is, perhaps, the moſt unaccountable, that while we pretend to more Sagacity, and a ſharper Sight than our Anceſtors, we are daily bubbled by Fools, and banter'd by Blockheads. I am afraid every one of us too often experiences this in his private and ſeparate Concerns; but the Preſs almoſt overwhelms the collective Body of the People with Convictions every Day.

One moſt notorious Inſtance of this Kind we have in a Pamphlet, entitled, A new Teſt of the Church of *England's* Loyalty; or, Whiggiſh Loyalty and Church Loyalty compar'd. *The Writer of it, after having called all the Church of* England *Men Rebels, Traitors, Regicides, and perjur'd Men, proteſts he has not abuſed them, and pretends not to have affronted them neither.*

Either

Either this Author is very ſtupid, or he preſumes his Church of England *Reader to be ſo. If the latter can without Reſentment bear to have the Cap ſo impudently put upon his Head, he deſerves to wear it; if he can't, it ſhall be taken from his, and put upon the Author's, which it will fit better.*

I could quietly put up with the Inſolence and Affront to the Church of England, *if no other Malice, or the Deſign of Miſchief were diſcoverable at the Bottom of it. But as it apparently tends to leſſen the Reputation our Church has acquir'd among her Neighbours for her ſignal Fidelity to her Princes, ſo it is manifeſtly rais'd and levell'd to batter the pious Reſolution which her Majeſty has graciouſly declared herſelf to have taken in Favour of our Church.*

Even this Effort too might be ſlighted, did not the Spirit of the Party glare unmaſk'd quite thro' it; I mean Calumny and Diſingenuity. To wave a particular Diſcuſſion of the remoter Inſtances of the Church of England's *Diſloyalty, which he pretends to fetch from Hiſtory, tho' he cites none, and to ſpare ourſelves the Trouble of raking into Miſrepreſentations, foreign to, and too tedious for this Place, and to which, perhaps, want of Books, or want of underſtanding 'em, may be pleaded in mitigation of Damages; it may ſuffice to obſerve his Candour and Juſtice to the Church of* England *in the ſingle Point of the late Revolution. Thoſe of it, that did concur with others, in promoting that Revolution, are revil'd and villify'd, as Men of no Faith or Principles, and therefore not fit to be truſted, countenanc'd or protected; and thoſe that did not, as Men of pernicious Principles, inconſiſtent with, and deſtructive of the Civil Rights and Liberties of the People, and therefore fit only to be hang'd or drowned out of the Way. There's the Church of* England *provided for all at once, by an eaſy Expedient, and the Author has prepared a ſufficient Juſtification of it. Hang ſome of the Rogues for adhering to King* James, *and kick the reſt out of Doors as Rebels for not adhering to him. This Author, by his Principles and Juſtice, ſhould be a* New-England *Author, where the godly Brethren are famous for commuting, and other quaint Devices, to get rid of unſanctified People.*

But ſure this Author does think in his Conſcience, (if he has any) that either they did well who abandon'd the Intereſts of King James, *or they who ſtood by them. Then why are they equally beſpatter'd and render'd odious? Why, but becauſe they profeſs themſelves of the Church of* England, *and well or ill-doing is equal to him; 'tis all Abomination, if the Doer be a Church of* England-*man? And why ſhould deſerting the Intereſt of an unhappy Prince be imputed by him to the Sons of the Church as a Crime, which Act he not only juſtifies in the Diſſenters, but extols as highly meritorious; becauſe, (as this Author inſinuates) the Church-man offends againſt the Light of his Conſcience, ſins againſt Principle, and ſtands Self-convicted and condemn'd; which t'other (as he pretends) does not.*

But here his Concluſions out-ſtrip his Arguments, and his Aſſertions go a great Way farther than his Proofs. There are two Things with which he very boldly charges the Church of England, *and wherein conſiſts the Force and Activity of all that Venom which he ſpits at her, which it will be very hard for him to make out.*

First, That Paſſive Obedience was ever a Principle of the Church of *England*.

Secondly, That, if it was ever a Principle, the Church has ſince renounc'd it, laid it aſide, or broke through it.

But ſo unlikely an Adverſary is this Gentleman, to prove the Church falſe to her Principles, that he does not ſeem to know what it is that conſtitutes any Doctrine a Principle of the Church, nor how to diſtinguiſh between the Tenets and Opinions of private Doctors, and the Principles of the Church. To entitle any Church, religious Congregation, or Society, to any Doctrine, as a Principle, it ought to have been once, at leaſt, enjoined to be received as neceſſary Matter of Faith, by ſuch Perſon or Perſons, as by the Conſent of the collective Body of the Church, are veſted with an Authority declarative of what is neceſſary to be believed.

It is not to our preſent Purpoſe to enquire with whom the Church of England *has lodg'd that Power; it is ſufficient to know, that all that ſhe has enjoin'd as neceſſary to be believed, is contain'd in her nine and thirty Articles, and in her Canons; in which I dare venture to affirm, that there is nothing to be found, which does, either in a literal, or even conſtructive Senſe, enjoin the Belief of Paſſive Obedience in ſuch a Manner or Senſe as he has charged it upon her; and therefore it is a malicious, and very ignorant Scandal, to charge her with falling from her Principles, even tho' ſhe ſhould have acted contrary to the Notion of Paſſive Obedience, as by him laid down.*

It is true, the Notion of Paſſive Obedience has been frequently and vigorouſly inculcated into the Sons of the Church by divers of her Doctors; but then it was done without any other Power than that of Perſuaſion, or other Authority than ſuch Arguments as they were able to bring from Scripture, Reaſon, and the Writings of the Fathers. It is not material to enquire whether their Doctrine was erroneous or not; becauſe if it were, the Church is not anſwerable for it, and if it were true, it does no more thereby become a Principle of the Church, than that every equilateral Triangle is equal to two right ones, is a Principle of the Church. And yet I believe every individual Doctor of the Church, who has conſidered the Propoſition, does believe it to be moſt infallibly true. The Church does not interpoſe its Authority for every uſeful Truth, but leaves her Sons at Liberty as to many great Points, concerning which they may differ, according to the ſeveral Convictions of their own Minds, and yet be equally her Sons. Of theſe, the now unfaſhionable Point is one; of which I ſhall only add, that were it as conſiſtent with worldly Intereſt and Security, as it is conformable to the Goſpel Spirit of Chriſtianity, I ſee no Reaſon to quarrel with it.

But ſuppoſing a Belief of Paſſive Obedience had been enjoined by the Church; How does it appear, that the Church has revolted, or broken looſe from the Obligation of that Principle, allowing it (for Argument Sake only) to be a Principle of the Church? What did the Church do in Violation of it? Did the Church turn out King James? *Did the Church, by any ſolemn Act or Declaration, renounce Paſſive Obedience, or declare King* James *deprived of his Regal Crown*

and

and Dignity? Without ſome ſuch Acts as theſe, by the Authority of the Church, or (to go ſomewhat farther than we are in Juſtice obliged) a general Defection of the Members of the Church from their Allegiance, and of none elſe, if any Thing was criminal in the Tranſactions of that Time, it is not to be charged upon the Church.

The great and only Inſtance of the Church of England's *pretended Diſloyalty and Neglect of Principles, is the depoſing (for ſo this Author will have it to be) of King* James. *I aſk who did that? While it was a Recommendation at Court, the Diſſenters or Whigs (which are ſynonimous Terms with him) laid ſole Claim to it, as a meritorious Work, and were bountifully rewarded for it. Now the great Advantage is thought to be over, the Church is to be entitled to the Odium. But to eaſe the Diſſenters as much as I can, I ſay it was the Prince of* Orange's *Army and the Convention that did it. The Army drove the King away, and the Convention declared his going away Abdication. I ſhall not here undertake to determine, whether this was or was not according to Law or Goſpel; but we know who at that Time urg'd both againſt it. I ſuppoſe it may be doubted, whether the Church of* England *had a Majority in either; and therefore what they did, ought not to be charged as the Act and Deed of the Church.*

But this Gentleman ſays they fought againſt the King in Ireland, *and if they did not kill him, they intended it; for their Bullets had no Condition of Exception. It was, indeed, a Fault in the Church of* England *Men (if any there were) not to limit the Commiſſion of their Bullets to three Miles, leſt they ſhould touch the Lord's Anointed. But how comes this to be the Fault of the Church? How does it appear, that a few Red-coats, Soldiers of Fortune (whoſe Religion is uſually to be choſen) ſome* Dutch, *ſome* Danes, *ſome* Swiſs, *ſome* French, *ſome* Iriſh, *ſome* Scots, *were the legal Repreſentatives of the Church of* England? *Till he proves them to be ſo, the Church is not obliged to anſwer for what they did.*

But after all, this Gentleman ſeems to have no Manner of clear Notion of Paſſive Obedience: It implies no more, than not reſiſting by Violence thoſe whom God has ſet over us, without involving ourſelves in the Intricacies and Difficulties of doubtful, or diſputed Titles: Who made us Judges over Iſrael? *We ſend our wiſe Men to repreſent and determine, and 'tis our Duty to ſubmit.*

It is hard to ſtop here; the inſufferable Inſolence of the Parallel between the Uſage that King Charles I. *met with from the Diſſenters, and King* James II. *met with from the Church of* England, *is ſcarce to be borne. The Provocation is very great, and the Field unbounded; but we have not Room to proſecute the War here; but if this Author ſhall think fit to carry on the War, I promiſe to accept his Challenge.*

In the mean Time this Author tells us, that he does not intend to widen Breaches, and means nothing but Reconciliation. We have met with Friendſhips indeed in Hiſtory before, which have begun with Aſſaſſinations; but we never heard of their Reality or Duration. He that ſhould ſpit in my Face publickly, and pretend afterwards it was meer Kindneſs and Reſpect, would have a hard Taſk to perſuade me. I ſhall not pretend to adviſe the Gentlemen of the Church

of England, *who, I preſume, will be ſufficiently aware of Men of this Writer's Kidney, who, while they pretend to make Advances of Kindneſs and Reconciliation, labour to ſink the Reputation of their Probity, Virtue, and Underſtanding.*

IT has been the hard Fortune of the People of *England* to be miſrepreſented, for ſome Years laſt paſt, both Abroad and at Home, and thereby to be render'd contemptible and odious to their Neighbours; as a People inconſiſtent with themſelves, wavering in their Reſolutions, fickle in their Alliances, unfriendly to their Neighbours; and to become jealous of one another, angry with their beſt Patriots, and fond of thoſe who labour'd to ſubvert their Conſtitution, Church and Liberties, *&c.*

It may ſeem ſtrange to thoſe who have not ſufficiently conſider'd, or are not well acquainted with Matters of this Nature, that it ſhould be poſſible for a People to become contemptible to their Neighbours, while they gave ſuch manifeſt Proofs of their Strength, Courage and Wealth; or to be odious to thoſe who ſubſiſted chiefly by their Succours and Aſſiſtance.

Yet ſuch has been the Artifice of ſome deſigning People, that our Allies have been made to believe, that tho' we had all thoſe Qualities actually exiſtent in us, yet we were a rude, indigeſted Maſs, a Rabble of People that had no Soul or Form, but what the King, and a few of his Miniſters, gave us; that, like Flints, we had no Fire but what was ſtruck from us; and would exert none of our unactive, lazy Powers, but by their Inſpiration.

This gave our Allies a very high Idea of the King, and thoſe about him, that could move ſuch a lumpiſh, inanimate Body to ſuch great and noble Actions; but it fill'd them, at the ſame Time, with a Contempt of that People, who wanted Life and Soul to exert that Force that lay dormant in them, till it was rouz'd and directed by others. They took us to be like Guns, that might do a great deal of Good or Harm as we were uſed; but that all the Thanks was owing to the Engineers and Gunners that mounted, charg'd, and fir'd at us; and that after the Service was over, it was no Matter whether we ſplit or ruſted. This was manifeſt from the little Regard that was ſhewn the *Engliſh* Nation, during the whole Courſe of the late War, and after it; and was owing to the Artifices of ſome People, who magnified their own Services and Affection to our Allies, and repreſented a Houſe of Commons, (the Repreſentatives of the collective Body of the People) as a weak Aſſembly, which they could either lead or drive as they pleaſed. By theſe Means they gain'd ſo far upon ſome of our Neighbours, as to be able to prompt them to interpoſe in Matters of the higheſt Importance to us, and to prevail ſometimes againſt the manifeſt Intereſt of this Kingdom.

To ſupport this Credit Abroad, they found it neceſſary to make ſome Figure of it at Home, and to keep a Party, which, tho' conſiderable for nothing but

but their Capacity of Conſcience, and Confidence, were thought proper Inſtruments, by falſe Clamour, and forg'd Calumnies, to create Diviſions, and foment Faction among the People; to maintain which Party, and to keep their Inventions warm, Millions, perhaps, of the publick Money have been unaccountably laviſh'd, and one Mint has labour'd to encourage the other. By theſe Arts they ſo far poiſon'd a great Part of common People with Jealouſies and groundleſs Apprehenſions, as to render many of the Gentlemen in all Parts of *England*, who are moſt conſiderable for their Abilities, Integrity and Courage, as well as Quality and Eſtate, ſuſpected and fear'd by them. No ſooner did any of theſe ſignalize himſelf in the Houſe of Commons but his Honour was attack'd, and he was branded with Popery and *France*, how unjuſtly ſoever; ſcandalous Stories, Libels, and malicious lying Accuſations were ſpread of him throughout *England*, without either Proof or Author, and his Reputation was wounded by unknown Hands, that made their Markets at the Expence of his Fame.

It may be worth while to obſerve whither theſe Practices tended. *Firſt*, By repreſenting us a weak, irreſolute People in ourſelves, that knew not how to manage our own Strength and Wealth, they gave our Neighbours and Allies Courage to preſume upon us, and to interpoſe in our Affairs, and to reſt themſelves ſecure, that having gained thoſe few (whom they thought our Leaders) on their Side, they had nothing to do but to gain over the King to their Party, and the Buſineſs was done; the Aſſes would be tame, and might be driven to the Pound, or whither elſe they pleaſed; and by poſſeſſing them, that we were ſuch malevolent ill Neighbours, as were never to be brought to any hearty or ſincere Intentions towards their Allies, they provok'd them to hate us; and having wrought them to a Belief, that to them only they were obliged for all the great Services they received from *England*, prepared them to back all their Meaſures, and ſecond their Deſigns, whenever they ſhould ſignify to them their Schemes were ripe, and that the proper Seaſon was come; which, had not Providence prevented, we might have ſeen ten Times more Foreign Soldiers in *England* than thoſe we ſtruggle ſo hard to ſend away, and as many fewer of our own at Home than we thought ſafe to keep up.

But as this Deſign was *bipartite*, it was as neceſſary to be well with one Party at leaſt at Home as Abroad. The Gentlemen all over *England* were found unfit for their Purpoſes; their Principles were ſound, and their Stakes too great, to give up either our Church or Conſtitution, and therefore a Party who had always laboured the Subverſion of both, were advanced and carreſs'd, as the only true ſtanch Proteſtants. But theſe being a Party alone too weak to effect what they aimed at, they took in a Sort of mungril Church-goers, whoſe Conformity was not the Reſult of Principle, but of a luke-warm Compliance with the Humour of the Times; who could as readily have embraced any other Church and Doctrines, in which they cou'd find their own private Accompt. Theſe they dignified with the ſpecious Title of Men of Moderation and Temper, tho' they, and the Party they were now united with, were

known

known, moſt of them, to be the Men who, in a Reign preceding, had like, by their great Moderation and Temper, to have ruin'd our Religion, Laws, and Liberty; yet now they were cried up as the only proper Perſons to protect and aſſert them, their groſs Railing magnified as Zeal, and their ſlaviſh Obſequiouſneſs was made as Argument of their Affection to the Government, tho' they had given the ſame Proofs of both before to him they then railed at.

By theſe a Comprehenſion was labour'd, which might admit into the Dignities of the Church and State a Medly of Men, who, ever ſince the firſt Spawning of their Sect, have been profeſs'd Enemies of both, ſome of which, however they may call themſelves *Proteſtants*, have not yet been able to prove themſelves *Chriſtians*. To bring about this Project, on which the main home Strength of their Scheme depended, the principal Gentlemen all over *England*, whoſe Principles and Penetration they feared, were brought into Diſgrace with the King and the Mob, whom they perſuaded, whoever had the Courage to oppoſe their Party, was a Papiſt, a Jacobite, or a Favourer of *France*, and diſaffected to the Government, as they called themſelves. Inſtead of thoſe, they brought into the Commiſſions of the Lieutenancy and Peace, almoſt all *England* over, a Set of Fellows of no Fortune, Honour or Reputation, or Gentlemen of known Averſion to the *Monarchy* and *Church* of *England*, that by theſe Promotions the Courage of the Diſſenters might be rouzed, and the Ambition of the Mob elevated to aſpire to the like Preferments, by inſulting their beſt Patriots, and trampling upon Authority. How far they ſucceeded in theſe Attempts may beſeen in the almoſt univerſal Corruption and Depravation of the meaner People throughout *England*, and the Affronts which were ſo openly put upon the laſt Parliament by that Party; and tho' we are highly obliged to, and ever ought to be ſenſible of the gallant Stand then made by many worthy Gentlemen of both Houſes in our Defence, yet it is to Providence that we owe the entire Defeat of theſe curs'd Deſigns, if yet we may reckon that Work compleat.

The Countenance of the Court, the Hopes of Preferment, and the Clamour and Impudence of the mercenary Promoters of theſe dangerous Deſigns, prevail'd upon the Simplicity of the well-meaning People, whom it is neceſſary, at this Time, to undeceive, eſpecially thoſe who are truly of the Church of *England*. But ſeeing ſome, whom, from their outward Profeſſion, they thought Churchmen, go into a wrong Intereſt, have been miſled to bear them Company, without apprehending their true Intent and Meaning; to arm all ſuch, and all Proteſtant Diſſenters, who have no othir Aim than the peaceable Enjoyment of their own Conſcience and Worſhip, however erroneous, it may ſuffice to give ſuch general Cautions as will diſtinguiſh with what Principle, and upon what Views Men act, without deſending to perſonal Reflections, how well ſoever deſerved by ſome People.

God has been graciouſly pleaſed to give us a Queen as truly *Engliſh* by In-Inclination, as by Birth, who, both by Principle and Practice, has given us undoubted Demonſtration of her ſincere Affection and Zeal for our Church

and

and Conſtitution. If therefore we do not make uſe of this Bleſſing to ſecond her pious Intentions, and eſtabliſh both for ever, we ſhould be guilty of a great Neglect of Providence, and perhaps put ourſelves out of the Protection of it for ever hereafter.

This is not ſaid to inflame any body againſt thoſe who diſſent from us in Opinion, but to warn againſt the Practices of thoſe who (without any Regard to Religion) have By-ends to purſue, and encourage one Party only to the Deſtruction of both.

Reaſon and Experience have both taught, that our Church and Conſtitution muſt of Neceſſity ſtand or fall together; and that all thoſe, of whatſoever Sect or Denomination, who have aim'd at the Subverſion of one, have labour'd the Deſtruction of the other likewiſe. It will therefore highly behove all Proteſtants, Lovers of the *Engliſh* Conſtitution, whether they be Conformiſts to the eſtabliſhed Church or not, to contribute their utmoſt Endeavours towards the Support of it; ſince with that the *Engliſh* Conſtitution and Liberty muſt neceſſarily ſink. The Reign of Queen *Mary*, the Uſurpation of the *Rump*, and the Tyranny of *Oliver*, have, to our Sorrow, manifeſtly evinced this long ſince; therefore they who aim only at Liberty of Conſcience, of which they are now ſecure, while they continue quiet, can have no Intereſt to ſhake that Fabrick under which alone they can be ſheltred.

I ſhall not enquire upon what Motives (but it is expected that upon the Concluſion of this Seſſions) this Queen ſhould diſſolve this Parliament. Upon Suppoſition that it will be ſo, it may not be improper to ſhew how much it imports the People to be wiſe and circumſpect in their next Choice: For if they ſhall hereafter be ſo unſteady, ſo looſe, and ſo corrupt as they have been in many of their late Elections, they will loſe the faireſt Opportunity that they ever had to reſettle both Church and State, and give ſuch Head to Faction and Corruption, as may in Time give them Power to diſmount their Conſtitution.

The People ought to conſider, that when they have made Choice of their Repreſentatives, they have parted with their Power, and lodg'd it in them for ſo long a Time as they continue to be ſuch; and therefore they ought to be very cautious and wary in the Diſpoſition of ſuch a Truſt, and to be very ſure of the Fidelity of the Perſons in whom they place it. To arrive at ſuch a Certainty as ſeems neceſſary in ſo great a Caſe, appears from the Experience of many Ages to be very difficult, but more eſpecially in this, when the pretended Principles, and real Practices of ſome Men (who were deſirous to have been thought the only true Friends to the Government) have been found ſo little of a Piece, to eſtabliſh ſuch a Criterion as ſhall infallibly diſtinguiſh the Sound from the Unſound (if the Uſe of Terms may be allowed, by which a certain Party have affected to diſcriminate themſelves) ſeems almoſt morally impoſſible; but it may not be very hard to aſſign ſome Marks, which may certainly ſhew that the Perſons who bear them are altogether unfit for that Truſt and Dignity.

The

The profeſs'd *Diſſenters* from the *Church* here eſtabliſh'd by Law, have (one would think) paſs'd a Sort of a Bill of Excluſion upon themſelves, and with their own Hands ſhut the Door of the Houſe of Commons againſt themſelves: But ſo ſupinely ſecure were the Church of *England* Men, that they have lent their Hands to their Enemies to force open that Door for them which they had ſufficiently barr'd againſt themſelves. This is what ſome Men, who would be thought Friends to the Church, and wiſe for it, labour'd hard for, under the Name of Comprehenſion, a Thing that wou'd let in every Man of what Sect ſoever that is not called a Papiſt, except the true Church of *England* Men, whom only they would exclude. There is little Need of Warning to thoſe who are truely ſolicitous for the Church, and underſtand rightly wherein its true Excellence and Securitity conſiſts; but as few are gifted with ſo much Penetration and Diſcernment, there are many who profeſs themſelves her Sons, who have given her, thro' their Imprudence, many cruel and dangerous Wounds, not exempting ſome who have their daily Bread from her, whom we muſt in Charity believe to have acted what they did without any true Foreſight of the natural Tendency of their Actions.

There are two Sorts of People who ought eſpecially to be inform'd of ſome Errors both in Judgment and Practice, which (if purſu'd) may in Time prove fatal to them; the Perſons hereby meant, are, *firſt*, ſuch as think *Eccleſiaſtick Policy* and *external Forms* of *Worſhip* Things indifferent, that may without Detriment be altered, or changed, according to the Pleaſure of the ſupreme Magiſtrate, the Humour of the People, or the Circumſtances of the Times; and next, the modeſt *Proteſtant Diſſenters*, (who, I hope, are the greateſt Part of them) who, tho' diſſatisfied with the Form of Worſhip eſtabliſh'd in the Church of *England*, yet, by their Separation, aim at nothing more than the Liberty of ſerving God in their own Way.

It is not the Buſineſs of this Paper to convince either of theſe Parties of their Errors; let one think themſelves right in their Indifference, and t'other in their Separation; let us wave the religious Part of the Argument, and conſider only, how in Prudence both theſe Sorts of Mnn ought to act, in regard to the Civil Conſtitution of *England*; for otherwiſe they ought not to have the Benefit and Protection of it.

The firſt of theſe being indifferent as to the Form of Eccleſiaſtical Worſhip and Government, can't be ſuppos'd to concern themſelves farther about it, than to ſecure the Eaſe and Quiet of the Laity, from the Impoſition and Tyranny of Prieſts; what they offer farther, may juſtly be ſuſpected of Self-deſign and Intereſt.

It were eaſy to prove, were the Matter to be conteſted, that the Church of *England* is the moſt reaſonably conſtituted both to Doctrine and Diſcipline, for the Eaſe of the Laity, and the Ends of Religin, of any Chriſtian Church in the World; for as our Church claims no implicit Faith, as that of *Rome* does, ſo neither do her Prieſts uſurp any Power or Juriſdiction overthe Conſciences of thoſe whom they are to inſtruct and take Care of, or pretend to determine of particular Election or Reprobation, as moſt of our Proteſtant

teſtant Diſſenting Miniſters do; and thereby gain an Aſcendant over the Conſciences of ignorant timorous People, which is ſcarce conſiſtent with Freedom of Mind, or Liberty of Conſcience. But ſhould the Church of *England* be deſtroyed, ſome one of theſe muſt be ſet up; or I preſume no Man would have us without a national Church of ſome kind or other: And let the Man of Indifference pitch upon which of the known Forms he pleaſes, and he will find himſelf infinitely more crampt by it, and more a Slave to the Prieſts, than ever he thought himſelf in the Church of *England*. But ſhould the Church of *England* be diſſolved, before the ſeveral Sects and Parties were agreed what to ſet up in the Room of it, what then were we to expect, but that they ſhould fall together by the Ears, and that the crafty Prieſt that had the beſt Knack of leading the Mob by the Ears, muſt neceſſarily, in the Concluſion, have the ſole Direction of all ſpiritual Matters; and conſequently we ſhould fall into a worſe Sort of Popery than that of the Church of *Rome?* This is no Chimera, no melancholy Dream or Fancy, but ſuch a Truth as Obſervation and Experience of former Times, even in theſe Kingdoms, have furniſhed. This, I ſuppoſe, may ſuffice to convince the indifferent Man, that it will be impoſſible for him to alter our Eccleſiaſtical Conſtitution for the better, according to his Notions.

As for the Proteſtant Diſſenters, whoſe Scruples, whether juſt or unjuſt, hinder him from conforming to the Diſcipline and Worſhip of our Church, if he aims at nothing more than the Liberty of worſhipping in Purity, according to his own Senſe, he has already, and need not doubt the Indulgence of the Queen, ſo long as he behaves himſelf with that inoffenſive Modeſty, and peaceable Diſpoſition towards the national Church, which is due from a private Separatiſt, who would not incur the Cenſure and Penalties of a turbulent Schiſmatick.

But ſuppoſing the Diſſenters were not ſo modeſt in their Deſires, (as it is hoped moſt of 'em are) conſidering the Number and Variety of Sects, and the Weakneſs of each of them apart, what Benefit can any one Party propoſe to itſelf from the Ruin of the eſtabliſh'd Church, were they able to effect it? Does their Diſſention from the Church of *England* unite them either in Doctrine or Diſcipline? Does it bring them nearer to a Conformity with one another? No, but ſo much the contrary, could they prevail againſt the Church, they would be bitterer Enemies to one another than ever they were to the Church. We have experienc'd this Truth in thoſe unhappy Days when the Crown and Mitre were trampled upon, and God's Houſe made a Den of Thieves, that fell out and were ready to cut each others Throats about the Poſſeſſion and Diviſion of it. Our Sectaries then ſaw how impracticable a Comprehenſion was, and that there was not one Sect among them that did did not think worſe of all the reſt than of the Church they labour'd to pull down. But we have more recent Inſtances than that, which prove that they cannot bear even the Dawning of Hopes with any tolerable good Accord. [a] We have ſeen the two Sticks which a falſe Prophet of theirs had pronounced

[a] Sermon on the Union of the *Preſbyterians* and *Independents*, preach'd at *Pinner's-Hall*.

to be made one for ever, ſoon ſever'd, and made uſe of to break each others Heads. An Inſtance which plainly proves that Faction ſhall never be at Reſt or Unity.

Such Diſſenters as I have mentioned ought to be ſatisfied with the preſent Indulgence which the Church allows them, and reſting themſelves contented with the undiſturbed Exerciſe of their Religion and Conſcience, to give the eſtabliſhed Church no Jealouſy of their Ill-meaning or Deſigns, and thereby provoke them, and indeed, make it neceſſary to lay them under greater Reſtraints and Incapacities than are at preſent intended them, or by deſtroying (were they able) that Church which now protects them, to fall under the Tyranny of a Sect which would have no ſuch Tenderneſs for them.

But if they entertain any Hopes that they, even united, ſhall be able to bid Defiance to the eſtabliſhed Church, they are extremely miſtaken in their own Strength; for tho' they have been able to make a conſiderable Noiſe and Buſtle in the World, yet were they themſelves but weak and inconſiderable; the main Strength of their Party lay in an auxiliary Body of falſe Church-goers, who joined them, not out of any Love or Reſpect to them, but to their own private Intereſt. Theſe were Men whoſe Eyes were always fix'd on the Countenance of the Court, Men that were always reſolved to be on the ſunny Side, be that whatever it was; theſe are a Sort of Court Weather-cocks that veer about with every Wind, and watch the Diſpoſition of Miniſters and Favourites ſo carefully, that they underſtand a Nod, or a Shrug, and are ready to execute their Pleaſure, be it what it will, before it is plainly ſignified; however, they may thank their Stars, that they wanted not a Set of Miniſters who could make very broad Signs, otherwiſe they might officiouſly have miſtaken them, and followed the Words of their Directions contrary to their Meaning. It is hardly to be thought that the Diſſenters will depend on theſe Sun-Flowers for their Aſſiſtance at this Time of Day; there is now the ſhady Side, and theſe are tender Plants, that cannot endure it. They had no other Reaſon for joining them before, than that they were favoured by the late Miniſtry; and they will leave them now, becauſe they are not like to be ſo by the future. If therefore the Diſſenters be Maſters of any Temper or Prudence, they will not venture, by a vain Struggle at this Time, to urge thoſe who are infinitely the Majority of the People, and have as well the Laws of the Land, as the Queen and her Court on their Side, to have them in diſtruſt, and conſequently under Guard; it may therefore be worth their while ſeriouſly to conſider this, and not by a fruitleſs Oppoſition to exp ſe at once the Weakneſs and ill Intentions of their Party, but peaceably to enjoy that Liberty of Conſcience, and free Exerciſe of their Religion, which no good Church of *England* Man will repine at, while they appear to aim at no more.

As for the Church-goers, who pretend to be Sons of the Church, and yet have joined our Enemies in all their Votes, it is plain that Preferment, not Principle, was the Star that guided them; and it is to as much Purpoſe to reaſon with the Weather-cock at *St. James*'s as them; the ſame Argument

prevail

prevails with either, and a Court-blaſt turns them about with equal Facility; but there are ſome honeſt, true Sons of the Church, who, in the Simplicity of their Hearts, taking theſe Men for what they appeared to be, have been ſeduced to go along with them, and acted contrary to their own Intention and Meaning.

Theſe are not a few, and therefore ought to be diſabuſed, and have ſome Marks given them, by which they may diſcern and diſtinguiſh the Wolf in Sheep's cloathing. The Inclinations of theſe Men are ſeveral Ways to be diſcovered, by their avowed Principles, by their known Practices, by the Party they join, by their Converſation on publick Subjects, and by their Fixedneſs and wavering in their Reſolutions.

It is hard to diſcover what Men's Principles really are, but not ſo hard to diſcern whether they act according to the Principles they pretend to own. We have lately known Men, who to the People have ſet a Value upon themſelves, and have been well received by them for it, who have laboured to deſtroy thoſe Rights as Champions for which they recommended themſelves. We need not go far for Inſtances, the Oppoſers of the Triennial Bill, the Promoters of a ſtanding Army in Time of Peace, the Obſtructers of neceſſary Impeachments, and thoſe who are lately willing to give up the Rights of the People in that Point, are recent and undeniable Inſtances.

All theſe Men pretended to be Protectors of the Proteſtant Religion, and the beſt Friends to the Government; but had they half the Merit of the *Roman* Geeſe that ſaved the Capital, had their Noiſe and Clamour been half ſo ſerviceable, or ſo innocent, they had deſerved Conſideration. It is true, they did like the Geeſe alarm thoſe who were able to preſerve the State, but it was ſo far from being meritorious in them, that they were the very Enemies againſt whom it was moſt neceſſary and moſt dangerous to defend it.

By this Clamour for Liberty and Property, and their ſlaviſh Obſequiouſneſs to the Court, they wrigled themſelves into Poſts at *Whitehall*, and Credit with the Mob. Their Pretence was a great Zeal for the Government and Proteſtant Religion. What was meant by theſe Words may be worth enquiring.

According to our Conſtitution, no other Proteſtant Religion ought to be promoted here in *England*, than that of the Church, by Law eſtabliſhed; and tho' a reaſonable Indulgence be juſtly due to all Conſciences truly, however erroneouſly tender, yet no ſuch Encouragement ought to have been given to any Sectaries whatſoever, as to animate ſo far as to puſh at the National Church. But theſe Men of meritorious Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion were not content to raiſe Diſſenters of all Kinds, even above the Church of *England* Men, unleſs they brought the latter into Diſgrace likewiſe. They aſperſed them unreaſonably as Papiſts or Jacobites, and took Care to put all the diſtruſtful Hardſhips upon them that they could invent; they diſplaced them as faſt as they could, and put Men of oppoſite Principles or none into their Room, and perſwaded the King that theſe were the only true faſt Friends he had.

They were too ſenſible that by theſe Practices they did wrong to the Nation, and provoked the Gentlemen who underſtood they had, and were almoſt all the Men of the beſt Conſideration in the Kingdom; and therefore they laboured to ſecure to themſelves the miſguided Rabble, whom they amuſed with idle Fears, and raiſed to an inſufferable Inſolence by the Countenance they gave them. They let fly the publick Money among their Emiſſaries, whom they employed to inſpire the Mob with a Contempt of the beſt Gentlemen and Patriots; and ſet thoſe to work who had no Religion to pull down that Church which only could protect all.

The Form of our Eccleſiaſtical Policy reſembles ſo nearly that of the Civil State, that the Plea of *jus divinum* apart from either, no Man can have an Abhorrence for one, who has not a hearty Averſion to the other, how well ſoever he may diſſemble it. We ought therefore to obſerve very carefully thoſe Men, who, in their late Converſations and Diſcourſes, whether publick or private, have expreſſed a Contempt or Diſlike of our Church Government and Diſcipline; for as the Authority of the Church in Spirituals ſtands almoſt on the ſame Foot, and is diſpoſed in the ſame Manner, with that of the State in Civil Matters, thoſe Arguments (if its Enemies had any ſuch) that were of Strength to beat down one, would batter the other very ſorely, were they levelled againſt it. And we have no Reaſon to believe that any Man, who conſidering and underſtanding the Nearneſs of Relation between the Church and the State, and how much they ſtand on the ſame Bottom, yet thinks fit to aſſault the firſt, but he would attack the latter likewiſe, if he did not think the temporal Sword was longer and ſharper edged than the ſpiritual one.

But it is not from Men's Writings, or Talk only, that their Principles or Inclinations are to be collected; their Actions are yet a much ſurer Guide to their real Sentiments. To diſſemble in Words is ſo eaſy, and grown ſo familiar with moſt People, that it is ſcarce ſafe to truſt to verbal Profeſſions, eſpecially when thoſe that make them would recommend themſelves to the Perſons to whom they are made. The ſureſt Method to form a right Judgment, is to retroſpect Men's paſt Conduct, and enquire how they have behaved themſelves on ſuch Occaſions heretofore. If a Candidate for Parliament has ever ſet in the Houſe before, the Electors ought to be ſatisfied how he attended, and how he voted, eſpecially in all critical and important Queſtions, wherein Men more particularly diſtinguiſh themſelves, either for Affection, Wiſdom or Courage, or all of them. If they have miſbehaved themſelves upon ſuch Trials, they ought not to be truſted any more, except a leſs obnoxious Perſon is not to be found.

If the Candidate has never been a Member before, the next certain Indication is, his Conduct in his Country on all publick Occaſions. The Electors ſhould examine what ſort of Men he conſtantly favoured, what Party he has always joined; and for want of ſurer and cloſer Information, they may weigh him in their Standard, without Danger of committing any Error of Conſequence; but if he has been unſteady in his Management, wavering in his

his Reſolutions, and often changing Sides, it is then the Duty of the Elector to inform himſelf as well as he can of the true Reaſons and Motives of his Inconſtancy; and if he finds it not to proceed from any Conſideration of the publick Good, he ought to hold him inexcuſable. He may then be ſure that it is want of Judgment, Levity of Temper, or private Intereſt, or particular Pique, or Affection, none of which are honeſt warrantable Excuſes, except thoſe which carry an Incapacity for ſuch Service along with them. For there is no Corporation, how inconſiderable ſoever, ſo low or vile in their own Eſteem, as to think Fool or Knave a Qualification to repreſent them.

There is yet another plain Characteriſtick by which not only the Leaders, but all the active Men of the Party, whom we ought at this Time to beware of, are moſt eſſentially diſtinguiſhed, that is, Lying and Defamation. By Virtue of this ſingle Quality has their Faction been propagated, and their Projects carried on: By theſe Arts have great Numbers of our braveſt Gentlemen, and the Nation's beſt Friends, been aſperſed, and rendered unpopular in moſt Parts of *England*, and many Thouſands of ſimple credulous People bantered almoſt out of their Faith and Principles, to the endangering of our Church and Conſtitution. When therefore any of the Electors hear theſe Men lay about them with the tremendous Noiſe of Popery, and *French* Gold, thoſe Bug-bear Words, which fright the poor ſilly Vulgar out of their Senſes, they may prepare themſelves to hear ſome egregious Lie without Proof or Author to defame, and blaſt the Credit of ſome honeſt Gentleman or other; but when in the modeſteſt Fit they find it convenient to ſtick to Generals, and deal out Slander by Wholeſale, even then it is not without ſome Glance of particular Direction and Application, by which thoſe that hear them may be led into their Meaning and Purpoſes, and themſelves left at Liberty to diſown it, if repeated again to the Perſons concerned, and reſented by them. This Sort of Profanation there is ſcarce any kind of Thing or Place ſo ſacred as to have eſcaped; even the Pulpit itſelf has been proſtituted to theſe unhallowed Practices, and God's Houſe employed in the Service of the Devil. We have been told from the Place from whence we were wont to hear ſacred Truths, [b] *we muſt take Care at this Juncture whom we chuſe, and beware of a popiſhly affected Party; for ſuch a Party there is, who clogged the Proſecution of the late War, and hung upon the Wheels of the Government; who would tear from the King oppreſſed Patriots, and true and faithful Miniſters; and are now contending for Power, that they may, (as I believe) make a Preſent of us to a Foreign Tyranny.* Theſe and the like Words have been heard from the Pulpit a little before an Election, out of the Mouth of one who had no Foundation of Truth for it, or other Authority than a diſhoneſt Forwardneſs to gratify the Luſts, and to ſerve the Purpoſes of an obnoxious Patron. It were ſcarce worth the while to have taken Notice of this Practice in particular, were it not to prevent the ſpreading of ſo ſcandalous an Abuſe, and the Contagion of ſo foul an Example, and to warn People, that they may ſometimes be ſurpriz'd, unleſs they be very careful, from a Quarter whence they would leaſt of all ſuſpect it.

[b] Sermon preached at *Cambridge* before the laſt Election, *October* 1702.

It

It may be juſt Matter of Wonder, that Practices ſo deteſtable, and ſo notorious, ſhould yet meet with ſuch Succeſs, contrary to the true Intereſt and Meaning of the Generality of the People. But there were two Things which, beſides their Confidence and Lying, were their main Support; firſt, a furious pretended Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion in indefinite Terms; and next, a ſingular and meritorious Affection for the Government: By theſe they recommended themſelves to the People, the leſs diſcerning Part of whom took their Noiſe and Confidence for certain Demonſtrations of their Heartineſs and Integrity; but as they were indefinite in their Terms, ſo were they likewiſe in their Actions; for they took care only to ſhew that they were neither Papiſts, nor the true Church of *England* Men; whom, becauſe they found them the moſt underſtanding Part of the Nation, they repreſented as equally dangerous: For the reſt, they took care to avoid appearing particular to any one Sect, but in the whole, very well and kindly diſpoſed towards them all; and tho' the Principles of many of them were as oppoſite to each other as Fire and Water, yet they were equally welcome to them, and careſs'd by them at ſeveral Times, provided ſtill they would oppoſe the Church of *England* upon all Occaſions. All this while they went themſelves to Church, and were as godly conformable Men, as the beſt that came there. Their Exceptions to the Liturgy and Church Service were ſlight, juſt enough to confirm to their Party, they did not heartily like them, and yet to ſupport the Credit of their mercenary Inſtruments, the falſe Church-goers, that they were Lovers of the Church, tho' they were Men of Moderation. It had been much for the Reputation of their Moderation, if they had ſhewn themſelves as cool in the Purſuit of Riches, Power and Honours, as they have done in the Intereſts of the Church of *England*.

But as the Proteſtant Religion and Moderation, are Terms that have been made Uſe of to ſeduce Numbers of People, and ſhake their Reſolutions for, and Adherence to, the Church of *England*, it may be worth while to enquire, in a very few Words, what theſe Terms naturally import, and what has been the Abuſe of them.

The Word *Proteſtant* ſignifies no more than a Proteſter, and was firſt appropriated to Religion after the Defection of *Luther* from the See of *Rome*, when the Followers of him and other Reformers entered into a ſolemn Proteſtation againſt divers of the Errors and Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*. The Name then included no more than thoſe who had actually proteſted; but came in Time to be given indiſcriminately to all thoſe who embrac'd the Doctrines of the ſeveral Reformers in Oppoſition to the Church of *Rome*. But it has ſince been extended to all Sorts and Sects of Men that call themſelves Chriſtians, how oppoſite ſoever to one another in Doctrine, Diſcipline, and Worſhip, if they did not communicate with the Church of *Rome*.

The chief, and perhaps the only diſtinguiſhing Marks upon which they aſſume the Denomination of Proteſtants are, *Denying of Tranſubſtantiation, and rejecting the Supremacy of the Pope*. Theſe give us only a negative Idea of the Word *Proteſtant*; nor has it any poſitive one, but that the Perſons that

lay

lay Claim to this Name do proteſt againſt theſe two Things; ſo that the *Jews*, *Mahometans* and *Pagans*, Men of any or no Religion, have a Title to the Name in the full Extent of it, *Papiſts* alone excepted. For tho' the firſt Beginners of that Name were undoubtedly Chriſtians, yet the Name itſelf implies no Conſent to any one Fundamental of the Chriſtian Faith; and we have lived to ſee great Bodies of Men lay Claim to it, who would be hard put to it to prove their Title to Chriſtianity. It is, therefore, a dangerous, and may be a fatal Error, equally to recommend and encourage all thoſe that lay Claim to the Name, as if they were equally orthodox. The natural Conſequence of ſuch a Miſtake is the Propagation of Hereſies and Schiſm, which has too much diſturbed the Chriſtian Church, and ſometimes ſhaken and overturned the Civil Government of this Nation. It therefore highly behoves all thoſe who think themſelves at preſent upon a Chriſtian Bottom here, not to truſt the Power of Repreſentation to ſuch Perſons as are any Way to be ſuſpected of Diſaffection to our preſent Eſtabliſhment, whether in Church or State, as they will anſwer to their own Conſciences for any Misfortune that may befall either upon their contrary Conduct.

Moderation, which is the other Term, of which many People ſeem not to have a right Notion, deſerves likewiſe to be conſidered. The Word imports no more than not to be violent or unreaſonable in the Purſuit of any Thing whatſoever. As it is applied to Religion, it means only, that we ſhould have a Chriſtian Charity for our Brethren that diſſent from us, how much ſoever we think them miſtaken, and not to proſecute, with Rigour and Severities, ſimple Errors of Judgment, whatever is the natural Reſult of them, unleſs they tend to the Diſturbance of our Peace and Security. Force is an Argument that never alters Men's Opinions, whatever it may do by their outward Profeſſion; and thoſe that are proſelyted that Way through Fear, are made Hypocrites, not Converts: For this Reaſon it is, that Liberty in Point of Faith and Worſhip ought to be allowed; but they are miſtaken that think Moderation requires any more. True Chriſtian Zeal allows no more than Compaſſion for erroneous Conſciences, and Indulgence in Matters purely ſpiritual, ſuch as relate only to the Worſhip of God after their own Way. They that demand more, under Pretence of Moderation, are either ignorant of the Extent of the Word, or indifferent to the Profeſſion which they outwardly make; or, which is worſe, betray ſome evil Deſigns which they cover with that Pretence. For it is abſurd to pretend a true Love and Zeal for any Faith, Diſcipline, or Worſhip, while we knowingly labour to put thoſe into Power who wiſh the Deſtruction of them, or ſuch as particularly favour thoſe that do.

The Hiſtory of the laſt threeſcore Years here in *England* ſufficiently inform us how little we are to truſt to the Mercy of any of our Proteſtant Diſſenters, of whatſoever Denomination, whenever in Power; and how little Candour or Juſtice we are to expect, whenever they have but a Dawning of Hope to arrive at it. Thoſe therefore, who have any true Love or Value for their Church, or Civil Conſtitution, ought to be very cautious that they be not betrayed

betrayed, by a falſe Notion of Moderation, into ſuch a Neglect as may in Time prove fatal to both.

The Moderation which ſome Men have recommended, has heretofore, in plain *Engliſh*, been called *Trimming*, by which is meant, profeſſing for one Side, and acting for the other. This has been an Art in much Eſteem and Reputation of late Days, and has kindled ſuch Flames and Animoſities among us, as are not, without great Care, to be quietly extinguiſh'd; and therefore it is hoped the People will be ſo careful in all future Choices, to elect ſuch Perſons as lie under no Suſpicion, and will afford no Precedents, nor give any Authority to Miniſters that may hereafter come to the Helm, by their Example, to play us a double Game, or put us into ſuch a doubtful Condition as we have in former Times experienc'd.

By the Government they acted as they did by the Church, and while they bellow'd for the Government, laboured hard to overthrow our Conſtitution. In this Caſe alſo they kept themſelves to indefinite Terms; they were (as they ſaid) for the Government, and others, (if you will believe them) againſt it; yet they never thought fit to explain what they meant by the Government. The Government of *England* ſhould be in the King, (when we had one) Lords, and Commons, and is now, God be thank'd, in the Queen, Lords, and Commons; but this is not the Sort of Government which they meant; for by themſelves, or the Party they had eſpouſed, they had at ſeveral Times endeavoured to baffle, and render inſignificant every individual Branch of the Sovereignty of *England*: *Firſt*, the King was a Chip in Porridge, and Prerogative was a Trifle and a Piece of Uſurpation; next, the Houſe of Lords was a preſuming, arrogant, unneceſſary Body; and *laſtly*, the Houſe of Commons (their Idol, while ſome of them had the leading of it) was an unreaſonable, aſſuming, encroaching, tyrannical Aſſembly, that had no Senſe or Honour, and neither were, or ought to be entruſted with any Powers. It is eaſy to gueſs where theſe Men would have lodged the Government, when they could not be content with any one, or all the three Eſtates. Any one of them that would have acted by them, would have been accepted and recommended by them; and this was their Meaning, when they repreſented many of our beſt Patriots as diſaffected to the Government, by which, among themſelves, they meant no more, than no Friends to their Miniſtry; but as they had upon their own Score very little Credit with the People, they found it neceſſary to embark the King on the ſame Bottom with themſelves; and to perſuade him, and by him a great many People, that his and their Intereſt ſtood and fell with them, and both that the Nation was ruin'd whenever they were out of Credit and Employment.

It pleaſed Providence, however, to render them ſo ſecure of the Succeſs of their Projects, as to laviſh and inſult at ſuch a Rate, as to open the Mouths of many, who ſaw before how Things went, whatever the Hazard of it was to themſelves, and thereby to open the Eyes of many who had for ſome Time been lull'd into a falſe Security. They ſaw them reſolve the Government purely into themſelves and the King, and endeavour to baffle the

the Authority of the two other Eſtates: And they ſaw as plainly why they allow'd the King a Share; and that it was becauſe that under the Shelter of him they could act what exorbitant Irregularities they pleas'd, and come off with a Pretence of extraordinary Affection for the Government, and Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion; the firſt of which they knowingly labour'd to ſubvert, the latter thro' Indifference and Imprudence.

Their main Cunning was ſhewn in this, that keeping themſelves to their indefinite Terms of the Proteſtant Religion and the Government, they left every Man to underſtand them in his own Senſe, and conſequently to believe them of his Party: This, and the laviſhing of Money very freely, engag'd to them a numerous Party, who, in Oppoſition to the eſtabliſhed Church, being fond of their Patronage, and bold upon the Countenance and Favour of the Court, puſh'd hard for themſelves, in Oppoſition to the Intereſt of the Nation.

They that would know who theſe were, may enquire, who oppoſed the Triennial Bill; who promoted a ſtanding Army in the Time of Peace; who obſtructed the taking of the publick Accounts; who were againſt enquiring into the Miſapplication and Embezzlements of forfeited Eſtates and publick Money; who made and ſigned Treaties to the Diſhonour of *England*, and to the Injury of her Allies; who were the Abettors of the Affronts that were put upon the late Houſe of Commons, and the Injuries that were offered to the Rights of all the Commons of *England*; who they were that lately delivered up the Right of Impeachment, the great Bulwark of the common Liberties of *England*; who made great Eſtates for no Service to the Nation, out of ſmall Places; and who pretended a great Love to the Government, while they were deſtroying the ancient Government of *England*.

Let them conſider who did this, and what they got by it; how much they had to get, and did get, and how little they could loſe, or do loſe; how much they have pretended to, and how little they have done; and what Proofs they can make for themſelves, of what they value themſelves upon, if they would but ſpeak plainly and honeſtly; and let them demand what they pleaſe of the Nation, when theſe Proofs are made out; but till theſe Things are made appear, and they anſwer what is objected againſt them, it behoves them to be ſilent, or at leaſt very modeſt, leſt they imprudently pull upon themſelves thoſe particular Proofs, which, if they be wiſe, they would avoid.

And ſince the Queen has declared War againſt *France*, in Confidence of the hearty Aſſiſtance of thoſe very Men whom the late Miniſtry have ſo much miſrepreſented, and they have anſwered her with ſo much Alacrity, and with true Zeal manifeſted their hearty Affections to her, and the old *Engliſh* Conſtitution, 'tis to be hop'd, that no body can have the Impudence now to attempt to diſturb the good Underſtanding between her and her People, or offer at thoſe Miſrepreſentations which have been heretofore ſo much in Practice.

A LIST *of divers worthy good* Patriots, *who were ſlander'd laſt Year in a ſcandalous Paper, call'd the* BLACK LIST.

Of whom the Reader is deſired to take this Notice,

THAT they are moſt of them Gentlemen of the beſt Account for Eſtates, Quality, and Principles, among the Commons of the whole Nation.

That they are true Sons of the Church of *England*, as by Law Eſtabliſhed.

That they have been ſtrenuous Aſſerters of the Liberties and Rights of the People.

That they were Promoters of the Triennial Bill, a great Security againſt the Corruption of Parliaments.

That they promoted to their utmoſt, a juſt Account to the Nation of the great Charges they have of late Years been at.

That they were for the enquiring into the Miſ-application and Embezzlement of forfeited Eſtates, and publick Money.

That they were for calling to Account the Authors of Treaties, to the Diſhonour of *England*, and its *Allies*.

That they were the Aſſerters of the Honour and Rights of the Houſe of Commons, and of all the Commons of *England*, in Oppoſition to the inſolent Affronts and Injuries that were lately offer'd to both.

That they were the Perſons, who, by their Courage and Prudence, preſerv'd us from the Danger of a Standing Army in Time of Peace.

That they were the Men who gave up thoſe grievous Privileges which gave them Means of Exemption from paying their juſt Debts.

That they were the Perſons who voted Supplies to the *Dutch*, above a Year before they were oblig'd to it by the Articles ſtipulated between *England* and the *States*.

That they were the Perſons who promoted the Act of Limitation for the Security of a Proteſtant Succeſſion, and of our Church and Civil Conſtitution.

That they defended the Right of the Commons of *England* in the Point of Impeachments.

That they have provided for the Deficiences of the publick Funds, and the Payment of the publick Debts, and the Preſervation of Parliamentary Credit.

That they have ſhew'd an extraordinary and ſingular Zeal and Affection for her Majeſty's Perſon, Intereſt, and Government.

All which, (it is hop'd) are Recommendations to their Countrymen, whenever they ſhall have Occaſion for their further Service.

The

The LIST.

BERKS.

William Jennings,
Thomas Renda,
Simon Harcourt.

BUCKS.

William Lord *Cheyney,*
James Herbert,
Sir *Samuel Gerrard,*
John Backwell,
Sir *James Etheridge.*

CAMBRIDGE.

Anthony Hammond.

CHESHIRE.

Peter Shakerly.

CORNWALL.

Henry Lord *Hide,*
John Hoblyn,
Charles Godolphin,
Sydney Godolphin,
Alexander Pendarves,
Henry Mannaton,
John Mounſtevens,
Francis Scobell,
Francis Godolphin,
Sir *Henry Seymour,*
John Tregagle,
John Granville,
William Beaw,
Sir *Richard Vivian,*
Francis Stratford,
John Prideaux,
Sir *Joſeph Tredenham,*
John Tredenham.

CUMBERLAND.

William Seymour,
George Fletcher.

DEVON.

William Courtenay,
Samuel Roll,
Sir *Edward Seymour,*
Sir *Bartho. Shower,* Defunct.
Francis Gwin,
Thomos Coulſon,
Charles Trelawny,
Henry Trelawny,
Thomas Northmore,
Nicholas Hooper,
Frederick Hern,
Nathaniel Hern.

DORSET.

Thomas Freke, Defunct.
Thomas Strangways,
Nathaniel Napier,
Henry Thinn,
Charles Churchil,
Michael Harvey,
Edward Nicholas,
Thomas Chaſin,
Richard Fownes.

DURHAM.

William Lambton,
Thomas Conyers.

ESSEX.

Sir *Charles Barrington,*
Sir *Thomas Cooke,*
William Fytch,
Sir *Thomas Davall.*

GLOUCESTER.

John How,
James Thyn,
Charles Cox.

HEREFORD.
Thomas Foley,
James Bridges,
Edward Harley.

HERTFORD.
Ralph Freeman,
Thomas Halſey,
———*Gape,*
Charles Cæſar,
———*Gulſton.*

KENT.
Henry Lee,
Thomas Bliſs,
———*Mitchel.*

LANCASHIRE.
Richard Bold,
Robert Heyſham,
Thomas Leigh,
Thomas Brotherton,
William Clayton.

LEICESTER.
John Verney,
John Wilkins.

LINCOLN.
Sir *John Bolles,*
Edmund Boulter,
Thomas Vyner,
William Cecill,
Charles Bertie.

MIDDLESEX.
Hugh Smithſon,
Warwick Lake,
Sir *John Fleet,*
Thomas Croſs.

NORFOLK.
Sir *Jacob Aſtley,*
Robert Davy,
Thomas Blofield,
Edmund Soam.

NORTHAMPTON.
Sir *Juſtin Iſham,*
Gilbert Dolben,
Thomas Ekins, Defunct.

NOTTINGHAM.
Robert Sacheverell,
Sir *Willoughby Hickman,*
John Reyner.

OXON.
Sir *Robert Jenkinſon,*
Sir *Edward Norreys,*
Heneage Finch,
William Bromely,
James Bertie,
Charles North,
Thomas Rowney,
Francis Norreys.

RUTLAND.
Sir *Thomas Mackworth,*
Richard Halford.

SALOP.
Sir *Edward Acton,*
Sir *Thomas Powys.*

SOMERSET.
Henry Portman,
Sir *Francis Warr,*
James Anderton.

SOUTHAMPTON.
Thomas Jervoiſe,
Roger Mompeſſon,
Anthony Sturt,
William Ettrick.

STAFFORD.
Thomas Foley,

Sir

Sir *John Levenſon Gower*,
Sir *Henry Gough*.

SUFFOLK.

Sir *Samuel Bernardiſton*,
Earl of *Dyſert*,
Sir *Charles Duncomb*,
Sir *Charles Blois*,
Sir *Edmund Turner*,
Sir *Edmund Bacon*,
Henry Johnſon,
Sir *John Cordell*,
Sir *Robert Davers*.

SURRY.

John Weſton,
Sir *John Parſons*,
Sir *Theo. Oglethorp*, Defunct.

SUSSEX.

John Miller,
William Elſon,
Henry Cowper,
——— *Goring*,
John Conyers,
——— *Seymour*,
Matthew Prior.

WARWICK.

Sir *John Mordant*.
Sir *Chriſtopher Hales*,
Francis Greville,
Sir *Thomas Wagſtaff*.

WESTMORELAND.

Henry Graham,
Sir *Chriſtopher Muſgrave*.

WILTS.

Sir *George Hungerford*,
Thomas Phipps,
Sir *James How*,
Robert Bertie,
Sir *Francis Child*,
Francis Merryweather,
John Lord *Mordant*,
Charles Davenant,
Henry St. John, Jun.
Henry Pinnel,
John Jefferys.

WORCESTER.

Sir *John Packington*,
Samuel Swift,
Philip Foley,
Saloway Winnington.

YORKSHIRE.

Sir *Robert Beding field*,
Anthony Duncomb,
Sir *Godfrey Copley*,
Sir *John Bland*.

WALES.

Thomas Harley,
Sir *Humphry Mackworth*,
Sir *Jefferey Jefferys*,
Robert Harley.

A LIST of two hundred and twenty-three honeſt Gentlemen, who ſignaliz'd themſelves in the Defence of the Rights of the Commons of *England* in the Point of *Impeachments*.

BERKS.

Sir *John Stonehouſe*, Bar.
Anthony Blagrave, Eſq;
William Jennings, Eſq;
Thomas Renda, Eſq;
Simon Harcourt, Eſq;

BUCKS.

BUCKS.

The Hon. *James Herbert*, Eſq;
The Rt. Hon. *Will.* Lord *Cheyney*, Viſcount *Newhaven*,
John Drake, Eſq;
Sir *James Etherege*, Knt.

CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

Sir *John Cotton*, Bar.

CHESHIRE.

Peter Shakerly, Eſq;

CORNWALL.

The Hon. *John Granvile*, Eſq;
James Buller, Eſq;
Rt. Hon. *Henry Lord Hyde*,
William Cary, Eſq;
William Bridges, Eſq;
Thomas Dodſon, Eſq;
Sir *John Moleſworth*, Bar.
John Hoblyn, Eſq;
Thomas Carew, Eſq;
Francis Scobell, Eſq;
The Hon. *Francis Godolphin*, Eſq;
Sir *Henry Seymour*, Bar.
Sir *Richard Vivian*,
Samuel Trefuſis, Eſq;
Alexander Pendarves, Eſq;
John Manley, Eſq;
John Williams, Eſq;
John Hickes, Eſq;
Henry Flemming, Eſq;
William Courtenay, Eſq;
William Pole, Eſq;
John Spark, Eſq;
Sir *Joſeph Tredenham*, Knt.
John Tredenham, Eſq;
Robert Rolle, Eſq;
Benjamin Buller, Eſq;
George Courtenay, Eſq;

CUMBERLAND.

William Seymour, Eſq;

DERBYSHIRE.

Thomas Coke, Eſq;
John Curzon, Eſq;
John Harpur, Eſq;

DEVONSHIRE.

Sir *John Pole*, Bar.
William Courtenay, Eſq;
The Hon. Sir *Ed. Seymour*, Bar.
John Snell, Eſq;
Sir *Chriſtopher Muſgrave*, Bar.
Thomas Coulſon, Eſq;
The Hon. *Cha. Trelawny*, Eſq;
William Harris, Eſq;
Thomas Northmore, Eſq;
Nicholas Hooper, Serj. at Law.
Arthur Champneys, Eſq;
Richard Hele, Eſq;
Sir *William Drake*, Knt. and Bar.
Sir *Thomas Leare*, Bar.
William Stawel, Eſq;
Nathaniel Herne, Eſq;
Fred. Herne, Eſq;

DORSETSHIRE.

Thomas Strangeways, Eſq;
Nathaniel Napier, Eſq;
The Hon. *Cha. Churchil*, Eſq;
George Saintloe, Eſq;
Sir *Chriſtopher Wren*, Knt.
Edward Nicholas, Eſq;
George Pit, Eſq;
John Bankes, Eſq;

DURHAM.

William Lambton, Eſq;
Sir *Henry Bellaſyſe*, Knt.

ESSEX.

Sir *Charles Barrington*, Bar.
Sir *Thomas Cook*, Knt.
William Fytch, Eſq;
John Commyns, Eſq;
Dennis Lyddell, Eſq;
Sir *Thomas Davall*, Knt.

GLOU-

GLOUCESTERSHIRE.
William Maſter, Eſq;
Charles Cox, Eſq;

HEREFORDSHIRE.
Sir *John Williams*, Knt.
Henry Gorges, Eſq;
Thomas Foley, Eſq;
Hon. *James Bridges*, Eſq;
Edward Harley, Eſq;
Robert Price, Eſq;
John Birch, Eſq;

HERTFORDSHIRE.
Thomas Halſey, Eſq;
Ralph Freeman, Jun. Eſq;
George Churchill, Eſq;
John Gape, Eſq;
Charles Ceſar, Eſq;
Richard Goulſton, Eſq;

HUNTINGDONSHIRE.
John Proby, Eſq;
Hon. *Charles Boyle*, Eſq;

KENT.
Sir *Thomas Hales*, Bar.
Henry Lee, Eſq;
Francis Barrel, Eſq;
Thomas Bliſs, Eſq;
Thomas King, Eſq;

LANCASHIRE.
Richard Bold, Eſq;
Robert Heyſham, Merchant,
Thomas Legh, of *Lyme*, Eſq;
Thomas Legh, of *Ridge*, Eſq;
William Clayton, Eſq;
Thomas Johnſon, Eſq;

LEICESTERSHIRE.
James Winſtanley, Eſq;

LINCOLNSHIRE.
Hon. *Charles Dymock*, Eſq;
Sir *John Thorold*, Bar.
Sir *John Bolles*, Bar.
Arthur Moore, Eſq;
Hon. *William Cecil*, Eſq;
Hon. *Charles Bertie*, Eſq;

MIDDLESEX.
Warwick Lake, Eſq;

NORFOLK.
Robert Davy, Eſq;
John Nicolſon, Eſq;
Sir *Thomas Hanmer*, Bar.

NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.
Sir *Juſtinian Iſham*, Bar.
Thomas Cartwright, Eſq;
Gilbert Dolben,
Thomas Ekins, Eſq; Defunct.

NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.
Robert Sacheverel, Eſq;

OXON.
Sir *Robert Jenkinſon*, Bar.
Sir *Edward Norreys*, Knt.
Hon. *Heneage Finch*, Eſq;
William Bromley, Eſq;
Thomas Rowney, Eſq;
Francis Norreys, Eſq;
Hon. *James Bertie*, Eſq;
Hon. *Charles North*, Eſq;

RUTLANDSHIRE.
Sir *Thomas Mackworth*, Bar.
Richard Halford, Eſq;

SALOP.
Robert Lloyd, Eſq;
Richard Mitton, Eſq;
Sir *Edward Acton*, Bar.
Sir *Thomas Powys*, Knt.
Francis Herbert, Eſq;
Henry Bret, Eſq;

SOMER-

SOMERSETSHIRE.
Sir *Philip Sydenham*, Bar.
Nathaniel Palmer, Eſq;
Alexander Popham, Eſq;
William Coward, Serj. at Law.
Henry Portman Eſq;
Sir *Francis Warr*, Bar.
Sir *Thomas Wroth*, Bar.
Alexander Lutterel, Eſq;
Sir *Jacob Banks*, Knt.
James Anderton, Eſq;
John Hunt, Eſq;

SOUTHAMPTON.
Frederick Tilney, Eſq;
Anthony Burnaby, Eſq;
Thomas Hopſon, Eſq;
William Ettrick, Eſq;
Francis Gwyn, Eſq;
Sir *George Rook*, Knt.

STAFFORDSHIRE.
Edward Bagot, Eſq;
Richard Dyot, Eſq;
Thomas Foley, Eſq;
Sir *John Leveſon Gower*, Bar.
Rowland Cotton, Eſq;
Hon. *Henry Thynne*, Eſq;

SUFFOLK.
Rt. Hon. *Lyonel*, Earl of *Dyſert*,
Sir *Samuel Bernardiſton*, Bar.
Sir *Charles Blois*, Bar.
Robert Kemp, Eſq;
Sir *Edmund Bacon*, Bar.
Sir *Edward Turner*, Knt.
Sir *Henry Johnſon*, Knt.
William Johnſon, Eſq;

SURRY.
Morgan Randyl, Eſq;
George Woodroffe, Eſq;
George Vernon, Eſq;

SUSSEX.
John Miller, Eſq;
William Elſon, Eſq;
John Lewknor, Eſq;
Charles Sergiſon, Eſq;
Sir *Robert Fagg*, Bar.
John Conyers, Eſq;

WARWICKSHIRE.
Sir *John Mordaunt*, Bar.
Sir *Charles Shuckburgh*, Bar.
Sir *Chriſt. Hales*, Bar.
Hon. *Francis Grevile*, Eſq;

WESTMORELAND.
Henry Grahame, Eſq;
Gervaſe Pierpoint, Eſq;

WILTS.
Charles Fox, Eſq;
Joen Gauntlet, Eſq;
George Morley, Eſq;
Reynolds Calthorp, Eſq;
Hon. *Henry Bertie*, Eſq;
Hon. *Robert Bertie*, Eſq;
Sir *Francis Child*, Knt.
Rt. Hon. Sir *Charles Hedges*, Knt.
Edward Pauncefort, Eſq;
Henry St. John, Eſq;
John Jefferies, Eſq;

WORCESTERSHIRE.
Sir *John Packington*, Bar.
Samuel Swift, Eſq;
Edward Foley, Eſq;
Hugh Parker, Eſq;
Salway Winnington, Eſq;

YORKSHIRE.
Robert Byerly, Eſq;
Anthony Duncomb, Eſq;
Sir *Bryan Stapylton*, Eſq;
Sir *Godfrey Capley*, Bar.
Cyril Arthington, Eſq;

Sir

Sir *Michael Wharton*, Knt.
Sir *John Bland*, Bar.

CINQUE PORTS.

John Brewer, Eſq;
Edward Goulſon, Eſq;
John Hays, Eſq;

WALES.

Rt. Hon. *Richard*, L. Viſc. *Bulkeley*.
Robert Bulkeley, Eſq;
Sir *Jeffery Jefferies*, Knt.
Lewis Pryſe, Eſq;
Henry Lloyd, Eſq;
Hon. *Thomas Bulkeley*, Eſq;
Sir *John Wynne*, Knt. and Bar.
Sir *Richard Middleton*, Bar.
Edward Brereton, Eſq;
Sir *Roger Moyſton*, Bar.
Sir *John Conway*, Bar.
Thomas Manſell, of *Margam*, Eſq;
Thomas Manſel, of *Britton-Ferry*, Eſq;
Edward Vaughan, Eſq;
John Vaughan, Eſq;
Thomas Harley, Eſq;
The Honourable *Robert Harley*, Eſq; Speaker.

Divers other worthy Members concurring with theſe, had been comprehended in this LIST, had not their neceſſary Affairs detained them from being preſent at the Occaſion of it.

The Presbyterians Plea: Setting forth their great Services done to the Church of England, *and good Correſpondence between them, from the Reign of King* Charles I. *to the preſent Time. Humbly addreſs'd to the Right Honourable the P——s of* England, *with their dutiful Acknowledgments for their late Goodneſs towards them, in rejecting the Bill againſt* Occaſional Conformity. 1705.

My L——s,

THE late extraordinary Marks of your Piety and Goodneſs towards us, with the Concurrence of the L——s S——l in rejecting the Bill of the Houſe of Commons for *Preventing Occaſional Conformity*, have put us upon theſe two main Conſiderations: *Firſt*, Whether your L——ps flung out that Bill upon the Chriſtian Principles of true Piety and Juſtice, with regard to the Purity of the Doctrine we profeſs, as being ſound Members of the true Catholick and Apoſtolick Church? Or, *Secondly*, Whether it was the Effect of ſome temporal and worldly Conſideration, in order to ſerve a Turn in this preſent Juncture, and to make uſe of us at this Time, with Intentions

to animadvert more ſeverely upon us hereafter, when our Aſſiſtance may be thought leſs neceſſary, and the Succeſs of this chargeable War ſhall ſo far anſwer your Hopes and Deſires, that you ſhall think yourſelves under a ſettled and permanent Security, not to be dangerouſly interrupted, either at Home, or from Abroad?

My L——s, we have thought ourſelves under ſome Obligation to make ſome Enquiry into theſe two Points impartially, that we might take the more ſteady Reſolutions of paying our juſt Acknowledgments (in ſome Meaſure) proportionable to the Benefit received, even with a due Regard to your L——s good Intentions.

In order to ſatisfy ourſelves concerning the firſt Point we have taken into our Conſideration (as being neareſt at Hand) with how much Zeal the Bill againſt *Occaſional Conformity* was promoted in the laſt Seſſions, and how narrowly it then eſcaped being paſſed into an Act; we conſider'd that the H—— of C—— being the great Repreſentatives of the Nation, it ſeemed to be the univerſal Deſire of the People that the Bill ſhould paſs; it came up to your L——ps Houſe with a kind of *Judente Populo*, and the Queen herſelf, being not only profeſſedly of the Church of *England*, as by Law eſtabliſhed, and had given repeated Aſſurances of ſupporting that Church by all reaſonable Methods that could be propoſed, but ſhe ſeemed very deſirous and ſolicitous that the former Bill (at leaſt) ſhould have paſſed; yet notwithſtanding all this (and more that might be ſaid) they both miſcarried in your Houſe. It is certain, that your L——ps Goodneſs, in Concurrence with the Divine Providence, warded this dangerous Blow from us. But, My L——s, we muſt acknowledge ourſelves ſtruck with a kind of Admiration, when we conſider'd how great a Majority of the L——s S——l joined with your good L——ps in our Preſervation.

It is true, we ever looked upon your L——ps and valued you as Perſons indued with all the Qualifications becoming your great Characters. We know you to be eminently *pious*, *juſt*, and *honourable*; and in ſhort, moſt worthy of the Honours you poſſeſs, and the high Places you fill: But give me leave to ſay, that *Learning*, eſpecially in eccleſiaſtical and ſpiritual Matters, ſeems to be more particularly the Partage of the L——s the B——ps: They are the Perſons appointed (as they ſay) by Divine Inſtitution, to be our Spiritual Guides, they are our Spiritual Governors, they have their Cities and their ſtrong Holds, they are fortify'd with ſtrong Bulwarks and Ramparts, well garniſh'd with Store of Eccleſiaſtical *Canons*, heavy charged with Eccleſiaſtical *Cenſures*, and *Penal Laws*; they have their inferior Officers, their Deans and Chapters, and many others too well known among us; they had long kept up their darling *perſecuting Power*, and all theſe furniſhed, and preſerved to them by Law.

Now, my L——s, it ſeems wonderful in our Eyes, how it ſhould come to paſs, that theſe very Lords, the Biſhops, ſhould voluntarily, and againſt the Senſe of the whole Nation, diſmantle their own Garriſons, throw down their own Bulwarks, and permit us, who had been looked upon as their

Enemies,

Enemies, and had been the chief Objects of their perſecuting Power, to enter in among them (not to ſay upon them) by the ſame Breach which they themſelves had made. This Amuſement of ours was raiſed by ſo much the more, by how much they ſeemed to have acted contrary to the univerſal Senſe and Practice of all Mankind; no Rule or Principle has been adher'd to with leſs Exception to it, than that of being *true to our own Intereſt*, whether in ſingle Perſons, or Societies, in Spiritual, or in Civil Affairs; and yet, my L——s, (if we may believe their own Friends) *after fourſcore Millions given to preſerve their Church, and one of the beſt Bills brought in to defend it*, that this Bill ſhould be thrown out by the B——ps themſelves, who were looked upon as its great Conſervators, ſeems (as we ſaid) to contradict the moſt natural, and, by Conſequence, the moſt unqueſtionable Principle of Mankind.

For our own Parts, we ſhall make no Difficulty to aſſure your L——ps that we have been, and are, and ſhall be eternally *true to our own Intereſt*; and tho' we have ſometimes remonſtrated againſt Acts of *Conformity* and *Uniformity* in other Caſes, yet no Society of Men are more *uniform* in maintaining this Principle than ourſelves, whether we regard our temporal or our ſpiritual Concerns. What Interpretation then ſhall we make of ſo unprecedented, and unaccountable an Action? We have thought ſometimes (upon this Occaſion) that thoſe great, pious, and learned Men, the L——s S——l, might be touched with a true Senſe of our Merits, as well as of the Purity of our Doctrine, who are now admitted into their Communion: And indeed, my L—— s, (ſpeaking without Vanity) we may preſume to ſay, that we are not altogether undeſerving this Mark of Juſtice and Gratitude, which we hope your L———ps had in your Thoughts, when you twice caſt out the Bill of Occaſional Conformity.

Give us Leave therefore to remind your L——ps of ſome few remarkable Inſtances wherein we have been highly *ſerviceable* to the Church of *England*; we ſhall not go beyond the Memories of ſome now living, nor the Knowledge of any that has been never ſo little acquainted with our modern Hiſtories: We ſhall therefore date our Services from the Beginning to the End of the Reign of King *Charles* the Firſt.

It is well known, how that unfortunate Prince (being much influenced, as 'twas thought, by the Queen and the Prieſts which ſhe had about her) became univerſally obnoxious to his People, upon the Pretence of his being (at leaſt) *popiſhly affected*. The often ſuſpending the penal Laws in Favour of Prieſts Convict, and other Favours ſhewn to Papiſts, encreaſed the Peoples Fears and Jealouſies, together with their Animoſities, till at laſt he was look'd upon to be a very *Papiſt* himſelf, and moſt of the L——ds S——l *popiſhly affected:* We beſeech your L——ps to recollect with yourſelves, *who or what Party* it was, that delivered your Church and the People from that moſt imminent Danger of (the worſt of all Evils) Popery. Who they were that ventur'd their Lives and Fortunes, and the Loſs of their deareſt Blood, for your Security; and (in a Word,

when all other Means ſeemed either impracticable, or unſatisfactory) who they were that brought that unhappy Prince to the Scaffold, rather than ſuffer Popery to over-run the Proteſtant Church of *England?* We could remind the L——s the B——s alſo, of ſome of their own Predeceſſors who came much to the ſame End, upon the ſame Account; and leſt there ſhould remain any Relicks of Popery among them, to the Diſturbance or Danger of the Church of *England*, who were they, my L——s, that turned their whole Order and Ordination out of Houſe and Home (as we ſay) for the Preſervation of the whole Body, which had not yet been tainted with that dangerous Infection of Popery.

We beſeech your L——ps to remember alſo, whether during the Government of the Protector, Popery was not perſecuted with more Violence than ever, and whether the Church of *England*, or the People, had any Manner of Apprehenſion of Popery during his whole Adminiſtration.

We acknowledge, my L——s, that we have ſince been much cenſured by ſome among ourſelves, for being in thoſe Days over officious in the Purſuit of your Security, and that Things were carried on with too much Violence, even to the laſt Extremity; it is true, theſe hard Cenſures grated a little upon us, eſpecially from People who had reaped the Benefit of our Miſcarriages. But, my L—— s, to make ſome Atonement for what might have been done before amiſs, pleaſe to conſider again, who it was that reſtored and ſettled his Son, King *Charles* II. upon the Throne! We muſt ever own, that (howſoever he treated his old Friends) he was ever grateful to us; we were put into Places of Truſt, Honour, and Profit; and during our Adminiſtration of Affairs, we were ſo ſolicitous for the Eſtabliſhment and Glory of the Church of *England*, that we permitted the good B——ps to be recalled and ſeated in their Places, and their Lands (which had been alineated, and bought by ſome of our own Party for valuable Conſiderations, tho' we were but in a Manner their Truſtees) to be reſtored *gratis* to them.

Theſe, my L——s, were our juſt and generous Proceedings in Relation to the Church of *England*, till at laſt, that very Church (forgetting the Obligation ſhe had to us) their L——ps got ſo much Credit with that King, (which they uſed to our Deſtruction) that his Majeſty turned us all out of his Favour and Employments, ſet the Church of *England* Party over our Heads, and at laſt (taking the Advantage by *Quo Warranto*'s and Forfeiture of Charters) he had made ſuch large Steps towards the new modelling the Government, that our Deſtruction ſeemed almoſt inevitable, when it pleaſed God to take him into another World. This, my L——s, is Matter of Fact, and truly known to you all.

Upon the Death of King *Charles* II. his only Brother, the Duke of *York*, known by many, and believed by all, to be a zealous Papiſt, yet, by the general Conſent of the Church of *England*, as well as of ourſelves, he was admitted, proclaimed, and crowned King of *England*, and anointed by the Hand of his Grace the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* himſelf; all Things went proſperouſly with that Prince for the firſt Year of his Reign; your L——ps and the

the Parliament ſtuck cloſe to him; but his Majeſty, having duly and well conſidered our former Behaviour and Deſerts, and being of a Principle averſe to Perſecution for Conſcience Sake, in Matters purely ſpiritual, (which he had learnt from our Saviour himſelf and his Apoſtles) he demanded of his Parliament, (after a Manner a little more peremptory than uſual) that the Penal Laws might be taken off, that Liberty of Conſcience might be granted in a parliamentary Way; and in order to facilitate this, his Majeſty thought fit to put out his Royal Declaration in Favour of Liberty of Conſcience, enjoining the Biſhops to read, or cauſe it to be read, in their ſeveral Dioceſſes all over the Kingdom, that his People might know (as it were from his own Mouth) the Truth and Sincerity of his pious Intentions.

Your L——s remember very well, that the Biſhops generally refuſed to read, or cauſe his Majeſty's Declaration to be read, which was a Kind of *ſpiritual R——lion*; and that the Biſhops incurred a *Premunire* for their Diſobedience to their ſupreme *Ordinary*, and in a moſt particular Manner, *Head* of their Church, over all Things, and in all Caſes, and over all Perſons, Eccleſiaſtical as well as Temporal. Their L——ps could not, or ought not to be ignorant, that all Sovereign Powers have an undoubted Right and Authority within their own Dominions, to *command* or *reſtrain* whatſoever is not poſitively forbidden or commanded by the expreſs Law of God. They might have conſulted the learned *Grotius*, a Proteſtant, upon this Point, in his Treatiſe, *De Imperio ſummarum Poteſtatum cirta Sacra*, where he declares poſitively for what has been already ſaid, and gives many Examples, both of *Pagan* as well as *Chriſtian* Emperors, who have, by their own Authority, and *de Jure*, commanded or forbidden Things in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, which were not contrary to the expreſs Law of God; and this had been frequently done, as a Right inherent in the Pagan Emperors, even among their Chriſtian Subjects; ſo that their L——ps would have ſtood Self-condemned before all the World, if they had not found out (by their quick and exquiſite Senſe in ſuch Caſes) that this Declaration ſmelled rank of *Popery*.

Now it was, that the ſuper-imminent Danger of *Popery* began to touch their L——ps; *Popery* was in our Councils, *Popery* was in our Houſes, *Popery* was a-top of our Houſes, and a profeſſed *Papiſt* at the Head over all. Several of the Biſhops were ſummoned before the King and Council, and admoniſhed of the *Premunire* they had incurred. They adhered to their Diſobedience; upon which they were informed, that they muſt give in *Bail*, or at leaſt paſs their Words, that they would ſubmit to a Trial at Common Law, at the *King's-Bench Bar*. They refuſed; upon which they were told, that by the Courſe of Law they would be committed to Priſon, and earneſtly deſired not to bring Things to Extremity; this is what they would be at, and accordingly ſome of them were ſent to the *Tower*.

We all know, my L——s, how heinouſly this was taken, as the Effect of *Popery*, and its Deſign to deſtroy the Church of *England*; the whole Body, generally ſpeaking, reſented this Act to the laſt Degree, and look'd upon it as an open Invaſion upon their Church. The B——ps themſelves managed

the

the Order for their Impriſonment with all the aggravating Circumſtances imaginable, the better to raiſe the Indignation of the People againſt Popery and a Popiſh King. They turned off their Servants, ſold their Goods, took their laſt Farewell of their Friends, and made their laſt Wills and Teſtaments, as if they had gone directly to Martyrdom, in Defence of their Church, againſt the viſible and violent Invaſion of *Popery* upon the Nation.

Your L———ps muſt need know how active we were, (contrary to our own Intereſt, and the Gratitude we owed the King, who then, and afterwards, ſuffered for our Sakes) your L———ps, I ſay, muſt needs know how we cryed up the Zeal of the Biſhop's for the Support of the Proteſtant Religion, how we clamoured againſt the Violence done to their ſacred Order by a Popiſh King, and his Popiſh Council; how we animated our own Party, and encouraged yours, and at length, when their L———ps were brought to their Trials at the *King's-Bench Bar*, let it never be forgotten how our Party filled the *Palace-Yard*, and *Weſtminſter-Hall* itſelf, how we made a Lane for the towering Biſhops to come, as it were in Triumph, to their Trials, and how we ourſelves, who had never as yet bowed the Knee to *Baal*, yet nevertheleſs, upon this Occaſion, we fell all down upon our Stumps, and received the Bleſſing which their good L———ps generouſly gave us, when upon another Occaſion we ſhould as ſoon have received *holy Water* from the Hand of an *Idolatrous Papiſt*; ſo we ſtuck at nothing to ſecure the Church of *England* from this preſſing Danger of Popery.

Soon after this, when their L———ps were at Liberty, and had gained this Point, but ſtill wonderfully apprehenſive of *Popery*, one of them, together with ſome of the L——s T———al, invited the P—— of *O*—— into *England*, to be their *Saviour* and *Protector* againſt *Popery*. This appears by his Highneſs's Declaration, which could not contain any Untruth. All this while we concurred with their L———ps, we never abandoned them, and were ourſelves a Kind of a Guard to defend their *ſacred* Perſons, until at length (to paſs by many material Circumſtances) his Highneſs landed, the King retired, was made a Priſoner, and at laſt made his Eſcape into *France*.

Now it was that ſeveral of the Nobility and Clergy aſſembled at *Guildhall*, in the City of *London*, where *our Party* was moſt prevalent, and there ſolemnly invited the P—— of *O*——— to Town, in order to take the Protection of the Church and State upon himſelf. So zealous were their L———ps to prevent the great Danger of *Popery*, and to eſtabliſh their own Security by our Aſſiſtance, that they did not ſo much as reflect that they invited a Prince to *protect* their Church, who was a reputed *E*——*y* to it, and a natural born *Dutchman*, and a S———t (tho' a P——ce) to a Commonw—th (always our moſt powerful R—al, and oftentimes our declared E——y) to defend our Liberties and Properties, and to advance the Honour, Wealth, Trade and Proſperity of a Nation which they always h——d.

We deſire your L———ps to conſider after what Manner we gave you this our conſiderable and ſeaſonable Aſſiſtance, not as heretofore, by running into open Rebellion for your Sakes, we had been ſufficiently ſnubbed for that by yourſelves;

yourſelves; but, my L——s, we only aſſiſted you with our *Councils* and *Countenance*, we made you the immediate Inſtruments of your own Preſervation, and reſigned entirely up to you the Honour, as well as the Advantage, of ſo glorious an Action. I hope, my L——s, it will not be denyed that this was a high Piece of Generoſity, and well becoming the beſt of your Friends; and that you will not reproach us henceforward ſo grievouſly as you formerly have done, with the odious Crimes of *Sedition*, *Rebellion*, or *fighting againſt*, or *depoſing* our lawful Kings, if we believe them guilty of *Male Adminiſtration*, and eſpecially if we will think our Religion is in Danger.

We remember indeed, and were not a little ſurprized, to find ſome among yourſelves declaring, and publiſhing, that you had given the moſt fatal Blow to your Church, that ever had fallen upon it ſince the Reformation, and your Eſtabliſhment; (ſome have made much the ſame Reflections upon your late juſt Proceedings, in rejecting the Bill of occaſional Conformity; but let that paſs for the preſent) and that this was done by your backſliding and relinquiſhing your moſt glorious and diſtinguiſhing Principle of Loyalty, and indiſpenſable Adherence to the next Heir in the right Line, whether Proteſtant or Papiſt, Jew or Pagan; you had declared that the Government of ſuch a King was *de Jure Divino* ſupported by the Laws of God and Man; that his Perſon and Character, or Office, were not to be ſeparated; that neither of them was to be violated, nor Violence committed againſt them, upon any Pretence or Cauſe whatſoever; you had confirmed this by publick Acts in the Caſe of King *Charles* I. upon the Reſtoration of his Son, and in Purſuance of this infallible and ſound Doctrine, your Pulpits, almoſt all over the Nation, beat up the Doctrines of Paſſive Obedience and Non-Reſiſtance; the Preſſes of *London* were almoſt totally employed upon the ſame Subject; your *Thebæan Legion* was ſet up, as a Light upon a Mountain, to guide and direct us in the true Way of Loyalty, they were well nigh ador'd as Martyrs and Confeſſors, in that they made no Reſiſtance, tho' they had it in their Power, when themſelves and their Religion alſo were both unjuſtly perſecuted by Heathen Emperors; yet, my L——s, it muſt be confeſt, that immediately upon the Revolution, your Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience was turned into ridicule, your *Thebæan Legion* was kicked down Hill with Indignation and Contempt, and themſelves look'd upon as Sots and Fools for not reſiſting the Violence of their lawful Emperors.

My L——s, we ſhould not have touch'd upon this Sort, if we had not ſome Reaſon to believe that (by a kind of *Inuendo*) theſe Reflections are like to fall upon us, and our Party, as if we had given our Aſſiſtance and Countenance with no better Intent, than to make yourſelves the Inſtruments of your own Deſtruction, and to bring ſo great a Scandal upon that very Church which we had ſo often endeavoured to preſerve; and in ſhort (to uſe a courſe Expreſſion, but common Cant) that in Effect we had bubbled your good L———p's. God knows our Hearts, how any ſuch Deſign was remote from our good Intentions.

But, my L——s, to clear this Point, and free ourſelves from ſuch an odious Aſperſion, we could bring many parallel Caſes and Examples, which would

would more than abſolve us; but we ſhall fix upon one, becauſe it is an adjudging Caſe. The Monkey, my L——s, took by Force the Cat's Claw to pull a Cheſnut out of the Fire, which, when done, was of no Benefit to Grimalkin, or the Puſs; the Cat brings her Action againſt the Monkey. The Queſtion was, whether the Action was well laid? And it was judged by the whole Body of the Law for the Plaintiff; and that the Action was well laid, inaſmuch as the Monkey entred *vi & armis* upon the Body of the Cat, by which ſhe was mutilated in her Members, without any Proſpect of Advantage; but, my L——s, it was alſo then and there declared for Law, that if the Monkey by Perſuaſions, or any good Reaſons, or Counſels, had prevailed upon the Cat voluntarily to have done the ſame Act, in order to oblige the Monkey, the Action had not been well laid; and notwithſtanding any Miſchief ſuffered by the Plaintiff, the Defendant had been acquitted, and the Cat muſt have paid Coſts and Charges; we ſhall only mention one Caſe more, and the rather, becauſe it was ſolemnly debated by the Doctors of both Faculties, I mean of the Canon and Civil Law. It was the Caſe of poor *Ophelia*. The Queſtion was, ſhe being found dead in a River, whether ſhe was *felo de ſe*, and by Conſequence ought to have a Chriſtian Burial; but the Caſe being, we ſuppoſe, as well known to your L————ps as to ourſelves, we ſhall trouble you no farther with it.

Thus, my L——s, you ſee that we ſtand fully acquitted in the Judgment of the Law from that foul Aſperſion, at leaſt as far as parallel Caſes can clear us.

And now, my L——s, give us leave to proceed to the glorious Reign of that invincible Monarch and Hero, K—— *W*——, in which we ſhall give two ſuch notable Inſtances of our Zeal and earneſt Endeavours to preſerve the Church of *England* from Popery, that the moſt malicious Tongues muſt withdraw themſelves into their foul Mouths, except to publiſh our eternal Glory, and ſincere Affections to your Church, eſtabliſhed by Law.

Soon after our great K—— *W*—— was crowned, his firſt publick Action, in relation to Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, was to eſtabliſh our Brethren, the Kirk in *Scotland*, which now became the Church of *Scotland* eſtabliſhed by Law, (a ſure Mark that it is the true Church) as yours had been before of *England*. After this (well knowing our great Merits, both as to our Loyalty and the true Principles of our Religion) his late Majeſty, K—— *W*——, made it his Buſineſs to introduce us into his Court, into his Councils, and into his Parliament, till in a ſhort Time we filled Court, Council, and Parliament.

About that Time it was, that the late K—— *James*, not believing that he was legally abdicated, but had ſtill a Right to recover his three Kingdoms, he made a Deſcent into *Ireland*, which he left much as he had done *England*. *Scotland* was ſoon up in Arms, and his Party began to look dangerous; the dreadful Deſign of *La Hogue* came violently upon us. All which put the C—— of *E*—— into ſo great an Affright for fear of Popery, and

an

an injured King entering upon us, that in order to ſecure themſelves againſt ſo near and viſible a Danger, they once more made their Application to us, now in great Eſteem and Power. We received them, my L——s, with a tender and brotherly Affection, and being informed by themſelves what was to be done for their Service, they all agreed, that nothing could prove more effectual for their Security, than to get an Act paſſed to exclude the ſaid King *James*, and all his Popiſh Succeſſors, and to ſettle the Crown upon the next Proteſtant Heir by Name, that the Danger of Popery might be removed quite out of their Sight. My L——s, we did not ſo much as boggle at it, but obtained an Act of Settlement *verbatim*, according to their Deſires, and they now enjoy the Bleſſing of it.

The next great Inſtance of our Security for your Preſervation (which indeed may be called the Crown of all the reſt, being accompanied with extraordinary Circumſtances) happened to fall out ſoon after the Death of the late King *J*———*s*; your L———ps knew very well (and the Nation was highly ſenſible of the Affront) how the *French* King, almoſt as ſoon as King *J*——*s* expired, took upon him, very arrogantly, to declare that young Gentleman King of *E*——*d*, whom he had acknowledged to have been the true P. of *W*——*s* during his Father's Life; and by Conſequence the rightful H—— and K—— after his Deceaſe. This, my L——s, gave occaſion to ſo many Addreſſes, and, in ſhort, brought in a great Meaſure this juſt War upon us, to revenge the Affront done to the whole Nation, and particularly to his late Majeſty King *W*———.

This Accident, my L——s, alarmed the Church of *England* to the laſt Degree; for when they had conſidered that the *F*——*h* M——h was very powerful, and had now drawn the Succeſſion of that vaſt Monarchy of *Spain* into the Houſe of *Bourbon*, in the Perſon of his Grandſon the Duke of *Anjou*, and that moſt probably they would both unite, to the Support of a Prince whom they had both owned and declared, and had actually made their Compliments accordingly; then it was, my L——s, that your Church was under no leſs Apprehenſions of the Return of Popery, both as to the Nearneſs of the Approach, as its terrible Effects, than the dreadful pretended *Iriſh* Maſſacre, about the Time of the Revolution.

Well, My L—s, What did the Church of *England* do in this Extremity? Why truly ſhe did as ſhe oftentimes had done before; ſhe made her Applications to us, her ſteady Friends, and in few Words ſhe let us know, that nothing now could ſecure her, or at leaſt prevent her Fears, but an Act of *Abjuration*; that is to ſay, that we ſhould paſs an Act to *renounce* and *abjure* the pretended *Prince of Wales* by Name, that God himſelf might now be brought in as a *Witneſs*, as well as a *Judge*, of our juſt Endeavours to preſerve the true Catholick and Apoſtolick Church of *England* from the Invaſion of Superſtition and Idolatry. We muſt confeſs, my L—s, that this was a *great Trial*, and our Stomachs began a little to *grumble* upon the Point, for hitherto we had had little to do with *G— Al——y*: But however, that nothing might be wanting on our Parts to oblige you, and aſſiſt you in your greateſt

Diſtreſs, a Bill was brought in according to your Deſires, and it paſt both Houſes with as much Expedition as moſt had ever paſt before. But it ſo happened, that our invincible M———h lay at that very Inſtant upon his Death-bed, and could not poſſibly come to your Houſe to give the Royal Aſſent. Your L—ps ſeem'd then to be in a very deplorable and deſperate Condition, not knowing, or rather much fearing what might happen in the next S——on, upon the irreparable Loſs of our Protector and Saviour.

Now, my L—s, who was it but *ourſelves* that relieved *you* in this your laſt Extremity? It was *we ourſelves* that prevailed with the expiring M———h, who (according to the Judgments of his Phyſicians) had ſcarce Time to look after his own e—nal S——tion, yet nevertheleſs we obtained of him, for your Sakes, to grant a Commiſſion, and appoint Delegates to paſs that very Bill into an Act, which accordingly was done; ſoon after which, that great M———h gave up the Ghoſt.

We ſhould now finiſh, with his never too much lamented Death, this long Account, which, with Modeſty and Truth, we have laid before your L——ps, of thoſe ſignal Actions committed by us in Favour of the Church of *England*, and which we hope we may well call meritorious; but we beg your L———ps Patience for one Moment longer, that we may mind you of a very friendly and endearing Office which we performed from Time to Time, during the whole Reign of K—— *W*———, in which we ſcarce miſs'd any Opportunity of ſerving you.

We found, my L——s, that the many Occaſions which you had to conſult with us, and aſk our Aſſiſtance, began to be not only troubleſome to you, but alſo ſuſpected, and ſome of your weaker Brethren began to be jealous, and not a little ſc———zed at the intimate Correſpondence which they perceived had been carried on between you and us; to prevent therefore all Manner of Difficulties and Reproach which might have fallen upon you, and yet put ourſelves in a better Poſture to ſerve you, it is evident, my L——s, that out of pure Friendſhip to you, we promoted from Time to Time, during the whole Reign of K—— *W*———, the moſt addicted and devoted to our Intereſt and Religion, to all Places and Employments, both in Church and State, even from the higheſt to the loweſt Degree, as far as it was in his M———y's Power to prefer them; and all this we did to the very Intent and Purpoſe, that they being intimately near and dear unto your L———ps in all Places, they might, as it were, by certain Pipes and Channels, convey your L———ps Commands to us, as the great Receptacles of Favour and Power, and after ſuch a Manner, that few did, or could take Notice, much leſs Offence, at the ſtrict Correſpondence between us.

This, my L——s, is a high Strain of Courteſy and Goodneſs, which can hardly be paralleled; and we appeal to your L———ps, whether, upon her Majeſty's Acceſſion to the Throne, you did not obſerve Men of our Principles very numerous in your Houſe, as well as in many other great Employments, generally throughout the whole Kingdom.

We

We need not mind your L———ps after what Manner we have acted ſince her preſent M——y's happy Ac——on to the Th——ne, her own great Goodneſs towards us is a ſufficient Evidence of the good Opinion ſhe is pleaſed to conceive of us, and our ſincere Affection towards the Church of *England*. We might offer many Inſtances to prove this Truth; but, my L——s, let this laſt Mark of our Integrity, and ſpecial Care for the Preſervation of the Church of *England*, be *Inſtar Omnium*. Your L———ps are very ſenſible of the great Diviſions and Schiſm in the Church of *England*, and their Animoſities are grown to that Heighth, that they are in a fair Way to endanger the whole. Now, my L——s, what can be the Reaſon of our great Diligence and Practiſes, (for which ſome of us may be called to Account) but to procure a Majority of worthy Members to ſerve in this next Parliament, except it be to ſtrike in, and join with that ſound Part of the Church of *England*, according to her preſent Eſtabliſhment, in Oppoſition to your high Fliers, your Non-Jurors, Jacobites and Papiſts? This is ſo evident, that we think it needs no Proof.

We ſhall not queſtion your Opinions concerning the Purity of our Doctrine, ſince you have ſolemnly admitted us, or at leaſt qualified us to enjoy any Manner of Employments whatſoever, among you; we ſhall therefore end our Enquiry into the firſt Conſideration, which might ſerve alſo as a ſufficient Anſwer to the ſecond; yet, my L——s, we muſt once more crave Leave to ſpeak one Word or two as to that Point, and we have done.

The Queſtion is, *Whether your L——ps flung out the aforeſaid Bills upon any worldly or temporal Deſign, in order to ſerve a preſent Turn*, &c. My L——s, we think ourſelves obliged to purge you from any ſuch mean Thoughts, either of yourſelves or us. It is not that we make any great Doubt, whether your L———ps, for the publick Good, might not think fit to caſt ſome fine ſpecious *Lures* before us, in Hopes to bring us down, and then take us upon your Fiſt, and hood-wink us at Pleaſure; but, my L——s, we have not accuſtomed ourſelves to ſtoop to any imaginary Prey inſtead of the real one. Your L——ps know very well, or at leaſt we have given you ſufficient Reaſon to be perſuaded, that we are ever true to our own Intereſt, and, of all other Societies, the leaſt capable of being made a Property, or (in the vulgar Cant) to be made Bubbles to any one. From whence it muſt follow, in order to juſtify the Sincerity of your L———ps Proceedings, that if we had thought it our Intereſt to ſupport the *p——t* G——ment in this preſent Juncture of Affairs, it is certain, my L——s, that if you had paſſed a hundred Bills againſt us, we ſhould have ſtood by and ſupported the Government, from the immutable Reaſon of believing it our Intereſt ſo to do. On the other Side, if your L——ps had paſſed as many more Bills in our Favour, yet, if we ſhould think it our Intereſt to decline our Aſſiſtance at any Time, we ſhould no more bite at your Annuities, though you had enlarged them from three Lives to three hundred Lives, than we ſhould voluntarily daſh upon a Rock, or run our Veſſel upon a Quickſand, in Hopes to have ſaved a poor miſerable Life; and all this, my L——s, from

the moſt ſacred, the moſt inviolable, and eternal Principle of being *true to our own Intereſt.*

But give us Leave alſo to tell your L———ps, that we are not altogether of ſo mercenary a Spirit, as to mind only our worldly Intereſt. No, no, my L——s, we have a more excellent and ſublime Mark that we aim at, we have a more glorious Race to run, and a Prize ſet before us infinitely more precious to obtain; to which our worldly Concerns are chiefly ſubſervient, and in the Purſuit whereof we never have, nor never (by God's Grace) ſhall faint or be diſcouraged. To be plain with you, my L——s, the great End we aim at is, the *E———ment* of our Apoſtolick Church in the Purity of the Doctrine which it profeſſes; not after a precarious Manner, ever wanting to be bolſtered up with Diſpenſations, Tolerations, and Bills of Occaſional Conformity; but, my L——s, we hope to ſee it Triumphant, as it has been long Military, in this World, and all Glorious in the World to come.

Be not alarmed, my L——s, at this our frank Declaration, which you have ſufficient Reaſon to believe is ſincere. Nor need your L———ps be under any Apprehenſion or Conſternation at the Steps we have made, and ever ſhall be making, towards the attaining this ineſtimable Treaſure; the Glory of God, and our own Conſciences, oblige us be indefatigable in the Purſuit; for, my Lords, you may depend upon us, that we will ſhew the ſame Favour and brotherly Charity towards the Church of *England*, as ſhe has ever ſhewn to us; we will mete to you in the ſame Meaſure that you have meted unto us. Enlarge your Steps then towards us, as we have done towards you; let Peace and Righteouſneſs kiſs each other in this our Age; all Things ſeem depoſed to ſuch a bleſſed Union, we are already in your Boſoms, and you are obliged to nurſe us in it; you cannot ſhake us out. Be not guilty of a dangerous *Opinitretè* and impotent Obſtinacy; we have *fought a good Fight*, and your L———ps have made a great and long Defence; hitherto you have well deſerved the Title of Courageous; but, my L——s, to ſuffer yourſelves to be taken by Storm, when you may have honourable Capitulation, is quite contrary to the Law of Arms, and you will be look'd upon as criminal Inſtruments of your own Misfortunes, rather then gallant Defenders of a Poſt which you came into by a Kind of In——on, and which you cannot much longer f——ly m——tain. As to any R——tion in Prejudice of the *Act of S——t——ent*, believe us, we fear it as little as yourſelves.

Thus, my L——s, we have ended our Enquiry into the two aforeſaid main Conſiderations, and upon the whole Matter, we have given the Cauſe entirely for yourſelves; that is to ſay, that your rejecting theſe Bills of *Oc——nal Co——ty* was not the Effect of an effeminate Compaſſion, not any little worldly Reſpect to ſerve a Turn, but that it proceeded from your Gratitude, Piety, and Juſtice towards God, and towards Man. Do not imagine, my L——s, we think ourſelves diſpenſed with from the Obligation of paying you our profound Acknowledgments. No, my L——s, they are by ſo much the more inhanced, as you have fixed whatſoever Favour you intended

intended us, to the Pillar of Juſtice, which being eternal, we return your L———ps proportionably, our everlaſting Thanks. We humbly beg Leave, in a more particular Manner, to ſalute the Right R——d and the R——d the L——s S———al, who gave their Votes for paſſing the fore-mentioned B——s, in the Words of St. *John* the Evangeliſt, dictated by the Holy Spirit to the Church of *Epheſus*, *Rev.* ii. 5. *Remember from whence thou art fallen, and repent, and do the firſt Works, or elſe I will come unto thee quickly, and will remove thy Candleſtick out of its Place, except thou repent.*

The Maſſacre of Glenco; *being a true Narrative of the barbarous Murder of the* Glenco-*Men, in the* Highlands *of* Scotland, *by Way of military Execution, on the* 13*th of* February, 1692. *Containing the Commiſſion under the Great Seal of* Scotland, *for making an Enquiry into that horrid Murder: The Proceedings of the Parliament of* Scotland *upon it: The Report of the Commiſſioners upon the Enquiry, laid before the King and Parliament. And the Addreſs of the Parliament to King* WILLIAM, *for Juſtice upon the Murderers: Faithfully extracted from the Records of Parliament, and publiſhed for undeceiving thoſe who have been impoſed upon by falſe* Accounts. 1703.

SIR,

IN Anſwer to yours of the firſt of October, *I herewith ſend you, from the Records of our Parliament, a true and authentick Account of the Maſſacre of* Glenco, *as you righteouſly call it. I wiſh this Matter could have been forgotten to Eternity; but ſince you ſay it is altogether needful for the Vindication of the Juſtice of our Country, againſt many falſe, ſlanderous Accounts that are daily given of that Buſineſs in* England, *I am willing you print what I now ſend you; and that you may be furniſhed to anſwer all Objections againſt the Truth of this* Narrative, *you may inform any* Engliſhman *of Quality, that is willing to be ſatisfied in the Matter, that the Report of the Commiſſion, the Addreſs of our Parliament, herewith ſent you, and the Duplicates of the Lord* Stair's *Letters, are, or were at leaſt, in the* Scots *Secretary's Office at* London; *or, if they ſhould happen to be withdrawn from thence, they may inform themſelves fully*

fully in the Truth of this from Mr. Johnſton, *who was at that Time Secretary of State for* Scotland, *and had particular Directions from the late Queen* Mary *to puſh on this Enquiry, and ſearch into the Bottom of that horrid Murder; for her Majeſty was grieved at the Heart, that the Reputation of the King her Husband ſhould have ſuffer'd ſo much by that Affair. I would not, however, that Mr.* Johnſton *ſhould know any thing of your Deſign to publiſh this; for tho' you know as well as I, that his Diligence to ſerve and obey the Queen in this Matter, was always judged here to be one of the chief Cauſes of our Nation's loſing that able and honeſt Miniſter; yet he is ſo nice in Point of Honour, that he chuſed rather to be unjuſt to himſelf, and to lie under Imputations, than to give any Part of thoſe Papers to be publiſhed, tho' frequently urged to it; becauſe he ſaid it would be undecent in him, that had once been his Majeſty's Secretary, to do any ſuch Thing; therefore, tho' you are carefully to conceal this Matter from him till it be publiſhed, yet as ſoon as it is, I muſt pray you, if you think it proper, to go and tell him that I beg his Pardon for making this Appeal to him without his Leave: And tho' I may ſuffer in his good Opinion by what I have done, yet, if this Publication may any ways oblige him to do himſelf, his late Maſter, and his Country further Juſtice, by telling what he knows more of the Matter, I ſhall be the eaſier under his Diſpleaſure. I had almoſt forgot to notice, that the Duke of* Athol, *the Lord Chancellor, and Marquis of* Annandale, *all now at* London, *were Members of the Commiſſion, who made the incloſed Report; and however ſcrupulous they may have been in Point of Honour, to communicate any Papers relating to this Matter, they cannot in Honour but own, that this Hiſtory is authentick, if any of the* Engliſh *Nobility think fit to enquire at them about it; but you muſt be careful to let none of them know any thing of your Deſign to publiſh it, or which Way you have this Information; tho', if they ſhould come to know it, I chuſe rather to incur their Diſpleaſure, by appealing to them, than to omit any thing that lies in my Power, to vindicate the Honour and Juſtice of our Country.*

Edinburgh,
Nov. 1, 1703.

Commiſſion for the Trial of the Slaughter committed at Glenco, *upon the 13th Day of* February, 1692.

GUlielmus Dei Gr. Mag. Brit. *&c.* Omnibus probis hominibus, ad quos præſentes Literæ noſtræ pervenerint, ſalutem. Quandoquidem nos conſiderantes, quod etiamſi nos, Anno Dom. 1693, per expreſſam Inſtructionem, poteſtatem conceſſimus, demortuo Gulielmo Duci de Hamilton, aliiſque, pro examinando & inquirendo de cæde quorundam Cognominis de Macdonald aliorumque de Glenco, An. Dom. 1692, & de modo & de methodo Commiſſionis ejuſdem. Nihilominus Inquiſitio quæ tunc facta erat in proſecutione dictæ Inſtructionis defectiva erat, noſque etiam perpendentes, quod

quod Methodus Maxime efficax pro plena Informatione accipienda de veris Circumſtantiis Rei antedictæ, erit Commiſſio in hunc effectum, cumque Nobis abunde ſatisfactum ſit de facultatibus & aptitudine perſonarum Infra nominatarum in fines ſupra expreſſos: Sciatis igitur nos Nominaſſe & Conſtituiſſe tenoreque preſentium nominare & conſtituere fideliſſimos & dilectiſſimos Noſtros Conſanguineos & Conſiliarios, Joannem Marchionem de Tweddale ſupremum noſtrum Cancellarium, & Guliel. Comit. d'Anandale & fideles & dilectos Noſtros Conſiliarios Joannem Dominum Murray, Dom. Jacobum Stuart, Advocatum Noſtrum, Adamum Cockburn de Ormiſton noſtrum Juſtitiarium Clericum, Magiſtrum Archib. Hope de Rankeiller, & Dom. Guliel. Hamilton de Whitelaw Senatores Noſtri Collegii Juſtitiæ, Dom. Jacob. Ogilvy Sollicitatorem Noſtrum & Adamum Drummond de Meggins (quorum quinque Numerus erit legitimus ac cum poteſtate iis Clericum ſuum eligendi) Commiſſionarios Noſtros pro capienda precognitione & Inquiſitionem faciendo de Cæde prædicta, per quos & quomodo, & per quam Coloratam Authoritatem Commiſſa erat, atque in ordine ad detectionem ejuſdem cum poteſtate dictis Commiſſionariis, requirendi omnia Warranta ſeu directiones quæ eatenus conceſſa fuere, atque etiam examinandi omnes perſonas, quæ in re antedicta Negotium habuere atque etiam Teſtes prout Neceſſarium invenietur, ſive per eorum Juramenta, ſive Declarationes, & tunc poſtea dicti Commiſſionarii Nobis tranſmittent Verum ſtatum rei antedictæ una cum Probationibus & Teſtimoniis coram ipſis adducendis, uti poſt debitam & plenam Informationem, neceſſarias Directiones, eatenus Concedamus prout Nobis Congruum videbitur. In cujus Rei Teſtimonium, preſentibus, Magnum Sigillum Noſtrum appendi Mandavimus apud Aulam Noſtram de Kenſington, Vigeſimo Nono die Menſis Aprilis, Anno Domino Mileſimo Sexcenteſimo Nonageſimo quinto, Annoque Regni Noſtri Septimo.

Per Signaturam Manu. *S. D. N.* Regis Supraſcriptam.

Written to the Great Seal and Reg. May 20, 1695.

DON. RANNALD, *Deputy.*

Sealed at Edinburgh, *May* 20, 1695.

JO. DICKSONE.

In *Engliſh* thus:

WILLIAM, *by the Grace of God, King of* Great Britain, *&c. To all good Men to whom theſe Preſents ſhall come, greeting. Whereas We have taken into Conſideration, that tho' in the Year of our Lord* 1693, *We gave Power, by expreſs Inſtructions, to* William *Duke of* Hamilton *deceaſed, and others, to examine and enquire into the Slaughter of certain People of the Name*

of

of Macdonald *and others in* Glenco, *in the Year* 1692, *and into the Way and Manner how the ſame was committed; yet, nevertheleſs, the Enquiry then made, purſuant to the ſaid Inſtructions, was defective; and conſidering likewiſe, that the moſt effectual Method for receiving full Information of the true Circumſtances of the Matter aforeſaid, muſt be by a Commiſſion to that Effect; and being very well ſatisfied of the Abilities and Fitneſs of the Perſons under-nam'd, for the Ends above expreſs'd, know ye, therefore, that We have nam'd and conſtituted, and by the Tenor of theſe Preſents do name and conſtitute, Our right truſty and well-beloved Couſin and Councellor,* John *Marquis of* Tweddale, *Our High Chancellor, and* William *Earl of* Anandale, *and Our truſty and beloved Councellors* John *Lord* Murray, *Sir* James Stuart, *Our Advocate,* Adam Cockburn *of* Ormiſton, *Our Juſtice Clerk, Mr.* Archibald Hope *of* Rankeiller, *and Sir* William Hamilton *of* Whitelaw, *Senators of our College of Juſtice, Sir* James Ogilvy *Our Solicitor, and* Adam Drummond *of* Meggins *(of whom five ſhall be a* Quorum, *and granting them Power to chuſe their own Clerk) Our Commiſſioners, to take Precognition and make Enquiry into the Slaughter aforeſaid, by whom, and how, and by what Colour of Authority, the ſame was committed: And in order to the Diſcovery of the ſame, We give Power to the ſaid Commiſſioners to ſend for all Warrants and Directions, granted for that End; and likewiſe to examine all Perſons, that had any Hand in the Buſineſs aforeſaid, and likewiſe to examine Witneſſes as ſhall be found neceſſary, either upon Oath or Declaration; and afterwards the ſame Commiſſioners ſhall tranſmit to Us the true State of the Matter aforeſaid, together with the Proofs and Evidence that ſhall be brought before them; that, after due and full Information, We may give ſuch Declarations thereupon, as to Us ſhall ſeem meet and neceſſary. In Teſtimony whereof, We have commanded Our Great Seal to be appended to theſe Preſents.*

Given at Our Court of *Kenſington*, the 29th Day of *April*, 1695, and of Our Reign the Seventh.

Superſcrib'd by the Signature of the Hand-writing of our moſt ſerene Lord the KING.

Written to the Great Seal, and regiſtered the 20th Day of May, 1695.

DON. RANNALD, *Deputy.*

Sealed at Edinburgh, May 20. 1695.

JO. DICKSONE.

Upon the 23d of *May*, 1695, this Commiſſion was read in Parliament, and the Houſe voted, *nemine contradicente*, That his Majeſty's High Commiſſioner tranſmit the humble Thanks of the Parliament to his Majeſty, for ordering

ordering an Enquiry into that Matter, whereby the Honour and Juſtice of the Nation might be vindicated.

It being urged that the Commiſſion ſhould proceed with Diligence, as being a national Concern, and that the Diſcovery be made known to the Houſe before its Adjournment. His Grace aſſur'd them, that he doubted not of his Majeſty's giving Satisfaction to his Parliament in that Point, and that before they parted.

The Commiſſioners proceeded according to Order, and made the following Report:

Report of the Commiſſion given by his Majeſty, for enquiring into the Slaughter of the Men of GLENCO, *ſubſcribed at* Halyrud-Houſe, *the 20th Day of* June, 1693.

JOHN, Marquis of *Tweddale*, Lord High Chancellor of *Scotland*; *William* Earl of *Anandale*; *John* Lord *Murray*; Sir *James Stuart*, his Majeſty's Advocate; *Adam Cockburn*, of *Ormiſtoun*, Lord Juſtice Clerk; Sir *Archibald Hope*, of *Rankeiller*, and Sir *William Hamilton*, of *Whitelaw*, two of the Senators of the College of Juſtice; Sir *James Ogilvy*, his Majeſty's Solicitor, and *Adam Drummond*, of *Meggins*, Commiſſioners appointed by his Majeſty, by his Commiſſion under the Great Seal of the Date the 29th of *April* laſt, to make Enquiry, and to take Trial and Precognition about the Slaughter of ſeveral Perſons of the Sirname of *Mackdonald*, and others, in *Glenco*, in the Year 1692, by whom, and in what Manner, and by what pretended Authority, the ſame was committed, with Power to call for all Warrants and Directions given in that Matter; as alſo to examine all Perſons who had a Hand therein, with what Witneſſes they ſhould find neceſſary either upon Oath or Declaration, and to report to his Majeſty the true State of the Matter; with the Evidence and Teſtimonies to be adduced before them, as the ſaid Commiſſion more amply bears. Having met and qualified themſelves by taking the Oath of Allegiance and Aſſurance, conform to the Act of Parliament, with the Oath *de Fideli*, as in ſuch Caſes, did, according to the Power given to them, chuſe Mr. *Alexander Munro*, of *Beircroft*, to be their Clerk; and he having alſo qualified himſelf as above, they proceeded into the ſaid Enquiry, to call for all Warrants and Directions, with all ſuch Perſons, as Witneſſes, that might give Light in the ſaid Matter; and having conſidered the foreſaid Warrants and Directions produced before them, and taken the Oaths and Depoſitions of the Witneſſes under-named, they, with all Submiſſion, lay the Report of the whole Diſcovery made by them before his Majeſty, in the Order following: And, *firſt*, of ſome Things that preceded the ſaid Slaughter. *Secondly*, Of the Matter of Fact, with the Proofs and Evidence taken, when, and in what Manner, the ſame was committed. *Thirdly*, Of the Warrants and Directions that either really were, or were pretended for

the committing it. And, *laſtly*, the Commiſſioners humble Opinion of the true State and Account of that whole Buſineſs.

The Things to be remarked preceding the ſaid Slaughter were, That its certain the Lairds of *Glenco* and *Auchintriaten*, and their Followers, were in the Inſurrection and Rebellion made by ſome of the Highland Clans, under the Command firſt of the Viſcount of *Dundee*, and then of Major General *Buchan*, in the Years 1689 and 1690. This is acknowledged by all. But when the Earl of *Braidalbin* called the Heads of the Clans, and met with them in *Auchallader*, in *July* 1691, in order to a Ceſſation, the deceas'd *Alexander Macdonald*, of *Glenco*, was there with *Glengary*, Sir *John Maclene*, and others, and agreed to the Ceſſation, as it is alſo acknowledged: But the deceaſed *Glenco*'s two Sons, who were at that Time with their Father in the Town of *Auchallader*, depone that they heard that the Earl of *Braidalbin* did, at that Time, quarrel with the deceaſed *Glenco*, about ſome Cows that the Earl alledged were ſtolen from his Men by *Glenco*'s Men; and that tho' they were not preſent to hear the Words, yet their Father told them of the Challenge; and the two Sons, with *Ronald Macdonald*, Indweller in *Glenco*, and *Ronald Macdonald*, in *Innerriggin*, in *Glenco*, do all depone, That they heard the deceaſed *Glenco* ſay, that the Earl of *Braidalbin*, at the Meeting of *Auchallader*, threaten'd to do him a Miſchief, and he feared a Miſchief from no Man ſo much as from the Earl of *Braidalbin*, as their Depoſitions at the Letter A, in the Margin, bears. And *Alexander Macdonald*, ſecond Son to the deceaſed *Glenco*, doth farther depone, That he hath often heard from his Father and others, that there had been in former Times Blood betwixt *Braidalbin*'s Family and their Clan, as his Depoſition at the ſame Mark bears. And here the Commiſſioners cannot but take Notice of what hath occurr'd to them in two Letters from Secretary *Stair*, to Lieutenant-Colonel *Hamilton*, one of the firſt, and another of the third of *December*, 1691, wherein he expreſſes his Reſentment from the marring of the Bargain that ſhould have been betwixt the Earl of *Braidalbin* and the Highlanders, to a very great Height; charging ſome for their Deſpite againſt him, as if it had been the only Hinderance of that Settlement: Whence he goes on in his, of the third of *December*, to ſay, That ſince the Government cannot oblige them, it is obliged to ruin ſome of them to weaken and frighten the reſt, and that the *Macdonalds* will fall in this Net. And, in effect, ſeems even from that Time, which was almoſt a Month before the expiring of the King's Indemnity, to project with Lieutenant-Colonel *Hamilton*, that ſome of them ſhould be rooted out and deſtroy'd. His Majeſty's Proclamation of Indemnity was publiſhed in *Auguſt*, 1691, offering a free Indemnity and Pardon to all the Highlanders who had been in Arms, upon their coming in and taking the Oath of Allegiance betwixt then and the firſt of *January* thereafter: And in Compliance with the Proclamation, the deceaſed *Glenco* goes about the End of *December*, 1691, to Colonel *Hill*, Governor of *Fort William*, at *Inverlochie*, and deſired the Colonel to miniſter to him the Oath of Allegiance, that he might have the King's Indemnity: But Colonel *Hill*, in his Depoſition, marked with the Letter B, doth farther depone,

depone, That he haſtened him away all he could, and gave him a Letter to *Ardkinlas* to receive him as a loſt Sheep; and the Colonel produces *Ardkinlas*'s Anſwer to that Letter, dated the ninth of *January*, 1691, bearing, that he had endeavoured to receive the great loſt Sheep *Glenco*; and that *Glenco* had undertaken to bring in all his Friends and Followers, as the Privy-Council ſhould order; and *Ardkinlas* farther writes, that he was ſending to *Edinburgh*, that *Glenco*, tho' he had miſtaken in coming to Colonel *Hill*, to take the Oath of Allegiance, might yet be welcome, and that thereafter the Colonel ſhould take Care that *Glenco*'s Friends and Followers may not ſuffer, till the King and Councils Pleaſure be known, as the ſaid Letter, marked on the Back with the Letter B, bears; and *Glenco*'s two Sons, above-named, do depone in the ſame Manner, That their Father went about the End of *December* to Colonel *Hill*, to take the Oath of Allegiance; but finding his Miſtake, and getting the Colonel's Letter to *Ardkinlas*, he haſted to *Inverary* as ſoon as he could, for the bad Way and Weather; and did not ſo much as go to his own Houſe, in his Way to *Inverary*, tho' he paſt within Half a Mile of it, as both their Depoſitions at the Letter B bears: And *John Mackdonald*, the eldeſt Son, depones farther, at the ſame Mark, That his Father was taken in his Way, by Captain *Drummond*, at *Barkaldin*, and detained twenty-four Hours.

Sir *Colin Campbel*, of *Ardkinlas*, Sheriff-Depute of *Argyle*, depones, That the deceaſed *Glenco* came to *Inverary* about the Beginning of *January*, 1692, with a Letter from Colonel *Hill* to the Effect above-mentioned; and was three Days there before *Ardkinlas* could get thither, becauſe of bad Weather; and that *Glenco* ſaid to him, That he had not come ſooner, becauſe he was hinder'd by the Storm; and *Ardkinlas* farther depones, That when he declin'd to give the Oath of Allegiance to *Glenco*, becauſe the laſt of *December*, the Time appointed for the taking of it, was paſt, *Glenco* begg'd with Tears that he might be admitted to take it, and promiſed to bring in all his People within a ſhort Time to do the like; and if any of them refuſed, they ſhould be impriſoned or ſent to *Flanders*: Upon which *Ardkinlas* ſays, He did adminiſter to him the Oath of Allegiance upon the ſixth of *January*, 1692, and ſent a Certificate thereof to *Edinburgh*, with Colonel *Hill*'s Letter to *Colin Campbel*, Sheriff Clerk of *Argyle*, who was then at *Edinburgh*; and further wrote to the ſaid *Colin*, that he ſhould write back to him, whether *Glenco*'s taking of the Oath was allow'd by the Council or not, as *Ardkinlas*'s Depoſition at the Letter B teſtifies; and the ſaid *Colin*, Sheriff Clerk, depones, That the foreſaid Letters, and the Certificate relating to *Glenco*, with ſome other Certificates relating to ſome other Perſons, all upon one Paper, were ſent in to him to *Edinburgh* by *Ardkinlas*; which Paper being produced upon Oath by Sir *Gilbert Elliot*, Clerk of the Secret Council, but rolled and ſcor'd, as to *Glenco*'s Part, and his taking the Oath of Allegiance, yet the Commiſſioners found that it was not ſo delete or daſhed, but that it may be read that *Glenco* did take the Oath of Allegiance at *Inverary* the ſixth Day of *January*, 1692; and the ſaid *Colin Campbel*

depones, That it came to his Hand fairly written, and not daſh'd, and that with this Certificate he had the ſaid Letter from *Ardkinlas* (with Colonel *Hill*'s above mentioned Letter to *Ardkinlas* incloſed) bearing how earneſt *Glenco* was to take the Oath of Allegiance; and that he had taken it upon the ſixth of *January*, but that *Ardkinlas* was doubtful if that the Council would receive it, and the Sheriff Clerk did produce before the Commiſſioners the foreſaid Letter by Colonel *Hill* to *Ardkinlas*, dated at *Fort William* the 31ſt Day of *December*, 1691, and bearing that *Glenco* had been with him, but ſlipped ſome Days out of Ignorance, yet that it was good to bring in a loſt Sheep at any Time, and would be an Advantage to render the King's Government eaſy; and with the ſaid Sheriff Clerk, the Lord *Aberuchil*, Mr. *John Campbel*, Writer to the Signet, and Sir *Gilbert Elliot*, Clerk to the Council, do all declare that *Glenco*'s taking the Oath of Allegiance, with *Ardkinlas*'s foreſaid Certificate, as to his Part of it, did come to *Edinburgh*, and was ſeen by them fairly written, and not ſcor'd or daſhed; but that Sir *Gilbert*, and the other Clerk of the Council, refuſed to take it in, becauſe done after the Day appointed by the Proclamation. Whereupon the ſaid *Colin Campbel*, and Mr. *John Campbel*, went, as they depone, to the Lord *Aberuchil*, then a Privy-Councellor, and deſired him to take the Advice of Privy-Councellors about it; and accordingly they affirm, that *Aberuchil* ſaid he had ſpoke to ſeveral Privy-Councellors, and partly to the Lord *Stair*; and that it was their Opinion that the foreſaid Certificate could not be received without a Warrant from the King; and that it would neither be ſafe to *Ardkinlas*, nor profitable to *Glenco*, to give in the Certificate to the Clerk of the Council; and this the Lord *Aberuchil* confirms by his Depoſition, but doth not name therein the Lord *Stair*: And *Colin Campbel*, the Sheriff Clerk, does farther depone, That with the Knowledge of the Lord *Aberuchil*, Mr. *John Campbel*, and Mr. *David Moncrief*, Clerk to the Council, he did, by himſelf, or his Servant, ſcore or delete the foreſaid Certificate, as it now ſtands ſcored, as to *Glenco*'s taking the Oath of Allegiance; and that he gave it in ſo ſcored, or obliterate, to the ſaid Mr. *David Moncrief*, Clerk of the Council, who took it in as it is now produced. But it doth not appear, by all theſe Depoſitions, that the Matter was brought to the Council-Board, that the Councils Pleaſure might be known upon it, tho' it ſeems to have been intended by *Ardkinlas*, who both writ himſelf, and ſent Colonel *Hill*'s Letter for to make *Glenco*'s Excuſe, and deſired expreſsly to know the Councils Pleaſure.

After that *Glenco* had taken the Oath of Allegiance, as is ſaid, he went Home to his own Houſe, and, as his own two Sons, above-named, depone, He not only lived there for ſome Days quietly and ſecurely, but called his People together, and told them he had taken the Oath of Allegiance, and made his Peace, and therefore deſired and engaged them to live peaceably under King *William*'s Government, as the Depoſitions of the ſaid two Sons, who were preſent, mark'd with the Letter E bears.

Theſe Things having preceded the Slaughter, which happened not to be committed until the thirteenth of *February*, 1692, ſix Weeks after the deceaſed *Glenco* had taken the Oath of Allegiance at *Inverary*. The Slaughter of the *Glenco*-Men was in this Manner, *viz. John* and *Alexander Macdonalds*, Sons to the deceaſed *Glenco*, depone, That *Glengary*'s Houſe being reduced, the Forces were called back to the South, and *Glenlyon*, a Captain of the Earl of *Argyle*'s Regiment, with Lieutenant *Lindſay* and Enſign *Lindſay*, and ſix Score Soldiers, returned to *Glenco* about the firſt of *February*, 1692, where, at the Entry, the elder Brother *John* met them with about twenty Men, and demanded the Reaſon of their coming; and Lieutenant *Lindſay* ſhewed him his Orders for quartering there, under Colonel *Hill*'s Hand, and gave Aſſurance that they were only come to Quarter; whereupon they were billetted in their Country, and had free Quarters, and kind Entertainment, living familiarly with the People until the thirteenth Day of *February*. And *Alexander* farther depones, That *Glenlyon*, being his Wife's Uncle, came almoſt every Day and took his Morning Drink at his Houſe; and that the very Night before the Slaughter, *Glenlyon* did play at Cards in his own Quarters with both the Brothers. And *John* depones, That old *Glenco*, his Father, had invited *Glenlyon*, Lieutenant *Lindſay*, and Enſign *Lindſay*, to dine with him upon the very Day the Slaughter happened. But on the thirteenth Day of *February*, being *Saturday*, about four or five in the Morning, Lieutenant *Lindſay*, with a Party of the foreſaid Soldiers, came to old *Glenco*'s Houſe, where, having called in a friendly Manner, and got in, they ſhot his Father dead with ſeveral Shots as he was riſing out of his Bed; and the Mother having got up and put on her Cloaths, the Soldiers ſtripped her naked, and drew the Rings off her Fingers with their Teeth; as likewiſe they killed one Man more, and wounded another grievouſly at the ſame Place: And this Relation they ſay they had from their Mother; and is confirmed by the Depoſition of *Archibald Macdonald*, Indweller in *Glenco*, who farther depones, that *Glenco* was ſhot behind his Back with two Shots, one through the Head, and the other through the Body, and two more were killed with him in that Place, and a third wounded and left for dead: And this he knows, becauſe he came that ſame Day to *Glenco*'s Houſe, and ſaw his dead Body lying before the Door, with the other two that were killed, and ſpoke with the third that was wounded, whoſe Name was *Duncan Don*, who came there occaſionally with Letters from the Brae of *Mar*.

The ſaid *John Macdonald*, eldeſt Son to the deceas'd *Glenco*, depones, the ſame Morning that his Father was killed there came Soldiers to his Houſe before Day, and called at his Window, which gave him the Alarm, and made him go to *Innerriggen*, where *Glenlyon* was quartered, and that he found *Glenlyon* and his Men preparing their Arms, which made the Deponent aſk the Cauſe; but *Glenlyon* gave him only good Words, and ſaid they were to march againſt ſome of *Glengaries* Men, and if there were ill intended, would not he have told *Sandy* and his Niece? Meaning the Deponent's Brother and his Wife; which made the Deponent go Home, and go again to his Bed, until his Servant, who hindered him to ſleep, raiſed him; and

when

when he roſe and went out, he perceived about twenty Men coming towards his Houſe, with their Bayonets fix'd to their Muſkets, whereupon he fled to the Hill, and having *Auchnaion*, a little Village in *Glenco*, in View, he heard the Shots wherewith *Auchintriaten*, and four more were killed; and that he heard alſo the Shots at *Innerriggen*, where *Glenlyon* had cauſed to kill nine more, as ſhall be hereafter declared; and this is confirmed by the concurring Depoſition of *Alexander Macdonald* his Brother, whom a Servant waked out of Sleep, ſaying, it is no Time for you to be ſleeping, when they are killing your Brother at the Door; which made *Alexander* to flee with his Brother to the Hill, where both of them heard the foreſaid Shots at *Auchanaion* and *Innerriggin:* And the ſaid *John*, *Alexander*, and *Archibald Macdonald*'s do all depone, that the ſame Morning there was one Serjeant *Barber*, and a Party at *Auchnaion*, and that *Auchintriaten* being there in his Brother's Houſe, with eight more ſitting about the Fire, the Soldiers diſcharged upon them about eighteen Shot, which killed *Auchintriaten* and four more; but the other four, whereof ſome were wounded, falling down as dead, Serjeant *Barber* laid hold on *Auchintriaten*'s Brother, one of the four, and aſked him if he were alive? He anſwered, that he was, and that he deſired to die without rather than within: *Barber* ſaid, that for his Meat that he had eaten, he would do him the Favour to kill him without; but when the Man was brought out, and Soldiers brought up to ſhoot him, he having his Plaid looſe flung it over their Faces, and ſo eſcaped; and the other three broke through the back of the Houſe and eſcaped; and this Account the Deponents had from the Men that eſcaped. And at *Innerriggin*, where *Glenlyon* was quartered, the Soldiers took other nine Men and did bind them Hand and Foot, killed them one by one with Shot; and when *Glenlyon* inclined to ſave a young Man of about twenty Years of Age, one Captain *Drummond* came and aſked how he came to be ſaved, in reſpect of the Orders that were given, and ſhot him dead; and another young Boy of about thirteen Years ran to *Glenlyon* to be ſaved, he was likewiſe ſhot dead, and in the ſame Town there was a Woman and a Boy about four of five Years of Age killed; and at *Auchnaion* there was alſo a Child miſſed, and nothing found of him but the Head. There were likewiſe ſeveral killed at other Places, whereof one was an old Man about eighty Years of Age: And all this the Deponents ſay they affirm, becauſe they heard the Shot, ſaw the dead Bodies, and had an Account from the Women that were left; and *Ronald Macdonald*, Indweller in *Glenco*, farther depones, that he being living with his Father in a little Town of *Glenco*, ſome of *Glenlyon*'s Soldiers came to his Father's Houſe, the ſaid 13th Day of *February* in the Morning, and dragged his Father out of his Bed and knocked him down for dead at the Door; which the Deponent ſeeing, made his Eſcape, and his Father recovering after the Soldiers were gone, got into another Houſe; but this Houſe was ſhortly burnt, and his Father burnt in it; and the Deponent came there after, and gathered his Father's Bones and burned them. He alſo declares, that at *Auchnaion*, where *Auchintriaten* was killed, he ſaw the

Body

Body of *Auchintriaten* and three more caſt out and covered with Dung: And another Witneſs of the ſame declares, that upon the ſame 13th of *February*, *Glenlyon* and Lieutenant *Lindſay*, and their Soldiers, did in the Morning before Day fall upon the People of *Glenco*, when they were ſecure in their Beds, and killed them; and he being at *Innerriggin* fled with the firſt, but heard Shots, and had two Brothers killed there, with three Men more and a Woman, who were all buried before he came back. And all theſe five Witneſſes concur, that the aforeſaid Slaughter was made by *Glenlyon* and his Soldiers, after they had been quartered, and lived peaceably and friendly with the *Glenco*-Men about thirteen Days, and that the Number of thoſe whom they knew to be ſlain were about twenty-five, and that the Soldiers after the Slaughter did burn the Houſes, Barns and Goods, and carried away a great Spoil of Horſe, Nolt and Sheep, above a 1000. And *James Campbel*, Soldier in the Caſtle of *Stirling*, depones, that in *January*, 1692, he being then a Soldier in *Glenlyon*'s Company, marched with the Company from *Inverlochie* to *Glenco*, where the Company was quartered, and very kindly entertained for the Space of fourteen Days, that he knew nothing of the Deſign of killing the *Glenco*-Men till the Morning that the Slaughter was committed, at which Time *Glenlyon* and Captain *Drummond*'s Companies were drawn out in ſeveral Parties, and got Orders from *Glenlyon* and their other Officers to ſhoot and kill all the Countrymen they met with; and that the Deponent being one of the Party which was at the Town where *Glenlyon* had his Quarters, did ſee ſeveral Men drawn out of their Beds, and particularly he did ſee *Glenlyon*'s own Landlord ſhot by his Order, and a young Boy of about twelve Years of Age, who endeavoured to ſave himſelf by taking hold of *Glenlyon*, offering to go any where with him if he would ſpare his Life, and was ſhot dead by Captain *Drummond*'s Order; and the Deponent did ſee about eight Perſons killed, and ſeveral Houſes burnt, and Women flying to the Hills to ſave their Lives. And laſtly, Sir *Colin Campbel* of *Aberuchil* depones, that after the Slaughter, *Glenlyon* told him that *Macdonald* of *Innerriggin* was killed with the reſt of the *Glenco*-Men, with Col. *Hill*'s Paſs or Protection in his Pocket, which a Soldier brought and ſhewed to *Glenlyon*.

The Teſtimonies above ſet down being more than ſufficient to prove a Deed ſo notoriouſly known, it is only to be remarked, that more Witneſſes of the Actors themſelves might have been found if *Glenlyon* and his Soldiers were not at preſent in *Flanders* with *Argyle*'s Regiment; and it is farther added, that Lieutenant Colonel *Hamilton*, who ſeems by the Orders and Letters that ſhall be hereafter ſet down to have had the particular Charge of this Execution, did march the Night before the Slaughter, with about 400 Men, but the Weather falling to be very bad and ſevere, they were forced to ſtay by the Way, and did not get to *Glenco* againſt the next Morning, as had been concerted betwixt Major *Duncaſon*, and Lieutenant Colonel *Hamilton*; ſo that the Meaſures being broke, Lieutenant Colonel *Hamilton* and his Men came not to *Glenco*, till about eleven of the Clock after the Slaughter had been

been committed, which proved the Preſervation and Safety of the Tribe of *Glenco*, ſince by this Means the far greater Part of them eſcaped, and then the Lieutenant Colonel being come to *Cannelochleven* appointed ſeveral Parties for ſeveral Poſts, with Orders that they ſhould take no Priſoners, but kill all the Men that came in their Way. Thereafter ſome of the Lieutenant Colonel's Men marched forward in the *Glen*, and met with Major *Duncaſon*'s Party, whereof a Part under *Glenlyon* had been ſent by Lieutenant Colonel *Hamilton* to quarter there ſome Days before, and theſe Men told how they had killed *Glenco*, and about thirty-ſix of his Men that Morning, and that there remained nothing to be done by the Lieutenant Colonel and his Men, ſave that they burnt ſome Houſes, and killed an old Man by the Lieutenant Colonel's Orders, and brought away the Spoil of the Country; and this in its ſeveral Parts is teſtified by *John Forbes*, Major in Colonel *Hill*'s Regiment, *Francis Farqhuar*, and *Gilbert Kennedy*, both Lieutenants in that Regiment, who were all of the Lieutenant Colonel's Party, as their Depoſitions more fully bear.

It may be alſo here noticed, that ſome Days after the Slaughter of the *Glenco*-Men was over, there came a Perſon from — *Campbel* of *Balcalden*, Chamberlain, *i. e.* Steward to the Earl of *Braidalbin*, to the deceaſed *Glenco*'s Sons, and offered to them, if they would declare under their Hands, that the Earl of *Braidalbin* was free and clear of the ſaid Slaughter, they might be aſſured of the Earl's Kindneſs for procuring their Remiſſion and Reſtitution, as was plainly deponed before the Commiſſioners.

It remains now to give an Account of the Warrands, either given, or pretended to be given, for the committing of the foreſaid Slaughter, for clearing whereof it is to be noticed, that the King having been pleaſed to offer by Proclamation an Indemnity to all the Highland Rebels, who ſhall come in, and except thereof by taking the Oath of Allegiance, before the firſt of *January*, 1692, after the Day was elaps'd, it was very proper to give Inſtructions how ſuch of the Rebels as had refuſed his Majeſty's Grace ſhould be treated, and therefore his Majeſty, by his Inſtructions of the Date of the 11th of *January*, 1692, directed to Sir *Thomas Levingſton*, and ſuper-ſigned, and counter-ſigned by himſelf, did indeed order and authorize Sir *Thomas* to march the Troops againſt the Rebels, who had not taken the Benefit of the Indemnity, and to deſtroy them by Fire and Sword, (which is the actual Stile of our Commiſſions againſt intercommuned Rebels;) but with this expreſs Mitigation in the fourth Article, *viz.* that the Rebels may not think themſelves deſperate, we allow you to give Terms and Quarters, but in this manner only, that Chieftains and Heritors, or Leaders, be Priſoners of War, their Lives only ſafe, and all other Things in Mercy, they taking the Oath of Allegiance; and the Community taking the Oath of Allegiance, and rendering their Arms, and ſubmitting to the Government, are to have Quarters and Indemnity for their Lives and Fortunes, and to be protected from the Soldiers, as their principal Paper of Inſtructions produc'd by Sir *Thomas Livingſton* bears.

After

After theſe Inſtructions there were additional ones given by his Majeſty to Sir *Thomas Livingſton*, upon the 16th of the ſaid Month of *January*, ſuper-ſigned and counter-ſigned by his Majeſty, and the Date marked by Secretary *Stair*'s Hand, which bear Orders for giving of Paſſes, and for receiving the Submiſſion of certain of the Rebels, wherein all to be noticed to the preſent Purpoſe is, that herein his Majeſty doth judge it much better that thoſe who took not the Benefit of the Indemnity in due Time, ſhould be obliged to render upon Mercy, they ſtill taking the Oath of Allegiance; and then it is added, if *Mackean* of *Glenco*, and that Tribe can be well ſeparated from the reſt, it will be a proper Vindication of the publick Juſtice to extirpate that Sect of Thieves; and of theſe additional Inſtructions, a Principal Duplicate was ſent to Sir *Thomas Livingſton*, and another to Colonel *Hill*, and were both produced, and theſe were all the Inſtructions given by the King in this Matter.

But Secretary *Stair*, who ſent down theſe Inſtructions, as his Letters produced, written with his Hand to Sir *Thomas* of the ſame Date with them, teſtify, by a previous Letter of the Date of the 7th of the ſaid Month of *January*, written and ſubſcribed by him to Sir *Thomas*, ſays, "You know "in general that theſe Troops poſted at *Inverneſs* and *Inverlochie*, will be "ordered to take in the Houſe of *Innergarie*, and to deſtroy entirely the "Country of *Lochaber*, *Locheal*'s Lands, *Kippoch*'s, *Glengarie*'s and *Glenco*;" and then adds, "I aſſure you your Power ſhall be full enough, and I hope "the Soldiers will not trouble the Government with Priſoners." And by another Letter of the 9th of the ſaid Month of *January*, which is likewiſe before the Inſtructions, and written to Sir *Thomas* as the former, he hath this Expreſſion: "That theſe, who remain of the Rebels, are not "able to oppoſe, and their Chieftains being all Papiſts, it is well the Ven-"geance falls there; for my Part, I could have wiſhed the *Macdonalds* had "not divided, and I am ſorry that *Kippoch*, and *Mackean* of *Glenco* are ſafe:" And then afterwards, "We have an Account that *Locheal*, "*Macnaughton*, *Appin*, and *Glenco* took the Benefit of the Indemnity at "*Inverary*, and *Kippoch* and others at *Inverneſs*." But this Letter of the 11th of *January* ſent with the firſt Inſtructions to Sir *Thomas* hath this Expreſſion: "I have no great Kindneſs to *Kippoch* nor *Glenco*, and it is "well that People are in Mercy, and then juſt now my Lord *Argyle* tells "me, that *Glenco* hath not taken the Oath; at which I rejoice. It is a great "Work of Charity to be exact in rooting out that damnable Sect, the worſt "of the Highlands." But in his Letter of the 16th of *January*, of the ſame Date with the additional Inſtructions, tho' he writes in the firſt Part of the Letter, "the King does not at all incline to receive any after the Diet, but on "Mercy;" yet he thereafter adds, "but for a juſt Example of Vengance, "I intreat the thieving Tribe of *Glenco* may be rooted out to Purpoſe." And to confirm his by this Letter of the ſame Date, ſent with the other principal Duplicate, and additional Inſtructions to Colonel *Hill*, after having written, "that ſuch as render on Mercy might be ſaved;" he adds, "I

" ſhall intreat you that, for a juſt Vengeance and publick Example, the " Tribe of *Glenco* may be rooted out to Purpoſe; the Earls of *Argyle* and " *Braidalbin* have promiſed that they ſhall have no Retreat in their Bounds, " the Paſſes to *Ronoch* would be ſecured, and the Hazard certified to the " Laird of *Weems* to reſet them; in that Caſe *Argyle*'s Detachment, with " a Party that may be poſted in the Iſland *Stalker*, muſt cut them off, and " the People of *Appin* are none of the beſt."

This laſt Letter, with the Inſtructions for Colonel *Hill*, was received by Major *Forbes* in his Name at *Edinburgh*; and the Major depones, that by the Allowance he had from the Colonel, he did unſeal the Packet, and found therein the Letter and Inſtructions as above, which he ſent forward to Colonel *Hill*; and that in the Beginning of *February*, 1692, being in his Way to *Fort-William*, he met ſome Companies of *Argyle*'s Regiment at *Belliſheils*, and was ſurprized to underſtand that they were going to quarter in *Glenco*; but ſaid nothing till he came to *Fort William*, where Colonel *Hill* told him, that Lieutenant Colonel *Hamilton* had got Orders about the Affair of *Glenco*, and that therefore the Colonel had left it to Lieutenant Colonel *Hamilton*'s Management, who, he apprehends, had concerted the Matter with Major *Duncaſon*. And Colonel *Hill* depones, that he underſtood that Lieutenant Colonel *Hamilton* and Major *Duncaſon* got the Orders about the *Glenco*-Men, which were ſent to Lieutenant Colonel *Hamilton*; that for himſelf he liked not the Buſineſs, but was much grieved at it; that the King's Inſtructions of the 16th of *January*, 1692, with the Maſter of *Stair*'s Letters of the ſame Date, were brought to him by Major *Forbes*, who had received them, and unſealed the Packet at *Edinburgh*, as theſe two Depoſitions do bear.

Yet the Execution and Slaughter of the *Glenco*-Men did not immediately take Effect; and thereafter, on the 30th of the ſaid Month of *January*, the Maſter of *Stair* doth again write two Letters, one to Sir *Thomas Livingſton*, which bears, " I am glad that *Glenco* did not come in within " the Time prefixed; I hope what is done there may be in Earneſt, ſince the " reſt are not in a Condition to draw together to help; I think to harry (that " is to drive) their Cattle, and burn their Houſes, is but to render them " deſperate lawleſs Men to rob their Neighbours; but I believe you will be " ſatisfied it were a great Advantage to the Nation, that the thieving Tribe " were rooted out, and cut off; it muſt be quietly done, otherwiſe they " will make ſhift for both their Men and their Cattle; *Argyle*'s Detachment " lies in *Litrickweel* to aſſiſt the Garriſon to do all of a ſudden." And the other to Colonel *Hill*, which bears, " Pray, when the Thing concerning " *Glenco* is reſolved, let it be ſecret and ſudden, otherwiſe the Men will ſhift " you, and better not meddle with them, than not to do it to Purpoſe, to " cut off that Neſt of Robbers, who have fallen in the Mercy of the Law, " now when there is Force and Opportunity, whereby the King's Juſtice " will be as conſpicuous and uſeful as his Clemency to others. I apprehend " the Storm is ſo great, that for ſome Time you can do little, but ſo ſoon

" as

" as poſſible I know you will be at Work, for theſe falſe People will do " nothing but as they ſee you in a Condition to do with them."

Sir *Thomas Livingſton* having got the King's Inſtructions, with Secretary *Stair*'s Letter of the ſixteenth of *January*, and knowing by a Letter he had from the Maſter of *Stair*, of the Date of the ſeventh of *January*, 1692, that Lieutenant Colonel *Hamilton* was to be the Man imployed in the Execution of the *Glenco*-Men, in Purſuance of the Secretary's Letter, he writes to Lieutenant-Colonel *Hamilton* upon the twenty-third of the ſaid Month of *January*, telling him, *That it was judg'd good News that* Glenco *had not taken the Oath of Allegiance within the Time prefixed*; *and that Secretary* Stair, *in his laſt Letter, had made mention of him*; and then adds, *For, Sir, here is a fair Occaſion for you to ſhew, that your Garriſon ſerves for ſome Uſe*; *and ſeeing that the Orders are ſo poſitive from Court to me, not to ſpare any of them that have not timely come in, as you may ſee by the Orders I ſend to your Colonel, I deſire you would begin with* Glenco, *and ſpare nothing which belongs to him*; *but do not trouble the Government with Priſoners:* As this Letter produced by Lieutenant-Colonel *Hamilton* bears.

And Sir *Thomas* being heard upon this Letter, declar'd, " That at that " Time he was immediately return'd from his Journey to *London*; and that " he knew nothing of any Soldiers being quartered in *Glenco*, and only " meant that he ſhould be proſecuted as a Rebel ſtanding out, by fair Hoſtility:" And in this Senſe he made uſe of the ſame Words and Orders written to him by Secretary *Stair*. Thereafter Colonel *Hill* gives his Order to be directed to Lieutenant Colonel *Hamilton*, in theſe Terms: *Sir, You are, with* 400 *of my Regiment, and the* 400 *of my Lord* Argyle's *Regiment, under the Command of Major* Duncaſon, *to march ſtrait to* Glenco, *and there put in due Execution the Orders you have received from the Commander in Chief. Given under my Hand at* Fort-William, *the twelfth Day of* February, 1692. And this Order is alſo produced by Lieutenant-Colonel *Hamilton*.

Then, the ſame Day, Lieutenant-Colonel *Hamilton* wrote to Major *Duncaſon* in theſe Terms: " Sir, Purſuant to the Commander in Chief and " my Colonel's Orders to me, for putting in Execution the Service againſt " the Rebels of *Glenco*, wherein you, with a Party of *Argyle*'s Regiment, " now under your Command, are to be concerned, you are therefore to " order your Affairs ſo that you be at the ſeveral Poſts aſſign'd you by " ſeven of the Clock To-morrow Morning, being *Saturday*, and fall in " Action with them; at which Time I will endeavour to be with the Party " from this Place at the Poſt appointed them. It will be neceſſary that " the Avenues minded by Lieutenant *Campbel*, on the South Side, be " ſecured, that the old Fox, nor none of his Cubs get away. The Orders " are, that none be ſpared, nor the Government troubled with Priſoners." And the Copy of this laſt Order is produced under Lieutenant-Colonel *Hamilton*'s own Hand; and accordingly the Slaughter of *Glenco*, and his poor People, did enſue the next Morning, being the thirteenth of *February*, 1692, in the Manner narrated.

And, upon the whole Matter, it is the Opinion of the Commiſſion; *Firſt*, That it was a great Wrong that *Glenco*'s Caſe and Diligence, as to his taking the Oath of Allegiance, with *Ardkinlas*'s Certificate of his taking the Oath of Allegiance on the ſixth of *January*, 1692, and Colonel *Hill*'s Letter to *Ardkinlas*, and *Ardkinlas*'s Letter to *Colin Campbel*, Sheriff-Clerk, for clearing *Glenco*'s Diligence and Innocence, were not preſented to the Lords of his Majeſty's Privy Council, when they were ſent into *Edinburgh* in the ſaid Month of *January*; and that thoſe who adviſed the not preſenting thereof were in the wrong, and ſeem to have had a malicious Deſign againſt *Glenco*; and that it was a farther Wrong, that the Certificate, as to *Glenco*'s taking the Oath of Allegiance, was delete and obliterate after it came to *Edinburgh*; and that being ſo obliterate, it ſhould neither have been preſented to, or taken in by, the Clerk of the Council, without an expreſs Warrant from the Council. *Secondly*, That it appears to have been known at *London*, and particularly to the Maſter of *Stair*, in the Month of *January*, 1692, that *Glenco* had taken the Oath of Allegiance, tho' after the Day prefix'd; for he ſaith, in his Letter of the thirtieth of *January*, to Sir *Thomas Livingſton*, as is above remarked, *I am glad that* Glenco *came not in within the Time preſcribed*. *Thirdly*, That there was nothing in the King's Inſtructions to warrant the committing of the foreſaid Slaughter, even as to the Thing itſelf, and far leſs as to the Manner of it, ſeeing all his Inſtructions do plainly import, that the moſt obſtinate of the Rebels might be receiv'd into Mercy upon taking the Oath of Allegiance, tho' the Day was long before elapſed, and that he ordered nothing concerning *Glenco* and his Tribe, but that if they could be well ſeparated from the reſt, it would be a proper Vindication of the publick Juſtice to extirpate that Sect of Thieves, which plainly intimates, that it was his Majeſty's Mind that they could not be ſeparated from the reſt of theſe Rebels, unleſs they ſtill refuſed his Mercy, by continuing in Arms, and refuſing the Allegiance; and that even in that Caſe they were only to be proceeded againſt in the Way of publick Juſtice, and no other Way. *Fourthly*, That Secretary *Stair*'s Letters, eſpecially that of the eleventh of *January*, 1692, in which he rejoices to hear that *Glenco* had not taken the Oath; and that of the ſixteenth of *January*, of the ſame Date with the King's additional Inſtructions, and that of the thirtieth of the ſame Month were no Ways warranted by, but quite exceeded the King's aforeſaid Inſtructions; ſince the ſaid Letters, without any Inſinuation of any Method to be taken that might well ſeparate the *Glenco*-Men from the reſt, did, in Place of preſcribing a Vindication of public Juſtice, order them to be cut off and rooted out in earneſt, and to purpoſe, and that ſuddenly, and ſecretly, and quietly, and all on a ſudden; which are the expreſs Terms of the ſaid Letters; and comparing them and the other Letters with what enſued, appear to have been the only Warrant and Cauſe of their Slaughter, which in Effect was a barbarous Murder, perpetrated by the Perſons deponed againſt: And this is yet farther confirm'd by two more of his Letters, written

written to Colonel *Hill*, after the Slaughter committed, *viz.* on the fifth of *March*, 1692, wherein, after having ſaid that there was much Talk at *London*, that the *Glenco*-Men were murdered in their Beds, after they had taken the Allegiance; he continues, " For the laſt I know nothing of it; I am ſure " neither you, nor any Body impowered to treat or give Indemnity, did " give *Glenco* the Oath; and to take it from any Body elſe, after the Diet " elapſed, did import nothing at all; all that I regret is, that any of the " Sort got away, and there is a Neceſſity to proſecute them to the utmoſt." And an another from the *Hague*, the laſt of *April*, 1692, wherein he ſays, " For the People of *Glenco*, when you do your Duty in a Thing ſo neceſ- " ſary, to rid the Country of Thieving, you need not trouble yourſelf to " take the Pains to vindicate yourſelf by ſhewing all your Orders, which " are now put in the *Paris* Gazette; when you do Right, you need fear " no-body." All that can be ſaid is, that in the Execution, it was neither ſo full nor ſo fair as might have been. And this is their humble Opinion the Commiſſioners with all Submiſſion return and lay before his Majeſty, in Diſcharge of the foreſaid Commiſſion.

Sic Subſcribitur, *Tweddale*, *Anandale* (now Marquis of *Anandale*, and Preſident of the Privy Council.) *Murray*, (now Duke of *Athol*, and Lord Privy-Seal.) *James Stuart*, (her Majeſty's Advocate.) *Adam Cockburn*, (late Lord Treaſurer Deput.) *W. Hamilton*, (Lord *Whitelaw*, one of the Lords of the Seſſion.) *Ja. Ogilvie*, (now Earl of *Seafield*, and Lord High Chancellor.) *A. Drummond.*

The Report being agreed on, and ſign'd by the Commiſſioners, ſeveral Members moved in Parliament on the 24th of *June*, that the ſaid Report ſhould be laid before the Houſe.

Upon which his Majeſty's High Commiſſioner acquainted the Parliament, That the Report of the Commiſſion, for enquiring into the Buſineſs of *Glenco*, being ſent to his Majeſty on *Thurſday* laſt, he would lay the ſame before them, with the Depoſitions of the Witneſſes, and other Documents relating thereto, for their Satisfaction and full Information; and if they thought fit to make any other Uſe of it, he made no doubt it would be with that Deference and Submiſſion to his Majeſty's Judgment that becometh ſo loyal and zealous a Parliament, in Vindication of the Juſtice and Honour of his Majeſty's Government.

Then the Report from the Commiſſion, for enquiring into the Slaughter of the *Glenco*-Men, was read, with the Depoſitions of the Witneſſes, the King's Inſtructions, and the Maſter of *Stair*'s Letters for inſtructing the ſaid Report.

After hearing the ſaid Report, it was voted, *Nemine contradicente*, That his Majeſty's Inſtructions of the eleventh and ſixteenth Days of *January*, 1692, touching the Highland Rebels, who did not accept, in due Time, of the Benefit of his Indemnity, did contain a Warrant for Mercy to all, without Exception, who ſhould take the Oath of Allegiance, and come in upon Mercy, tho' the firſt Day of *January*, 1692, prefix'd by the Procla-

mation

mation of Indemnity, was paſt; and that therefore theſe Inſtructions contained no Warrant for the Execution of the *Glenco*-Men, made in *February* thereafter. Then the Queſtion was ſtated and voted, If the Execution of the *Glenco*-Men in *February*, 1692, as it is repreſented to the Parliament, be a Murder or not? and carried in the Affirmative.

Moved, That ſince the Parliament has found it a Murder, that it may be inquired into, who were the Occaſion of it, and the Perſons guilty and Committers of it, and in what Way and Manner they ſhould be proſecuted. And after ſome Debate thereon, the Method of the ſaid Proſecution was delayed, and reſolved, That this Houſe will again take the ſame under Conſideration firſt on *Monday* next: And the Maſter of *Stair*'s Letters were ordered to be put in the Clerk's Hands, and any Members of Parliament allowed an Inſpection thereof.

June 26, 1695. The Inquiry into the Perſons who were the Occaſion of the Slaughter of the *Glenco*-Men was again proponed, and mentioned, that before any farther Procedure in that Affair, there may be an Addreſs ſent to his Majeſty on what is already paſt: And after ſome Debate thereon, the Queſtion ſtated, Proceed farther in the Inquiry before addreſſing his Majeſty, or addreſs upon what is already paſt without any farther Procedure? And carried, Proceed farther before Addreſs.

Thereafter the Queſtion ſtated and voted, If they ſhould firſt proceed to conſider the Maſter of *Stair*'s Letters, or the Actors of the Murder of the *Glenco*-Men? And carried, Firſt to conſider the Maſter of *Stair*'s Letters.

Then the Maſter of *Stair*'s Letters, with the King's Inſtructions to Sir *Thomas Livingſton*, and Col. *Hill*, and the fourth Article of the Opinion of the Commiſſion relating to the Maſter of *Stair*'s Letters, do exceed the King's Commiſſion, towards the killing and deſtroying the *Glenco*-Men or not? and carried in the Affirmative.

June 28, 1695. The Preſident of Parliament repreſented, That there was a Print diſperſed, intituled, *Information for the Maſter* of Stair, reflecting upon the Commiſſion for inquiring into the Slaughter of the *Glenco*-Men, and arraigning a Vote of Parliament: And therefore moved, That it may be inquired, who was the Author of it, and that both he and the ſaid Print may be cenſured. Mr. *Hugh Dalrymple*, Brother to the Maſter of *Stair*, a Member of Parliament, acknowledged himſelf to be the Author, and gave an Account of his Miſtakes; proteſting that he therein intended no Reflection on the Commiſſion, and that the Paper was written before the Vote paſt in Parliament, tho' printed and ſpread thereafter.

Reſolved, That firſt the Author, and then the Print, be cenſured. And Mr. *Hugh* was ordered to aſk his Grace and the Parliament Pardon; which he did, again declaring, that what was offenſive in that Paper had happened through Miſtake.

Thereafter agreed, that the ſaid Print was falſe and calumnious. And the Queſtion being ſtated, If the Print ſpread abroad amongſt the Members of Parliament,

Parliament, intituled, *Information for the Maſter of* Stair, ought to be condemned as falſe and calumnious, and therefore burnt, or only that the Print ſhould be ſo marked in the Minutes of Parliament; it carried, that the Print ſhould be marked in the Minutes of Parliament to be falſe and calumnious.

Then the Parliament proceeded farther in the Inquiry of the Slaughter of the *Glenco*-Men. And in the firſt Place, as to the Orders given by Sir *Thomas Livingſton*, in two of his Letters directed to Lieutenant Colonel *Hamilton*: And the ſaid Letters being read, after Debate thereon, it was put to the Vote, Proceed or delay, and carried Proceed.

Then the Queſtion was ſtated, Whether Sir *Thomas Livingſton* had Reaſon to give ſuch Orders as were contained in theſe Letters or not, and was carried in the Affirmative, *Nemine contradicente.*

July 8, 1695. The Parliament having reſumed the Inquiry into the Slaughter of the *Glenco*-Men, and who were the Actors; and in the firſt Place about Lieutenant-Colonel *Hamilton*, and that Part of the Report of the Commiſſion relating to him, and the Orders he got, and the Orders he ſaid he gave, with the Depoſitions taken before the ſaid Commiſſion; and after ſome Debate thereon, the Queſtion was ſtated and put to the Vote, If from what appears to the Parliament, Lieutenant-Colonel *Hamilton* be free from the Murder of the *Glenco*-Men; and whether there be Ground to proſecute him for the ſame or not? and carried, He was not clear, and that there was Ground to proſecute him.

Then the Queſtion was ſtated and voted as to Major *Duncaſon*, at preſent in *Flanders*, If the King ſhould be addreſſed, either to cauſe him to be examined there about the Orders he received, and his Knowledge of that Matter; or that he be ordered Home to be proſecuted therefore, as his Majeſty ſhall think fit, or no? and carried in the Affirmative.

Then that Part of the Report of the Commiſſion, as to *Glenlyon*, Captain *Drummond*, Lieutenant or Adjutant *Lindſay*, Enſign *Lundy*, and Serjeant *Barber*, read with the Depoſitions of the Witneſſes againſt them; and the Queſtion ſtated and voted, If it appeared that the ſaid Perſons were the Actors of the Murder of the *Glenco* Men under Truſt; and that his Majeſty be addreſſed to ſend them Home to be proſecuted for the ſame according to Law, or not? and carried in the Affirmative.

Thereafter voted, If it ſhould be remitted to the Committee for the Security of the Kingdom to draw this Addreſs, or a new Committee elected for drawing thereof? and carried Remit.

The Report from the Committee for Security of the Kingdom, in Favour of the *Glenco*-Men, read, and remitted to the ſaid Committee, That there be a particular Recommendation of the Petitioner's Caſe to his Majeſty brought in by the ſaid Committee.

July 10, 1695. The Addreſs about the Slaughter of the *Glenco*-Men to be ſent to the King, read, with ſeveral of the Maſter of *Stair*'s Lettters to Sir *Thomas Livingſton* and Colonel *Hill*; and after ſome Debate upon the Paragraph touching the Maſter of *Stair*, it was voted, Approve the Paragraph

graph as brought in from the Committee, or as offered with Amendments? it carried, Approve as brought in from the Committee. Thereafter the whole Addreſs was put to the Vote, and approved as follows.

The Addreſs of the Noblemen, Barons, and Boroughs in Parliament, humbly preſented to his moſt ſacred Majeſty upon the Diſcovery communicated to them, touching the Murder of the Glenco-*Men, in* February, 1692.

" WE your Majeſty's moſt loyal and dutiful Subjects, the Noblemen, " Barons, and Boroughs aſſembled in Parliament, do humbly " repreſent to your Majeſty, that in the Beginning of this Seſſion, we " thought it our Duty, for the more ſolemn and publick Vindication of the " Honour and Juſtice of the Government, to enquire into the barbarous " Slaughter committed in *Glenco*, *February*, 1692; which has made ſo much " Noiſe both in this Kingdom, and your Majeſty's other Dominions; but " we being informed by your Majeſty's Commiſſioner, that we were pre- " vented in this Matter by a Commiſſion under the Great Seal for the ſame " Purpoſe, we did, upon the reading of the ſaid Commiſſion, unanimouſly " acquieſce to your Majeſty's Pleaſure, and returned our humble " Acknowledgments for your Royal Care in granting the ſame; and we " only deſired that the Diſcoveries to be made ſhould be communicated to " us, to the End, that we might add our Zeal to your Majeſty's for " proſecuting ſuch Diſcoveries, and that in ſo National a Concern, the " Vindication might be alſo publick as the Reproach and Scandal had been; " and principally that we, for whom it was moſt proper, might teſtify to " the World how clear your Majeſty's Juſtice is in all this Matter.

" And now your Majeſty's Commiſſioner, upon our repeated Inſtances, " communicated to us a Copy of the Report tranſmitted by the Commiſſion " to your Majeſty, with your Majeſty's Inſtructions, the Maſter of *Stair*'s " Letter, the Orders given by the Officers, and the Depoſition, of the " Witneſſes relating to that Report; and the ſame being read and compared, " we could not but unanimouſly declare, that your Majeſty's Inſtructions of " the 7th and 16th of *January*, 1692, touching the Highlanders who had " not accepted in due Time the Benefit of the Indemnity, did contain a " Warrant for Mercy to all without Exception, who ſhould offer to take " the Oath of Allegiance, and come in upon Mercy, tho' the firſt of " *January*, 1692, prefixed by the Proclamation of Indemnity, was paſt; and " that theſe Inſtructions contain no Warrant for the Execution of the " *Glenco*-Men, made in *February* thereafter. And here we cannot but " acknowledge your Majeſty's ſignal Clemency upon this Occaſion, as well " as in the whole Tract of your Government over us; for had your Majeſty, " without new Offers of Mercy, given poſitive Orders for the executing the

" Law

" Law upon the Highlanders, that had already deſpiſed your repeated " Indemnities, they had but met with what they juſtly deſerved.

" But it being your Majeſty's Mind, according to your uſual Clemency, " ſtill to offer them Mercy, and the killing of the *Glenco*-Men being upon " that Account unwarrantable, as well as the Manner of doing it being " barbarous and inhuman, we proceeded to vote the killing of them a " Murder, and to enquire who had given Occaſion to it, and were the " Actors in it.

" We found in the firſt Place that the Maſter of *Stair*'s Letters had " exceeded your Majeſty's Inſtructions towards the killing and Deſtruction " of the *Glenco*-Men; this appeared by the comparing the Inſtructions and " Letters, whereof the juſt atteſted Duplicates are herewith tranſmitted, in " which Letters the *Glenco*-Men are over and again diſtinguiſhed from the " reſt of the Highlanders, not as the fitteſt Subject of Severity, in Caſe " they continue obſtinate, and made Severity neceſſary according to the " Meaning of the Inſtructions; but as Men abſolutely and poſitively ordered " to be deſtroyed, without any further Conſideration than that of their not " having taken the Indemnity in due Time; and their not having taken it " is valued as a happy Incident, ſince it afforded an Opportunity to deſtroy " them; and the deſtroying of them is urged with a great deal of Zeal, as " a Thing acceptable, and of publick Uſe; and this Zeal is extended, even " to the giving of Directions about the Manner of cutting them off. From " all which it is plain, that tho' the Inſtructions be for Mercy to aſſiſt all " that will ſubmit, tho' the Day of Indemnity was elapſed, yet the Letters " do exclude the *Glenco*-Men from this Mercy.

" In the next Place, we examined the Orders given by Sir *Thomas* " *Livingſton* in this Matter, and were unanimouſly of Opinion, that he had " Reaſon to give ſuch Orders for cutting off the *Glenco*-Men, upon the " Suppoſition that they had rejected the Indemnity, and without making " them new Offers of Mercy, being a Thing in itſelf lawful, which your " Majeſty might have ordered; but it appearing, that Sir *Thomas* was then " ignorant of the peculiar Circumſtances of the *Glenco*-Men, he might very " well underſtand your Majeſty's Inſtructions in the reſtricted Senſe, which " the Maſter of *Stair*'s Letters had given them, or underſtand the Maſter of " *Stair*'s Letters to be your Majeſty's additional Pleaſure, as it is evident he " did, by the Orders which he gave, where any Addition that is to be found " in them to your Majeſty's Inſtructions is given, not only in the Maſter of " *Stair*'s Senſe, but in his Words.

" We proceeded to examine Colonel *Hill*'s Part of the Buſineſs, and were " unanimous that he was clear and free of the Slaughter of the *Glenco*-Men; " for tho' your Majeſty's Inſtructions and the Maſter of *Stair*'s Letters " were ſent ſtraight from *London* to him, as well as to Sir *Thomas Livingſton*, " yet he, knowing the peculiar Circumſtances of the *Glenco*-Men, ſhunned to " execute them, and gave no Orders in the Matter, till ſuch Time as " knowing that his Lieutenant-Colonel had received Orders to take with him

" 400 Men of his Garriſon and Regiment; he, who to ſave his own " Honour and Authority, gave a general Order to *Hamilton*, his " Lieutenant-Colonel, to take the 400 Men, and to put to due Execution " the Orders which others had given him.

" Lieutenant-Colonel *Hamilton*'s Part came next to be conſidered, and " he being required to be preſent, and called, and not appearing, we ordered " him to be denounced, and to be ſeized on wherever he could be found; " and having conſidered the Orders that he received, and the Orders which " he ſaid before the Commiſſion he gave, and his Share in the Execution, " we agreed, that from what appeared, he was not clear of the Murder of " the *Glenco*-Men, and that there was Ground to proſecute him for it.

" Major *Duncanſon*, who received Orders from *Hamilton*, being in *Flanders*, " as well as thoſe to whom he gave Orders, we could not ſee theſe Orders, " and therefore we only reſolved about him, that we ſhould addreſs " your Majeſty, either to cauſe him to be examined there in *Flanders* about " the Orders he received, and his Knowledge of that Affair, or to order " him Home to be proſecuted therefore, as your Majeſty ſhall think fit.

" In the laſt Place, the Depoſitions of the Witneſſes being clear, as to the " Share which Captain *Campbel* of *Glenlyon*, Captain *Drummond*, Lieutenant " *Lindſay*, Enſign *Lundie*, and Serjeant *Barber* had in the Execution of the " *Glenco*-Men, upon whom they were quartered; we agreed, that it appeared " that the ſaid Perſons were the Actors in the Slaughter of the *Glenco*-Men " under truſt, and that we ſhould addreſs your Majeſty to ſend them " Home to be proſecuted for the ſame according to Law.

" This being the State of that whole Matter as it lies before us, and " which, together with the Report tranſmitted to your Majeſty by the Com- " miſſioner, (and which we ſaw verified) gives full Light to it. We humbly " beg, that conſidering that the Maſter of *Stair*'s Exceſs in his Letters " againſt the *Glenco*-Men has been the original Cauſe of this unhappy " Buſineſs, and hath given Occaſion in a great Meaſure to ſo extraordinary " an Execution, by the warm Directions he gives about doing it by Way of " Surpriſe, and conſidering the high Station and Truſt he is in, and that " he is abſent, we do therefore beg that your Majeſty will give ſuch " Orders about him, for Vindication of your Government, as you in your " Royal Wiſdom ſhall think fit.

" And likewiſe conſidering that the Actors have barbarouſly killed Men " under Truſt, we humbly deſire your Majeſty would be pleaſed to ſend the " Actors Home, and to give Orders to your Advocate to proſecute them " according to Law; there remaining nothing elſe to be done for the full " Vindication of your Government of ſo foul and ſcandalous an Aſperſion, " as it has lain under upon this Occaſion.

" We ſhall only add, that the Remains of the *Glenco*-Men, who eſcaped " the Slaughter, being reduced to great Poverty by the Depredation and " Vaſtation that was then committed upon them, and having ever ſince liv'd " peaceably under your Majeſty's Protection, have now applied to us, that

" we

" we might intereeed with your Majeſty, that ſome Reparation may be " made them for their Loſſes. We do humbly lay their Caſe before your " Majeſty, as worthy of your Royal Charity and Compaſſion, that ſuch " Orders may be given for ſupplying them in their Neceſſities as your " Majeſty ſhall think fit.

" And this the moſt humble Addreſs of the Eſtates of Parliament is, " by their Order and Warrant, and in their Name, ſubſcribed by,"

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

Your Majeſty's moſt humble, moſt obedient,

And moſt faithful Subject and Servant,

July 10, 1695. This Addreſs voted and approven.

Anandale, P. P.

Then it was recommended to his Majeſty's Commiſſioner, to tranſmit to the King the ſaid Addreſs, with Duplicates of the King's Inſtructions, and of the Maſter of *Stair*'s Letters.

Moved, That his Majeſty's Commiſſioner have the Thanks of the Parliament for laying the Diſcovery made of the Matter of *Glenco* before them, and that the Commiſſioners have the like for their careful Proceedure therein; which being put to the Vote, Approve or not, carried in the Affirmative, *Nemine Contradicente*; which his Majeſty's Commiſſioner accepted of.

It is ſaid that ſome of the Perſons did get a Remiſſion from King *William*, concerning which it is to be obſerved firſt, that the taking of a Remiſſion is a tacit acknowledging of the Crime, and taking upon them the Guilt; next, that any ſuch Remiſſion is null and void, and will not defend them, becauſe it did not proceed upon Letters of *Slains* [a], nor is there any *Aſſithment* [b] made to the neareſt of Kin. It being expreſly provided by the 136, *Act Par.* 8 *Jac.* the 6th, that Remiſſions are null, unleſs the Party be *aſſithed* [c], and by 157 *Act Par.* 12 *Jac.* 6. And it is farther to be obſerved from that Act, that albeit, Reſpites and Remiſſions had been formerly granted for ſeveral enormous Crimes, yet the Defendants were ordained to be criminally perſued, notwithſtanding of the ſame; and the ſaid Act is ratified by the 173 *Act Par.* 13 *Jac.* the 6th, againſt the granting of Remiſſions and Reſpites to the Committers of Murder, Slaughter, and other atrocious Crimes therein mentioned, where there are not ſufficient Letters of *Slains* ſhewn, and that no Reſpite or Remiſſion be admitted in Judgment, except the ſame be compounded with the Treaſurer, and ſubſcribed by him, at leaſt paſt his Regiſter: And *Act* 178, it is provided, that no Reſpite or Remiſſion be granted for Slaughter, until the Party *ſkaithed* [d] be firſt ſatisfied; and if any Reſpite or Remiſſion ſhall happen to be granted before the Party grieved be firſt ſatisfied, the ſame ſhall be null, by Way of Exception, or Reply without any further Declarator.

[a] *i. e.* Witneſſing that the Party wronged has received Satisfaction. [b] Satisfaction. [c] Satisfy'd. [d] Damaged.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, It is to be obſerved, that the Parliament having declared, that the killing of the *Glenco*-Men was a Murder under Truſt; it is clear by the 51 *Act Par.* 11. *Jac.* 6, that Murder and Slaughter of a Perſon under Truſt, Credit, Aſſurance and Power of the Slayer, is Treaſon; ſo that by the ſaid Act, theſe that had Acceſſion to, or were any Ways *Airt and Part*[a] of the Slaughter of the *Glenco*-Men, are guilty of Treaſon.

P. S. Sir, I have nothing further to add concerning this Matter, but that I thought it needleſs to trouble you with the Copies of the King's Orders, the now Viſcount of *Stair*'s Letters, and the Depoſitions, becauſe every Thing in them, that is probative of the Point in Queſtion, is fairly narrated in the Report of the Commiſſion, but if you think them neceſſary, I will ſend them to you upon Notice: But for my Part, I don't think them neceſſary to be inſerted, for repeating Things needleſsly does but weary the Reader.

You know that there never was any Proſecution againſt any of thoſe Perſons charged with this barbarous Murder, but that on the contrary, by the Advice of ſome, who were then about his Majeſty, ſeveral of the Officers were preferr'd, and the whole Matter ſlurr'd over; ſo that the crying Guilt of this Blood muſt lie upon them, and not upon the Nation, ſince the Parliament could do no more in it without occaſioning greater Bloodſhed than that they complain of.

You know likewiſe, that by the Influence of the ſame Perſons, this Report was ſuppreſſed in King *William*'s Time, tho' his Majeſty's Honour requir'd that it ſhould have been publiſhed.

The Caſe of the Commons of that Part of Great Britain *formerly called* Scotland, *with Reſpect to the Election of their Repreſentatives and Members to Parliament.*

ANtiently the Parliament of *Scotland* was an Aſſembly, where all that held of the King were bound to attend him, which was expreſſed by their being bound to give Suit and Preſence; and the Forms of Parliaments having grown into ſome Diſuſe, during the Minority and Impriſonment of King *James* the Firſt of *Scotland*, there was an Act made in that Reign, requiring the perſonal Attendance of all that were bound to it.

Ja. 1*ſt Parl.* 3. *cap.* 52.

But in the ſeventh Parliament held in that Reign, *Anno* 1427, the ſmall Barons were allowed to ſend Commiſſaries, and were

[a] Concern'd in.

charged

charged with the Fees of their Deputies; which is the firſt Act whereupon the Elective Members were received in Parliament. *Ja.* 1*ſt Parl.* *cap.* 7. 101.

It does not appear that this Form of ſending Commiſſaries did take full Effect at firſt (for Reaſons too long here to be mention'd) nor indeed until the Reign of *James* the Sixth of *Scotland*, and Firſt of *Great Britain*. In the Eleventh Parliament of *Scotland*, held under that Prince, two Acts were made which concern that Caſe. By the Recital of the Firſt it appears the King intended to reſtore the antient Forms of Parliament, which had ſuffered Alterations during the Minorities and Troubles that happen'd after the Death of King *James* the Fifth, his Grandfather. And therefore it is there provided, that there ſhall be no Confuſion of Perſons of the three Eſtates; that is to ſay, no Perſon ſhall take upon him the Function, Office, or Place, of all the three Eſtates, or of two of them; but ſhall only occupy the Place of that Self-Eſtate wherein he commonly profeſſes himſelf to live, and whereof he takes his Stile, *id eſt*, *Deſignation*. *Ja.* 6. *Parl.* 11. *Act* 33. *and* 114.

By the latter, the Manner and Qualities of Election and Electors was better ſettled than it had been to that Time; and ſince that Act, which was made in the Year 1587, the Elective Repreſentation has taken Place.

This laſt Act was made on the Fact of, and to render effectual that above cited Law made in the Time of King *James* the Firſt, and conſequently the Election allowed to be made in Favour of, and to repreſent the ſmall Freeholders.

It is true, that ſeveral of the Freeholders, who had great Eſtates, took the Advantage of this Law, and in Place of coming perſonally to Parliament, chooſe to join in electing of Commiſſioners or Knights for the Shire with the Freeholders.

But as the Deſignation of ſmall Freeholders was never meant to comprehend Noblemen and the eldeſt Sons; ſo they never pretended to elect or be elected, except in one Caſe, where they were found incapable, as will by and by be made appear.

Nor indeed would it have been allowed, that they could elect or be elected, becauſe of the fore-cited Act, whereby it is provided, that no Man ſhall take upon him the Function, Office, or Place of more than one of the States, and that of the Eſtate whereof he makes Profeſſion, and takes the Stile; now the eldeſt Sons of Peers took Stiles ſuited to the Eſtate and Quality, and were not charged with the Expences of the Fees due to the Commiſſaries, or, as they were afterwards called, Commiſſioners from Counties. And there being an Act made in the Reign of King *Charles* the Second, declaring, that it is only allowed for Noblemen and Biſhops to ſubſcribe by their Titles, the eldeſt Sons of 33 *Act* 11. *Parl. Ja.* 6. 21 *Act Seſſ.* 3. *Parl.* 2. *Ch.* 2*d.*

of Noblemen have ever continued to ſubſcribe by their Titles, as being included in the general Name of Noblemen: So that on the whole Matter it is plain, that firſt the Peers eldeſt Sons were never underſtood to be ſmall Barons or Freeholders, nor could congruouſly be ſo underſtood; for the eldeſt Son was commonly called the *Fiar*, and was in a Manner *ſuus hæres, & parente vivo, quodammodo rerum paternarum Dominus*. *Secondly*, Conform to this they took Stiles, and made Profeſſion of one of the Eſtates, ſeparate from that of Freeholders and Burgeſſes. *Thirdly*, They enjoyed an Immunity from Commiſſioners Fees. And, *Fourthly*, They never in the Courſe of an Hundred, and about thirty Years, and indeed never ſince Electors came to any Kind of Form, pretended to elect or be elected. On the contrary, there were, *Fifthly*, Two very plain and poſitive Deciſions againſt them, one in the Parliament 1685, noted for the too great Zeal to the Prerogative, and the other in the Meeting of Eſtates, which reſtored the Liberty of that Country, both deciding the Caſe now in Queſtion in expreſs Words: As theſe Caſes hereunto ſubjoined will abundantly ſhew.

This being premiſed, it will be no hard Matter to determine the Queſtion, if, or not, the eldeſt Sons of Peers in *Scotland* were, at the Time of the Union, by the Law of *Scotland*, capable to elect or be elected for Shires and Boroughs there; for if they were not capable then, that they cannot be admitted now, is as certain, as that the Treaty of Union, and the Act ſettling ſuch Elections, which is a Part of it, is the inviolable Rule to direct in the Deciſion of the Caſe.

But there has been a printed Paper delivered at the Door of the Honourable Houſe of Commons, pretending to offer Reaſons why the *Scots* Peers eldeſt Sons ſhould be allowed to be elected to ſit in the Houſe of Commons, which is next to be conſider'd; and to do it fairly, it ſhall be inſerted Word for Word, with Obſervations to clear the Miſtakes it contains: Only it is to be notic'd, that the very Title is in a begging and precarious Stile; as if it were a Matter wherein there were no ſolemn Rule eſtabliſhed, but which might be govern'd by Indulgence, or Allowance, or Grounds of Expediency.

Two Records taken from the Parliament of Scotland.

In the Parliament holden at Edinburgh, *the 23d Day of* April, 1685.

"IN Reſpect the Viſcount of *Tarbat*'s eldeſt Son, who was elected "one of the Commiſſioners for the Shire of *Roſs*, by Reaſon that "his Father is Nobilitat, cannot now repreſent that Shire, as one of their "Com-

" Commiſſioners; Warrant was given to the Freeholders of that Shire, to " meet, and elect another fit Perſon in his Place."

Extracted forth of the Records of Parliament, by me, David, *Earl of* Glaſcow, *Lord Clerk Regiſter.*

Sic Subſcribitur,

Glaſgow, *Cl. Regr.*

At Edingburgh, *the Eighteenth of* March, 1689.

" THE Meeting of the Eſtates having heard and conſidered the Report " of the Committee for Elections bearing, That in the controverted " Elections for the Burgh of *Linlithgow*, in Favour of the Lord *Livingſton* " and *William Higgins*, it is the Opinion of the Committee, That *William* " *Higgins*'s Commiſſion ought to be preferred firſt, in regard of the Lord " *Livingſton*'s Incapacity to repreſent a Burgh; being the eldeſt Son of a " Peer: And, *ſecondly*, in reſpect *William Higgins* was more legally and " formally elected by the Plurality of Votes of the Burgeſſes: They have " approven, and approves the ſaid Report in both Heads thereof, and inter- " pones their Authority thereto."

Extracted forth of the Records of Parliament, by me, David, *Earl of* Glaſcow, *Lord Clerk Regiſter.*

Sic Subſcribitur,

Glaſgow, *Cl. Regr.*

Remarks on the Reaſons offered for the Peers.

BY the Act of Union it is declared, " That none ſhall elect, or be elected, " to repreſent a Shire or Burgh in the Parliament of *Great Britain*, from " this Part of the United Kingdom (*Scotland*) except ſuch as are now capable " by the Laws of this Kingdom to elect, or be elected, for Shires or Burghs " to the ſaid Parliament."

Theſe are the Words on which the Queſtion depends.

But by the ancient Conſtitution of *Scotland*, and the ſtanding Laws of that Kingdom, Peers eldeſt Sons were capable of electing, and being elected, as will appear from the following ſtanding unrepealed Laws.

This is to be proved.

In the 113th Act of the 11th Parliament of King *James* the Sixth of *Scotland*, " All Tenants *in Capite* to the King, in each County, who have " a Forty Shilling Land, which generally amounts to 60 *l. per Annum*, " ſhould

" ſhould chooſe two of their own Number to ſerve in Parliament; and " that all Freeholders, under the Degree of Prelates and Lords of Parlia- " ment, ſhould be ſummoned to the Election."

There are more Things than one to be mended, but paſſing by the Amount which this Paper puts upon a Forty Shilling Land, *It is well to be noticed, that the Words,* under the Degree of Prelates and Lords of Parliament, *do even comprehend Lords eldeſt Sons; for firſt, theſe Words deſcribe all who were not under the Notion of ſmall Freeholders, or Free-Tenants, mentioned in the fore-cited Act of* James *the Firſt. Now, that never did comprehend Peers eldeſt Sons; for, ſecondly, the Father and the Son were, in the Eye of the Law, as conjunct Perſons, which could be made out by many Inſtances; but this one may ſuffice,* viz. *That any Vaſſal holding of the* Crown-Ward, *or by* Military Service, *could not alienate the whole Fie not even to his ſecond Son; and if he did, the Fie returned to the Crown, which, by a Term well known in* Scotland, *was called* Recognition. *But if a Father ſhould convey his Eſtate to his eldeſt Son, it was ſuſtained as good: Why? Becauſe this, in the Conſtruction of Law, was no Alienation; and the eldeſt Son was commonly called* Fiar, *for to him at laſt the Eſtate behooved to deſcend, ſeeing indeed the antient Cuſtom of* Scotland *did not admit of any Alienations without Conſent of the Crown, in Prejudice of the Heir of the Inveſtiture; ſo that the Father and Son were of one Eſtate in all publick Accounts, and the younger Sons were conſidered as Strangers. Now this is the ſtronger in this Caſe; becauſe, as has been ſaid, the Appearance in Parliaments was a Duty upon the Father, with reſpect to that Eſtate, whereof the Son was Heir; for the Nobility in* Scotland *antiently ſat as dignified Freeholders.* Secondly, *To this it may be added, that the eldeſt Sons of Peers, receiving Diſpoſitions or Conveyances of any Part of their Father's Eſtate, are not properly ſaid to acquire a Freehold, but* præcipere hæreditatem; *and therefore are liable as Heirs for their Fathers Debts. So that the Words,* Lords of Parliament, *muſt be taken in the Senſe of theſe Laws, ſo as to comprehend all that are not Free-holders, and eſpecially all that make Profeſſion, and aſſume the Style of the Eſtate of Peers; and that theſe Words,* Lords of Parliament and Noblemen, *are ſynonimous, every Man, unbiaſſed, muſt acknowlege: Now that under the Word* Nobleman, *the eldeſt Sons of Peers are comprehended, is very evident from the above Act* 21, *Seſſ.* 3, *Parl.* 3, Ch. II. *eſpecially as to the Privilege of Subſcription above-mentioned.* Thirdly, *That has been abundantly cleared by* 130 *Years Practice, and the fore-cited Deciſions, in which the Peers as well as Commons muſt be included, being done in an Aſſembly compoſed of both.*

All the eldeſt Sons of Peers, who at preſent claim their being elected from *North-Britain,* are preciſely under the Compaſs of this Law, being all Tenants *in Capite* to the King, of Lands of the ſaid Value, are under the Degree of Prelates and Lords of Parliament.

Precarious

Precarious and Redargued by what is above.

By the 35th Act of the Parliament of King *Charles* the Second, "All "Heretors, (*i. e.* Free-holders) who hold Forty Shilling Land of the King's "Majesty *in Capite*, shall be and are capable to vote in the Election of "Commissioners to Parliaments, excepting always from this Act all No-"blemen and their Vassals."

This is another wrong Gloss on the Words of the Statute, and taken off by what is above.

This Act is not only a plain Repetition and Confirmation of the former Act, and of the Privilege therein contained, belonging to Peers eldest Sons, but likewise, by an Exception therein mentioned of Noblemen and their Vassals, it doth, in a very extensive Manner, confirm these Privileges to the Noblemens eldest Sons, since they are not included in that Exception, according to that Maxim, *Exceptio affirmat Regulam in non Exceptis.*

What is said here on the general Maxim, Exceptio affirmat Regulam in non Exceptis, *is like all Arguments of that kind, liable to many Exceptions; and in this Case it is plain that this Exception is none of the most delebrate or regular; for the Act having vested the Privilege of Election in the Free-holders of the Crown, subjoins an Exception of Lords and their Vassals, although the Vassals holding of Lords were not so much as comprehended in the Rule; which is sufficient to prove, that the Exception has not been very exactly expressed, and therefore not much to be minded.*

This too is confirmed by an Act of Parliament in 1661, and other Laws, which need not be here repeated, the two former Acts being sufficient to prove, that the Peers eldest Sons have, by the standing Laws of *Scotland*, a Right to elect and be elected.

This Appeal to the Act of Parliament 1681, *and in general to other Laws, is very blunt; for in the Act of Parliament* 1681, *there is not one Word that favours the eldest Sons of Peers. As to the other Laws referred to, we may suppose they are very obscure or little to the Purpose, or else they had been mentioned more expressly.*

It is objected against this, That, by the Custom of *Scotland*, 'twill appear when any Peers eldest Sons were elected, the Parliament would not allow them to take their Places; and of this, two Instances are given, one of Mr. *Mackenzie*, eldest Son to the Lord Viscount of *Tarbat*; the other of the Lord *Livingston*, eldest Son to Earl of *Linlithgow*.

To this it is anſwered, Inſtance of Precedent and Cuſtoms are ſometimes ſufficient to found a Right, where there is no Law to the contrary; but where there is a Right eſtabliſh'd by a plain poſitive Law, as in this Caſe, no Precedent can annul that Right.

The Argument is not fairly ſtated. For, firſt, *the Free-holders and Barons do not barely plead Cuſtom, but they plead expreſs Law, inaſmuch as by the fore-cited Act, no Perſon was allowed to take the Place of any two of the Eſtates of Parliament, and that the eldeſt Sons of Peers had taken the Stiles ſuited to their Dignities, and the Privileges and Immunities that belong to Noblemen only by the Law, as being comprehended under that general Deſignation, and the contrary Practice of* 130 *Years, with the Deciſions, are not mentioned to prove a Cuſtom, but to declare and ſtrengthen the Law.*

Beſides, by examining the particular Circumſtances of the above-mentioned Inſtances, it will appear they cannot come up to the Point inſiſted on.

For in that Inſtance of the Lord *Livingſton,* the Reaſon for throwing him out was founded upon two Points; one was, that Mr. *Higgins,* who ſtood againſt him, had moſt Votes; and if his Quality, as being a Peer's eldeſt Son, had been a legal Objection againſt him, that Parliament would neither have remitted to a Committee of Elections, nor would that Committee have made the ſtrict Enquiry they did, which of the two Candidates had the Majority of Votes: And the other Part, of his being a Peer's eldeſt Son, was mentioned, becauſe there was then a ſtanding Law in *Scotland,* that no Perſon ſhould repreſent a Burgh but a trading Burgeſs, which he was not.

Here is a vain Attempt to remove two very clear and poſitive Precedents; for it is very well known, as to the Lord Livingſton's *Caſe, that the whole Reaſoning was upon the Incapacity of the eldeſt Sons of Peers; and that, not only as to Boroughs, but in general to be elected as Commoners to ſerve in Parliament; as may appear from this, that there were abundance of Commiſſioners for Boroughs admitted at that very Meeting, who were alſo as far from being reſiding or trading Burgeſſes, as the Lord* Livingſton.

As to the other Inſtance of Mr. *Mackenzie,* 'twas a voluntary Act of his own, at the Deſire of his Father, the Lord Viſcount of *Tarbat,* which ought not to prejudice any other Man who deſigns to maintain his own Right.

This is a hard Shift to avoid a clear Precedent, it is not a Fact of Mr. Mackenzie's, *or my Lord* Tarbat's *that they ſtand upon, but the Deed of the Parliament, whereof the Words are too ſtrong to admit of an Evaſion,* viz. *In reſpect the Viſcount of* Tarbat's *eldeſt Son, who was elected one of the Commiſſioners*

ſioners for the Shire of Roſs, *(by reaſon that his Father is* Nobilitate*) cannot now repreſent that Shire as one of their Commiſſioners, Warrant was given to elect another in his Place.*

Beſides, 'twill appear, that the laſt Parliament of *Scotland* was not only fully convinc'd, that Peers eldeſt Sons had a Right by Law elect, and to be elected, but were likewiſe reſolved to maintain that Right: For in the laſt Seſſion of that Parliament, the Commons wiſely conſidering, that the two late Inſtances above-mentioned were not ſufficient to overthrow ſuch ancient and juſt Laws as the eldeſt Sons of Noblemen founded their Right upon, they thought it neceſſary to have a Law for excluding them; and to that End offered a Clauſe to be added to the Union Act, in theſe Words: "That "no Peer, nor the eldeſt Son of any Peer, can be choſe to repreſent any "Shire or Burgh of this Part of the united Kingdom in the Houſe of Com-"mons." And made uſe of theſe two very Inſtances to promote the Clauſe againſt the Peers eldeſt Sons; but that Parliament thought fit to reject it, and agreed to the before-cited Clauſe in Place thereof, deſigning plainly by this to preſerve to the Peers eldeſt Sons their Right of electing, and being elected, according to the above recited Laws.

This Argument is by no Means to be allowed of; for we muſt take the Words of the Law, and muſt not go back to the ſecret Hiſtories or Circumſtances that paſt at the making of theſe Laws; were that but once admitted, then Laws would be liable to arbitrary Interpretations. But in the next Place, it is to be remembred, that in the Parliament of Scotland *held in the Year* 1690, *tho' the Peers did preſs very earneſtly to have it declared, that the eldeſt Sons might be capable to elect and be elected, at that Time, when there was an additional Repreſentation granted to ſeveral Shires in* Scotland, *they could not prevail; on the contrary, the Act paſt without any ſuch Declaration.*

It is alſo urged againſt Peers eldeſt Sons, that never any of them did ſit, which argues a Preſcription againſt their Right of ſitting: To which it is anſwered, Where a plain Right is founded upon a poſitive Law, the Intermiſſion of the Exerciſe of their Right can never be extended to make void that Right, no more than if a Freeholder of *England* ſhould neglect, during his Life, to exerciſe his Right of Election; it ſhould be inſiſted on againſt his Son's having a Right to elect after his Father's Deceaſe; and indeed, the true Reaſon why the *Scots* Peers eldeſt Sons did forbear making Uſe of their Right of being elected, was, becauſe the Peers and Commons in the *Scots* Parliaments did ſit and vote in one and the ſame Houſe, and the Peers being numerous, did avoid bringing in their eldeſt Sons into the Houſe, leſt the Commons ſhould have been uneaſy at it: But this Reaſon cannot take place ſince the Union, and the Peers eldeſt Sons are at Freedom to exerciſe their lawful Rights when they think fit.

It were to be wiſhed, that the Peers of Scotland *had ſtill avoided to bring in their eldeſt Sons into the Houſe of Commons, leſt the Commons of* Scotland *ſhould thereby have been made uneaſy; nor indeed does the Union make any Alterations in the Caſe; for the Commons can never bear contentedly that it ſhould be in ſo publick a Manner owned at the Door of the Houſe of Commons, That the Peers only avoided the bringing in of their eldeſt Sons, as if it were in their Power to bring them in every where in* Scotland, *and thereby to confound the Perſons of the three Eſtates, and ſwallow up the Repreſentation which is reſerved to the Commons of* Scotland. *From this Part of the Argument it is evident, what will be the Conſequences of admitting the Peer's eldeſt Sons to ſit in the Houſe,* viz. *The Peers themſelves, their Fathers, will no more avoid the bringing in their eldeſt Sons, for any Uneaſineſs it may create to the Commons of* Scotland.

Beſides, it is impoſſible that the Hiſtory of the laſt Seſſion of Parliament in Scotland *is ſo much forgot, as to give place to this Conſtruction put on the Vote of Parliament mentioned on the other Side; it is very well known, that many of theſe who voted for repeating of the Clauſe, did not at all doubt that the Nobleman's eldeſt Sons were incapable to elect or be elected; but People were unwilling to enter upon new Queſtions at that Time, when Endeavours were uſed to preſerve a good Correſpondence in the laſt Parliament of* Scotland.

It is further urged againſt Peer's eldeſt Sons, that to admit them into the Repreſentation of the Commons of *Scotland* would be of dangerous Conſequence; becauſe the Influence of the Peers there is ſuch, that none elſe will be returned.

'Tis evident that this is a very ill founded Suſpicion, ſince there are only four Lord's eldeſt Sons return'd among the forty-five Commons to this preſent Parliament: But allowing this ſuppoſed Influence of the Peers to be true, 'twill be in no Sort remedied by excluding their eldeſt Sons; for by the ſame Influence they can elect their younger Sons, or other Relations and Friends. And upon the whole, it would be a very great Hardſhip, and very unequal, to exclude *Scots* Peers eldeſt Sons from repreſenting Counties or Boroughs of *Scotland* in the Houſe of Commons, when at the ſame Time they can repreſent, and be choſe for any County and Burgh in *England:* And when the Peers of *Scotland* have, for the Common Good of thoſe Kingdoms, reduced themſelves to ſo ſmall and uncertain a Repreſentation in the Houſe of Peers, it would be a Hardſhip to exclude their eldeſt Sons from ſitting in the Houſe of Commons.

It is very true, the Houſe of Commons have been always jealous of Peers intermeddling in Matters of Elections; and certainly for that ſame Reaſon ought

ought to be very jealous of admitting the eldeſt Sons of the Peers of Scotland, *ſo directly contrary to the Treaty, and ſo dangerous of itſelf; eſpecially when the Diſtance of that Place from the Eye of the Houſe, and the great Powers and Superiorities of the Peers of* Scotland *are conſidered. The Peers have indeed very honourably contributed to the Union, but it is upon Terms contained in the Treaty, and in the Act, which is a Part of the Treaty. And they can't be allowed now to diſpute what has been already ſettled for that End. The reſt of the Reaſoning of this Period comes in ſhort to this; there is no preventing the Influences of Peers in* Scotland, *at the Election there, and therefore let us even take in their eldeſt Sons. But how concluding this is, every Man at firſt Sight may percieve.*

The Repreſentatives of Scotland *in the Houſe of Commons urge in their own, and in Behalf of all the Commons there, their ancient Conſtitution and Law, reſerved by the Treaty; and for the ſame Reaſon will be far from wiſhing the leaſt Alteration of what has been received in* England; *nor ought the Cuſtom of admitting the eldeſt Sons of Peers in* England *be made uſe of as an Argument in this Caſe; for beſides that, this is to argue directly againſt ſo ſolemn an Eſtabliſhment from extrinſick Reaſons. It is certain, there is an obvious Diſparity on many Accounts, between the Power and Caſe of the Peers and Commons of* Scotland, *and the Caſe of theſe in* England. *And though it is impoſſible, that the Peers of* England *can find eldeſt Sons to ſupply* 513 *Members in the Houſe of Commons; yet the Peers of* Scotland *may eaſily ſupply the Place of* 45, *which is all the Number allowed to repreſent the Commons of* Scotland.

To conlude. It has always been looked upon as the Excellency of the *Scotch* Conſtitution, that their Repreſentation was full and compleat: But if Peers eldeſt Sons be excluded, there would be many of the moſt conſiderable Eſtates and Freeholds in *Scotland* not repreſented, which would overthrow the fundamental Maxim, That no Man can be taxed but by his own Conſent: Nor can it be doubted, but the Freeholders of the ſeveral Counties and Corporations in *Scotland* are certainly the beſt Judges, whether or not it is their Intereſt and Privilege to elect a Peer's eldeſt Son, who offers his Service to them, and they can reject him at Pleaſure. Therefore it is humbly conceived, that this honourable Houſe will always have a due Regard to the Elections of ſuch Perſons, whoſe Right is founded upon plain and poſitive Laws, ſince no Objection is urg'd againſt that Right, but ſome very groundleſs Jealouſies, and two very lame Inſtances, which were not at all regarded, but rejected by the Parliament of *Scotland*, as above mentioned.

To conclude. The Excellency of the Scots *Conſtitution, as to this Part of the Repreſentation, ought no doubt to be preſerved intire, and the eldeſt Sons of* Scotch *Peers excluded, ſince the greateſt Part of the Eſtates and Free-*

holds

holds in Scotland *are repreſented by their Fathers, who ſit in a higher Houſe. And ſince the Conſtitution of their Forefathers did not permit the confounding of the Function, Office, or Place of the Eſtates, but did confine all Sorts of Perſons in* Scotland *to that ſelf Eſtate and Place, wherein they commonly profeſs themſelves to live, and whereof they take their Stiles or Deſignation: And ſeeing alſo the Peers eldeſt Sons did ſhine with their Fathers Honour, and were always underſtood to be comprehended under the general Word of* Noblemen, *in Contradiſtinction to the Free-holders; and, as ſuch, were found incapable by the Parliament of* Scotland, *in the fore-cited ſolid and clear Inſtances.*

A Copy of the late King's Will: Tranſlated from the French *Original, Printed at the* Hague, May 11, 1702.

IN the Name of the Lord, *Amen.*

We *William*, by the Grace of God, King of *Great Britain*, Prince of *Orange*, &c. Conſidering the Infirmity and Mortality of Man, the Certainty of Death, and the Uncertainty of the Time and Hour of it, have thought fit and reſolv'd, before We leave this earthly Vale, to diſpoſe of the temporal Goods, which it has pleaſed God to give Us, as well Feodal, as Allodial; by Virtue of a Grant from the States of *Holland*, and *Weſt-Frieſeland*, bearing Date, *June* 15, 1673. Recommending firſt Our immortal Soul into the merciful Hands of God, and Our Saviour *Jeſus Chriſt*, and Our mortal Body to the Earth; revoking, cancelling, and annulling, by theſe Preſents, all Teſtaments, Codicils, or other Diſpoſals, which We have hitherto made or executed, it being Our Deſire, that neither they, nor any of them, ſhould be valid, or in any wiſe take effect: But diſpoſing thus, anew, We declare, We have named and appointed, as by theſe Preſents We do name and appoint, Our Couſin, the Prince *Friſon* of *Naſſau*, eldeſt Son of Prince *Caſimer* of *Naſſau*, at preſent Stadtholder of *Frieſeland*, Our ſole and univerſal Heir of all Our Eſtates, as well Feodal as Allodial, which We ſhall leave at the Day of Our Death; reſerving to Ourſelves to appoint him ſuch Guardians as We ſhall hereafter think fit. We further declare, that We reſerve to Ourſelves the Power of bequeathing, under Our Hand and private Sign Manual, ſuch Legacies and Gifts as We ſhall hereafter

after think fit; willing and desiring, that, whether they be written by Us only, and sign'd by Us, or written by another and sign'd by Us, they may have the same Force and Validity as if they were particularly inserted and express'd in Our Will. We declare, all that is above-written, to be Our last Will and Testament; desiring, that it may have, and take Effect, either as Testament, Codicil, Donation, because of Death, or in any other Manner, that may render it most valid and effectual, notwithstanding any Neglects or Mistakes that may be committed in it; which We desire may be rectified and made good in the best Manner that is possible.

Naming and appointing, for Executors of this Our last Will and Testament, the States-General of the United Provinces; desiring them to accept of it, and to be pleased to execute Our last Will and Testament. In Witness whereof, We have caused these Presents to be written; and have sign'd them with Our Hand and Sign Manual, and seal'd them with Our Seal.

At the *Hague*, *October* 18, 1695.

Signed, WILLIAM R.

The Seal of his Majesty was put on the Side of it, impress'd on black Wax.

The Subscription was as follows:

"To Day being the 19th of *October*, 1695, before me *Adrian Van* "*Stervelt*, Publick Notary; with Allowance of the Court of *Holland*, "and residing at the *Hague*, in the Presence of the under-named Witnesses, "appear'd *William* the Third, by the Grace of God, King of *Great Bri-* "*tain*, Prince of *Orange*, &c. being known to me the said Notary, and "being in perfect Health of Body, exhibited to me the said Notary, "this present Paper, sealed in four Places with his Majesty's Seal, and "sewed with black Silk; and said, in it was contain'd the last Will "and Testament of his Majesty, and desir'd, that it should take Effect "as such, tho' all the Forms requisite might not have been observed."

This was done and passed at the *Hague*, in the Presence of *William*, Earl of *Portland*, and *William de Schuylenbourg*, who were desir'd to be Witnesses of it; and who, together with his Majesty, and me the said Notary, sign'd these Presents, the Day and the Year above-written.

It was sign'd *William* King, *Portland*, *William de Schuylenbourg*; and lower, in the Presence of me *Adrian Van Stervelt*, Notary.

It agrees with the Original,

Sign'd, P. VAN ASSENDELFT.

By

By a Codicil annexed to this Will, the Lordſhip of *Breevoort*, and 200,000 Gilders, are given as a Legacy to the Earl of *Albemarle*.

The Caſe of Diſſenters, as affected by the late Bill propoſed in Parliament, for preventing Occaſional Conformity. By a Gentleman. 1703.

THE *Spaniards* uſe to glory in the wide Extent, and pure Catholociſm of their Dominion; the *Italians*, from a Pretenſion of ſuperior Politeneſs and Sagacity, contemn all Tramontanes; the modern *French* make to themſelves a daily Triumph of the Succeſſes of their Grand Monarch; why may not my Countrymen as well exult, that the Laws, by which we are governed, are no other than ſuch, as ourſelves, by a due Repreſentative, have choſen? Oh happy *England!* May thy People eſteem, as it deſerves, a Benefit ſo ſingular! May that noble Repreſentative of thine, called to be Guardians of this Bleſſing, never want Foreſight to diſcover, and Prudence to prevent, the Dangers which may ariſe to threaten it!

The ordinary Method with us is well known to be, that the Addition of new Laws, or Amendment of old ones, are propoſed firſt by the Commons of *England*, and immediately publick Notice given when the ſame are to come under a ſolemn Debate; which being ſeveral Times adjourn'd, there ariſes Opportunity ſufficient for the Subjects, from all Parts of the Kingdom, to communicate to the reſpective Members of Parliament, their Opinion ſeverally thereupon; ſo that in this Reſpect ſeldom any Thing of Importance is concluded concerning the good People of *England*, without their own tacit Conſent at leaſt, over and above the Benefit of their being repreſented in common. Such being then the Caſe, we cannot celebrate enough our Happineſs; we may baſely overlook, but once to loſe it, would be Miſery to us beyond Expreſſion.

'Tis frequent moreover, for our Laws to be made temporary firſt, till the Experiment of a few Years has recommended them for perpetual. As for thoſe of the higheſt Concern, when the Benefits or Effects are liable to doubt, we have ſeen ſome Bills undergo the Scrutiny of ſeveral ſucceeding Seſſions of Parliament, before they paſſed the Signature of Authority. Sometimes alſo our Courts of Legiſlature, when the Inducements and Reaſons of a Bill were not obvious to common Eyes, or at leaſt liable to Miſconſtruction, have thought good to lay the ſame before the Publick, that their tender Regards of general Emolument might the better appear.

Having obſerved various Methods of our propitious Legiſlature, an Inſtance of ſeveral of them, but more epecially the latter, we are here to conſider,

ſider; I mean the late Bill for preventing Occaſional Conformity, which was ſo differently apprehended in the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, as no Debates during it were able to reconcile; but that Matter is of ſuch Concern, that the Proceedings thereupon being printed by Authority, it ſeems not unworthy every true Lover of his Country, to put the ſame into the beſt Light poſſible, in order to form a right Judgment, how a Bill like unto that (if at any Time hereafter ſuch ſhould be propoſed) may affect the Commonweal; ſeeing the Opinion which ſhall prevail thereof, there can be no doubt, will be duly weighed by our Repreſentees; and becauſe one Intention of our Lawgivers, in publiſhing the Account of their Proceedings upon that Bill, might be (not improbably) the better to collect the common Judgment upon it, a Deſire to be aſſiſtant unto that, with a Concern leſt unhappy Animoſities ſhould grow among us, did engage me to draw into a clear and familiar Method of Diſcourſe, what is very obvious touching that Matter.

The Bill, which is the deſigned Theme of what follows, I underſtand ſuch as it paſſed laſt Seſſion the Houſe of Commons, with the ſeveral Amendments agreed afterwards; touching which, that my Argument may be the more diſtinct, I take the Liberty to digeſt it under three Heads, which are eaſily diſcernable on reading the ſaid Bill, *viz.* The Preamble, Extent, and Penalties, due Reference being had thereto; however, theſe few Things ought to be premiſed, *Firſt*, That the whole of it is prudential and political, not cenſuring directly the Perſons and Cauſe of the Diſſenters beyond the Point of bearing Offices, nor interdicting any to be preſent at their Aſſemblies, except ſuch as are engaged in the Magiſtracy, or Places of Truſt, thereby leaving the Matter of Conſcience as it ſtood before. *Secondly*, The Communion of the Lord's Supper is conſidered herein as a Diſcrimination meerly civil; ſo that tho' Papiſts and Proteſtant Diſſenters are excluded from Offices thereby, yet is there no Proviſion by the Law to render the ſame a Bar to the Prophane and Scandalous; which is a Conſideration ſeems to concern the Honour of the Church of *England*, as well as the good Adminiſtration of the ſeveral Truſts to which it initiates: But becauſe, *Thirdly*, Several Caſes in Religion might be reducible under the Subject of this Bill, I ſhall comply with the obvious Intentions of our Lawgivers, and confine my Diſcourſe as much as may be to a ſecular Vein. To proceed therefore to the Bill.

Firſt, Touching the Preamble of it, it were not eaſy, peradventure, in ſo few Words, for our ſupreme Governors to have given more Satisfaction to ſcrupulous Conſciences than in the Religious Declaration, that ſerves as an Introduction here; becauſe therein the Senſe of the preſent Government appears, that thoſe Severities, under which the Diſſenters groaned, before the late Act of Indulgence, *were then to be deemed Perſecution for Conſcience ſake*; under which Acceptation it is, that their Exemption from them for the future (unleſs new Matter of ſecular Offence to the Govern-

ment ariſes, is to ſtand upon Foundations no leſs ſafe than *the Profeſſion of the Chriſtian Religion, and particularly the Doctrine of the Church of* England. This is the higheſt Atteſtation can be, that the Diſſenters are no longer to be looked upon *obnoxious to the Church and State, or chargeable with Schiſm, Sedition, and Rebellion*, as the former Laws (now ſuſpended) did inſiſt they were; ſo that the Reaſon given by thoſe Laws ceaſing, *and ſince it is on all Hands agreed, great Advantages have accrued from the Act of Indulgence*, they may henceforth expect, with the reſt of their Fellow-Subjects, to partake the Serenity and Benignity of a Government, which in all other Things ever was, and now is, the moſt clement under the Sun. Thus is the Bond of engaging Goodneſs laid upon them for ever; ſo that as ſince the late glorious Revolution they are found equally affectionate as others, to the Intereſts and Settlement of the Crown, all the former ſtigmatizing Brands upon them are done away.

As to the Recital of the preſent State of Law, which follows the Religious Declaration, *(that it provides already every Perſon admitted into any Office, ſhould be conformable to the Church)* the Words of it cannot be taken in the ſtricteſt Senſe, *there being many Offices and Employments, to which Perſons have been, and may be now admitted, without lying under an Obligation to receive the Sacrament, or be conformable on that Account: For Inſtance, Offices of Inheritance, and in the Foreſts, Non-Commiſſion Offices in the Fleet, with many more*; therefore what is aſſerted in this Paragraph in the general, we muſt underſtand *to relate to ſuch Perſons and Offices only as are ſubſequently mentioned in the Bill; but if thoſe who break the Intention of a Law, break the Law, it were fit and deſireable, that no Words (if poſſible) might be uſed in any, which in the Sequel may lead Men into Miſtakes, touching that Intention.*

The laſt Clauſe of the Preamble gives a very juſt Deſcription of the Caſe, which the Bill is deſigned to bring a Remedy for; that is ſay, *No Man ordinarily frequenting private Meetings, ſhould qualify himſelf for an Office, by receiving only on that Account the Sacrament with the Church.* Now that nothing however be underſtood beyond the natural Senſe of the Words thereof, I take theſe two Things not to be abſolutely concluded in them. *Firſt*, That whilſt conforming only for a Place has a Brand of Scandal affixed on it; yet it does not follow, that Occaſional Conformity otherwiſe (without ſuch Deſign) ought to be reproach'd; for as to ſuch Perſons, who join themſelves to their Chriſtian Societies ſeverally, as taking the Conduct of them to be moſt agreeable to the Word of God, and becauſe it pleaſes the Sovereign Spirit of Grace to co-operate more evidently upon them therein, for ſuch to go ſometimes to a divine Service, different from what they frequent and chuſe, is an Expreſſion of Charity to others, and ought not therefore to be blamed. *Secondly*, It can no Ways be taken for concluded, that a Cenſure upon the Conformity in this Bill mentioned, does imply *going to a Meeting to be* malum in ſe, *or ſavouring of Faction, or criminal, illegal, and ſchiſmatical*, as the ſuperceded Laws did conſtantly aſſert; for the

the Mention of it, as allowed by Law, does demonſtrate the contrary; the manifeſt and primary Purpoſe of this Bill being rather to keep Diſſenters from the Church, than others from a Meeting; however, the mutual Freedom in this Point to the great Glory of our Times, ſavours of that charitable Moderation, ſo remarkably eminent in the primitive Ages of Chriſtianity, as to occaſion thoſe univerſal Laws in the *Creed*, for every one *to believe the Holy Catholick Church, and the Communion of Saints.*

Secondly, The enacting Part of this Bill, I term the Extent of it, becauſe it deſcribes both the Crime and the Offices thereby to be affected, whereof diſtinctly; firſt then for the Crime, the Definition of it herein is the ſame with that *in two ſeveral Acts, to prevent and ſuppreſs ſeditious Conventicles*; and 16 and 22 *Car.* II. ſo that what was criminal by them to all Perſons, becomes again ſo by this Bill to thoſe in Office; the Qualification for Offices, by expreſs Terms of Law, required at preſent, is, in this Reſpect, no more than once previouſly to receive the Sacrament with the Church; but the Conformity which would be required herein, is, (beſides that) *never, after once taking an Office, to be preſent at any Conventicle or Meeting, under Colour or Pretence of any Exerciſe of Religion, in other Manner than according to the Liturgy and Practice of the Church of* England, *where five (more than the Family) ſhall be.* This is a Sort of Qualification for Offices widely different (as any may ſee) from what the Law requires now; and we muſt obſerve, that, throughout the Bill, ſuch Terms are only uſed as have been commonly appropriated to Proteſtant Diſſenters; however, to be preſent at Maſs is tacitly included.

We do not go about to intimate, That the Injunctions of the Law at preſent, *to receive the Sacrament according to the Rites and Uſage of the Church*, do not in the primary Meaning of them imply, that the Perſons ought to be of that Communion; however, none can deny, but they will very well bear a larger Senſe alſo, whereby none ought to be excluded Offices, who can give a publick Teſtimony they eſteem a Communion with the Church lawful; which latter Acceptation of the Laws, though the Generality of Diſſenters ſtand excluded by it, has all along, for forty Years paſt, brought into the Service of the Government (without very viſible, ruinous, Effects) no inconſiderable Number of Men, whom the propoſed Bill, in all Appearance, would finally render incapable.

Whether it may be for the publick Benefit any longer to ſuffer the ſame Latitude in Reference to Diſſenters, belongs only to the ſupreme Powers to judge; but granting here that it were not, we do with all Humility offer to Conſideration, whether *gentler Methods be not more agreeable to the* Engliſh *Temper, Conſtitution of Government, nay, and the Intereſt of State, ſo the End may be duly attained*; in the Caſe then before us, if the Government, for Example, ſhould require from the eſtabliſhed Church, inſtead of one previous Communion (which is all in the Law expreſs'd) that Men in Office ſhould attend four Times yearly, or oftner, at the Sacrament, would it not be equal Security to the State, and greatly for the Honour of the

Church, but give no Matter of Offence or Jealouſy to Diſſenters? Whereas, if the Qualification for Offices is to conſiſt not ſo much in frequent and devout Attendance on the publick Celebrations, as in a Diſtance and Averſion to Diſſenters, *this cannot but miniſter juſt Cauſe of Fear, that thoſe Aſſemblies, at which once to be preſent expoſes to ſo great a Cenſure, are not likely to continue long allowed by Law.*

No Man can doubt but a Cenſure of this Kind would prove *a notorious Mark of Infamy upon the Aſſemblies of Diſſenters*, and in that Reſpect would affect them beyond the Caſe of Officers; and the reviv'd Definition of a Conventicle, being *under the Pretence and Colour of the Exerciſe of Religion*, (it deſerves to be conſidered) whether it might not be conſtrued to allude to, and imply ſomewhat of thoſe dangerous Practices the ſuſpended Laws have connected with the ſaid Definition; but there are other obvious Inconveniencies in this new Method of Qualification; for it would expoſe more a great deal than the preſent Way (as will be ſhewn elſewhere) to the predatory Mercy of Informers; it debars the common, natural Reſpect of Relations, in Baptiſms, Funeral Sermons, and the like: *It caſts a hazardous Diſcouragement upon Family Prayer, whereat often, among Perſons of Quality, and ſometimes others, more than Five may happen to be preſent; and it brings all foreign Churches under a Cenſure too; whereas the Act of Uniformity provides, that the Penalties thereof ſhould not extend to any Reformed Churches of Aliens, allowed, or to be allowed, by his Majeſty or his Succeſſors; ſome ſuch have ſince had Encouragement for their Settlement from Parliament, and have proved beneficial in Manufactures to this Kingdom; toward which their Liberty of Conſcience, without Reflection, has not a little contributed.*

The ſecond Diſtinction I have made of the Extent (or enacting Part of this Bill) is of the Offices intended by it to be affected, which clearly falls under a twofold Definition, one, the ſame with that in the Act, 25 *Car.* II. *For preventing Dangers which may happen from Popiſh Recuſants*; the other of the 13*th* of *Car.* II. *For well governing and regulating Corporations.* Now becauſe this ſeems the moſt tender and ſenſible Part of the Bill, moſt liable to Miſtake, and upon the right Apprehenſion whereof our Judgment of the whole muſt very much depend; before I deſcend into a Diſquiſition of it, I beg Leave to deviate a little from the juſt Method of Diſcourſe; and therefore, before I endeavour to prove what the Bill, under this Head, would have enacted——new, I will firſt lay down and conſider the Reaſon commonly alledg'd, why the ſame ought to be.

What is commonly alledged, as the Ground of the new Proviſions in this Bill, amounts to thus much; that a National Church being abſolutely needful to a Government, the only effectual Way to preſerve it, is by keeping the Civil Power in the Hands of ſuch whoſe Practice and Principles are agreeable thereto; and that this is equally neceſſary to the Safety and Peace of the State likewiſe; but, ſay they, the preſent Laws proving too weak to ſecure thoſe Bleſſings, becauſe they are eluded by occaſional Conformity,

formity, therefore there wants ſome new Expedients to ſupport them; theſe Maxims we can readily grant; ſo far as the Security and Peace of the State appear undoubtedly concerned, ſo much is allowed on all Hands for inconteſtible; but the Matter in Queſtion before us ſeems to be, whether Occaſional Conformity of Diſſenters has really endanger'd the Safety, and violated the Peace of Church and State? Or has any Principles in it diſagreeable therewith? Which Matter cannot yet be taken for concluded, as the Proceedings of Parliament publiſhed do evince, and whereof therefore the preſent Juncture and Occaſion give Liberty to ſpeak.

In order to examine then this Matter aright, we think proper to diſtinguiſh the Relation which the Occaſional Conformity of Diſſenters may bear to the Church and State ſeverally; firſt therefore in Reference to the State; *Occaſional Conformity* (it may be agreed to us) *is no new Thing, but even Coæval with the Act of Uniformity itſelf; ſo that in* 40 *Years Experience, if it were evident that Injuries to the Peace of the Government had aroſe thence, how came it to paſs they ſhould be overlookt ſo long?* But while ſeveral Ways were taken to enjoin Conformity, how Occaſional ſoever, it was in no Kind before made penal to approve it, tho' thereby Offices were attained; after ſuch a large Atteſtation from Fact, it would be needleſs to ſay, Occaſional Conformity of Diſſenters has in itſelf no Principles dangerous to the Peace of the Government, if there were not another Sort of Conformity which does obſtinately maintain ſuch as withdraw Men from their Allegiance to her Gracious Majeſty, and from all Reſpect to the preſent Eſtabliſhment of the Crown; but as to Principles, further than is obvious from Practice, it is not my proper Province to diſcourſe, that being already ſufficiently treated of by Divines.

If the Time paſt has not produced a Neceſſity of any new Proviſion againſt Accidental or Occaſional Conformity, I think we may be confident the preſent much leſs does; for if the Laws already in being do intend, that Men in Office ſhould be entirely conformable, Her Gracious Majeſty has aſſured all the World, there can be no Danger from Occaſional Conformity in this auſpicious Reign, by theſe Words of Her laſt Speech to the Parliament; *I ſhall always make it my particular Care to encourage and maintain this Church as by Law eſtabliſhed, and the leaſt Member of it, in all their juſt Rights and Privileges.* And now having delivered my Sentiment, upon Obſervations of the paſt and preſent Time, to go further would be to wade into the Politicks beyond my Depth. I can ſay nothing certain of Futurity; but ſince the Diſſenters are known, beyond doubt, to be very cordially affected to the Proteſtant Succeſſion, methinks, whatever Qualifications may be judged requiſite for Places of Magiſtracy and publick Truſt, they may well expect (beyond a Proviſion for that) no Hardſhips will be laid upon them now.

Secondly, To conſider Occaſional Conformity in Reference to the Church, it might ſuffice to ſay, the Affairs of it (diſtinct from thoſe of the State) do no Ways lie under the Cognizance of ſuch, whom that may veſt with Go-

Government; but for what properly concerns the Honour and Welfare of the Church of *England*, the firſt Words of this Bill do imply, that her greateſt Glory conſiſts in the Character of Moderation, Sweetneſs, and Charity, truly Chriſtian and Apoſtolick, and very juſtly; for this would recommend her to all the Reformed Churches of *Chriſtendom*, as worthy to be acknowledg'd their chief and beſt. *In the Reign of Queen* Elizabeth, *all the Papiſts in* England *came to Church, and were Occaſional Conformiſts, yet the Government was not uneaſy, and in Danger by it; but the Pope, fearing what that was like ſoon to grow to, put a Stop to it by Bull, and the Church of* Rome *does generally to this Day encourage every Thing like to Occaſional Conformity of Proteſtants; and the Effects ſhew they are in the right, and gain their Ends by it.* In like Manner, can it be thought that the Church has *gained from any Sort of the Diſſenters among us, as from thoſe who have allowed and practiſed an Occaſional Conformity with her? Has ſhe not, by permitting it, obtained many uſeful and worthy Members? Does not the Practice of it weaken the Diſſenters, and encreaſe her Reputation and Authority?* Where then has been the Damage to the Church from Occaſional Conformity? It would be difficult to ſhew what Security, Honour or Intereſt, ſhe has loſt, during the greateſt Indulgence to Diſſenters in the late Reign, of any Thing ſhe poſſeſs'd before that Time, during the unſpeakable Sufferings of others; therefore it muſt be an Acceſſion of Honour and Safety unto her, that ſhe is now, by Clemency, become reverenced of thoſe who formerly were ſuſpected for her Enemies.

Having thus made Enquiry, what Reaſon there is to apprehend that the Safety of the Church and State has been, or is, endanger'd by the Latitude allowed to Diſſenters, from the preſent Condition of the Laws; I proceed, according to Promiſe, to enquire what Alteration would ariſe on the Head of Offices from the Bill now under Conſideration, which I ſhall do in two Denominations of them; I mean, thoſe comprehended in the Teſt Act, and thoſe peculiarly affected by that for regulating Corporations; premiſing here only, that the Offices of the latter Sort, which do directly fall within the Teſt, I judge better to conſider in that Denomination, becauſe thereby what remains will be more diſtinct and intelligible, when we handle it apart.

Firſt, For the Teſt Clauſe, which is the former in this Part of the Bill, without reciting the Words of it, we may be allowed to ſay upon good Authority, *That manifeſtly and indiſputably it does comprehend all the conſiderable Offices and Employments of publick Truſt in the Kingdom, in which the Security of the Government may be concerned; the Experience of* 30 *Years paſt has juſtified the Meaſures taken by that Law, that it is extenſive enough as to the ſeveral Sorts of Offices for publick Security; the Terms of it are expreſs, clear, and univerſally underſtood, without any Uncertainty as to what Employments it relates, which is not ſo evident in thoſe of the Corporation Act; the ſaid Act includes all Offices of Magiſtracy, in eſpecial, as well within Corporations as without; and at the enacting of it, there was little Regard had*

to

to the Act for regulating Corporations, becauſe a more effectual Security to the Church was given hereby. It cannot be taxed as inſufficient to compaſs the End deſigned by it, which was expreſly to prevent Dangers that might happen from Popiſh Recuſants, and to exclude from Offices all others who will not take the Sacrament according to the Uſage of the Church eſtabliſhed. After this Manner, and in a due Medium, as would be eaſy in another Sort of Diſcourſe, to make appear the Safety and Peace of the Church and State, have been fully provided for; nor have the Meaſures of it to procure thoſe been any Ways (in particular the Penalties) found deficient.

This Act being ſo extenſive and compleat, that it reaches whatever Offices concern the Safety of the Government, and is not deficient in any Means to attain its End. If Dangers ſhould from Occaſional Conformity ariſe, it were eaſy at any Time to enjoin ſuch Frequency at the publick Offices of the Church, as might denominate an entire Conformiſt, without a Brand upon ſeparate Aſſemblies, to raiſe again the Seeds of fatal Animoſities; but as to the Places of Magiſtracy and publick Truſt, already comprehended in the Teſt, as they concern the Security of State much more, ſo they affect the Body of Diſſenters much leſs, than thoſe in the Corporations; for which Cauſe, what is to be ſaid in their Behalf is more properly referr'd to that Head. It would alſo be very unbecoming any Sort of Men to enter into Argument with their Governors upon thoſe high Points, which are ſo abſolutely in the Legiſlature to judge of and determine; 'tis not fit for me ſo much as to offer an Opinion: An Explanation of the Teſt, more to the Diſadvantage of Diſſenters, might indeed deprive ſeveral of ſome profitable Places, in the Royal Houſhold, the Exchequer, the Navy, the Exciſe, the Cuſtoms, and elſewhere; but the Magiſtracy of the City would be the chief Import of this Matter; concerning which, what Inconveniences have aroſe to the Government from the Courſe of Things for near twenty Years paſt there, and how an Alteration in it will any Ways tend to the Advantage of the State, is equally to me undiſcernible; but this I do adventure to ſay, that if Men, whom the Negative Qualification of this Bill would have rendered incapable to ſerve in ſuch Offices, ſhould have been finable nevertheleſs for not ſerving them, and that *toties quoties*, as the Humour of the World might lead, that Sort of Perſecution might poſſibly riſe pretty high.

Secondly, It remains to examine what the propoſed Bill would have introduced *de novo*, upon the Head of the Corporation Act diſtinctly; the Clauſe whereof, expreſſive of the Offices it would affect, is in theſe Words: *Any Mayor, Alderman, Recorder, Bayliff, Town-Clerk, Common-Council-Man, or other Perſon, bearing any Office of Magiſtracy, or Places, or Truſts, or other Employment, relating to, or concerning, the Government of the reſpective Cities, Corporations, Boroughs, Cinque-Ports, and their Members, and other Port-Towns.* As to ſo much hereof as concerns Magiſtracy, the Teſt Act having better provided, my Diſcourſe is to be hence-

forth

forth reſtrained to what herein touches only intrinſick and inferior Employments, relating to the ſeveral Boroughs reſpectively, wherein the Security of the Church and State does not ſeem to be much concerned.

Moſt of our Laws have ſprung from the evident Neceſſities of the Times, and ſo came in as Remedies to the proper Diſtempers of them, which is in none more apparent than this of the Corporations, the 13*th Car.* II. *Thoſe deplorable Confuſions which had tormented the Nation, for nigh twenty Years preceding, lay freſh upon the Minds of the Parliament, when that Act was made; and 'tis evident, that nothing but ſo extraordinary a Juncture could have excuſed ſome Parts of it: Nay, it was principally founded upon Reaſons ſo peculiar to that Time, they are far from being pertinent to ours; for there is now no ſolemn League and Covenant needs to be renounced; the Declaration in it, that it is not lawful, upon any Pretence whatſoever, to take up Arms againſt the King, and of Abhorrence of that traiterous Poſition of doing ſo by his Authority againſt his Perſon, or thoſe commiſſioned by him,* (which was the Touchſtone of the ſaid Act and Times) *is now utterly abrogated, and no Perſon henceforth can be obliged to take the ſame, as appears in the Act* Primo W. *and* M. *for appointing other Oaths; the Oaths of Supremacy and Allegiance therein are alſo chang'd; the Power given by it to the Crown, to conſtitute Commiſſioners for two Years to turn out, and put in the Corporation Officers* ad libitum, *tho' they were conformable to the Qualifications required by the Act, was an Extravagance the preſent Age would ſcarce approve; the Preamble ſpeaks of it as a Thing too well known, that notwithſtanding his Majeſty's unparallell'd Goodneſs in pardoning what was paſt, there were many evil Spirits ſtill working.* We do not therefore herein go about to cenſure the Meaſures of that Act, as they were ſuited to the Juncture; but as the Reaſons, the Jealouſies and Foundations, whereon that Act was built, were ſo appropriate to that Time, that the ſeveral Parts of it here above-mentioned (as unſuitable to any other) are ſince aboliſhed. It is pretty clear that the primary Intent thereof had its full and due Effect from the Commiſſioners Power, and the Impoſition of renouncing the Covenant and Declaration of Fidelity; *for there was little Regard had to it at the Time that a more effectual Security to the Church was provided by the Teſt.*

We come therefore to conſider in the next Place, what remains yet unrazed of that Act in 13 *Car.* II. *for well governing and regulating Corporations*; and then will clearly be diſcerned what the propoſed Bill would have ſuperadded, touching the Offices of Magiſtracy, the Teſt Act has much better and effectually provided, which has been already conſider'd; and therefore, as to what is diſtinctly under my preſent Head of Diſcourſe to be treated of, there remains in Subſtance of the Corporation Act yet in Force no more than this, *That no Man ſhall be placed, elected, or choſen in or to any Offices, or Places, or Truſts, or other Employment relating to, or concerning the Government of the reſpective Boroughs,* &c. *who has not, within one Year before ſuch Election, taken the Sacrament according to the Rites of the Church of* England: *In Default whereof, every ſuch Election is thereby declared*

clared to be void. This being the full Import of the ſaid Act at preſent, it is upon that Foot a Meaſure muſt be taken, what and how much the intended Bill would have enacted new upon this Head; it cannot be amiſs here to obſerve, that the Corporation Act was the firſt after the Reſtoration, which directly affected the Diſſenters as ſuch.

Now *in Corporations, there are many Offices of a private and inferior Nature,* (which cannot be fully ſpecified, becauſe they are ſo various in the reſpective Boroughs) *whereon the Safety of the State does not appear manifeſtly to depend, but regard only the Affairs of the particular Town within itſelf. Some of theſe are Freeholds, and many of them the whole Subſiſtence of Families, which have been obtained by Purchaſe or long Services, or attained by Cuſtom of Courſe. Several of theſe the Diſſenters are now poſſeſſed of, and perhaps have enjoyed many Years, under an Obedience to all ſuch Terms as the Law now in Being has preſcribed; and to deſpoil Men of their Freeholds and Poſſeſſions by a new Law, without Imputation of any Crime; and when the Security of the Government does not appear manifeſtly concerned, is ſure among* Engliſhmen *very hard.*

That the Diſſenters at this Day are not diſaffected to the Queen and eſtabliſhed Government, nor chargeable with Rebellion paſt, nor meditating new Troubles, or any Ways dangerous to the State, (under which Characters the Corporation-Act conſidered them) the Preamble of this very Bill now in Debate does intimate: For it aſſerts, That *the Act in the firſt Year of the Reign of the late King* William *and Queen* Mary, *of ever-glorious Memory, entituled, An Act for exempting their Majeſties Proteſtant Subjects, diſſenting from the Church of* England, *from the Penalties of certain Laws, was in due Conſideration, that Perſecution for Conſcience only was contrary to the Profeſſion of the Chriſtian Religion and Doctrine of the Church of* England.

If then the Diſſenters, under an Obedience to all ſuch Terms as the Law now in being has preſcribed, do poſſeſs many inferior Offices in Corporations, which the preſent Bill, when paſſed into an Act, would immediately ſeclude from; beſides thoſe in the Magiſtracy, the Navy, the Cuſtoms, the Exciſe, the Royal Houſhold, and others, which, under the Head of the Teſt-Act, it would alſo deprive them of, then (ſure enough) it takes from the Diſſenters what they enjoyed before by Law: And is not this to enact ſomething new? *Moreover, the Diſſenters at any Time, upon the preſent Terms of conforming, are now admittable to any Office of what Quality ſoever in the Kingdom; but by this Bill they would have a total Incapacity put upon them, in reſpect to thoſe under the Teſt and Corporation-Acts above-mentioned.* Which Incapacity, after the firſt Offence, would extend to Offices of Inheritance, and in the Foreſts, Non-Commiſſion Offices in the Fleet, and many more, ſuch as neither the Teſt or Corporation-Acts, or any other, ever did, or intended to exclude them from.

It has been already inſiſted, That *all the Offices, wherein the Safety of Church and State are manifeſtly concerned, are comprehended within the Teſt,*

and that the inferior Offices in the Boroughs do not come under the ſame Conſiderations; to have therefore the ſame Reaſons of State urged for an equal Animadverſion upon the latter, ſeems very unequal; for it brings great Difficulty on the Commercial Sort of Men, to argue on thoſe Topicks, while they plead for no more than quiet Cohabitation with their Neighbours. But if it be argued, that thoſe poor Emoluments in the Boroughs, which the Safety of the Government might (doubtleſs) well enough indulge them, came within the Intent at leaſt of the Corporation-Act to deny to the Diſſenters, how ſhould they judge of it but very ſevere, to have that Act ſo explained and enforced to their Diſadvantage, that it ſhould take place more in the Reign of her Gracious Majeſty, than it has done in any Time preceding?

In this Caſe the Diſſenters do humbly apologize for themſelves (as it imports them) that granting whatever was deſigned by this Bill, was the Intent then of the Corporation-Act, they do not now ſtand in the ſame Place the laſt Age did at the paſſing thereof; the preſent Generation it cannot be pretended have brought upon the Church and State Confuſions, Ruin, and Deſolation; they have no Ways diſturbed the Peace of either, but have, *by Teſtimonies, inconteſtible ſhewed, that neither their Principles or Practice are inconſiſtent with Monarchy, but contrariwiſe moſt conformable to the preſent Government and Settlement of the Crown, nor are there any evil Spirits working of Rebellion among them.* If therefore the Intent of the Corporation-Act was built upon Reaſons peculiar to that Time, they do entirely ſubmit it to Conſideration, whether a purſuing of the ſame Intent now, and giving (by the negative Qualification and Penalties of this Bill) an Extent and Force to it, which, in the Inſtitution, or ſince, it never had before, without any like Cauſe on their Part, would not be in the Nature of puniſhing the Innocent for the Sake of the Guilty, which they do not doubt will be far from ſo wiſe, juſt, and good a Government; but the propoſed Bill they conceive, upon the Head only of the Corporation-Act, would have brought upon them the extraordinary Hardſhips and Difficulties here following.

Firſt, The Qualification for Offices being made to conſiſt in the utmoſt Diſtance and Averſion unto them, will be a Brand of Ignominy and Reproach upon the whole Body of Diſſenters; ſo that an Emulation in caſting Injuries and Contempt upon them may, in a little Time, be thought the beſt Recommendation, and neareſt Way to Preferment; is it juſt therefore that the whole Body ſhould ſuffer for the Sake comparatively of a very few, who have occaſionally conformed?

Secondly, Reviving the Acts againſt ſeditious Conventicles in Part, and giving a new Force to that of the Corporations, they fear will give too much Occaſion to Men of violent Tempers, to declaim that they lie ſtill under the ſame odious Imputation of Diſloyalty charged upon them by thoſe Acts, as if they gave really any Manner of Jealouſy to the State now; which

which Clamour (however cauſeleſs) when it ſhall be induſtriouſly vented, would be in itſelf a very heavy Affliction.

Thirdly, The Freeholds and Offices of an inferior Nature, in 600 *Towns of* England, *or thereabouts, which have been obtained by Purchaſe or long Services, or in Courſe, ſome of them the whole Subſiſtence of Families, and of long Time poſſeſſed, under an Obedience to all the Terms preſcribed by Law,* would not only be immediately loſt by the Poſſeſſors, but an Incapacity would lye upon all Diſſenters for the future, of attaining the like, and (after the firſt Offence) any other Offices in the Kingdom whatſoever; but they hope *the Crime charg'd upon ſome few of them, is not of ſo deteſtable a Nature that they ought all to be reduced to ſo unhappy a Condition for it.*

Fourthly, In many Corporations the Election of Members to ſerve in Parliament, is only in ſuch as are concerned in the Government of them, and giving a Vote for a Repreſentative in Parliament is the eſſential Privilege whereby every Engliſhman *preſerves his Property; and whatſoever deprives him of a Capacity for having ſuch Vote, deprives him of his Birthright.* The Magiſtracy of Corporations, which by the Teſt-Act now takes place, is one Thing; but the Offices affected by the new Bill would be quite another.

Fifthly, There have been for ſeveral Towns and Cities Acts paſſed of late Years, for ſetting the Poor on Work therein, and puniſhing Vagrants, beſides the former ancient Hoſpitals; touching which the Diſſenters are likely by this Bill to have been excluded the appearing uſefully in their Places; which is a Mark of Diſhonour on them, as well as Diſcouragement to charitable Intentions.

Sixthly, To leave Proteſtant Diſſenters ſubject to Fines and Penalties, if they do not accept Offices (toties quoties) *and at the ſame Time if they do accept, to reſtrain them upon the ſevere Penalties of this Bill from doing what their Conſcience obliges to, whether this would not* (againſt the Intent of the Bill) *be Perſecution for Conſcience Sake,* all good Men might be left to judge; but they only would feel, and every Borough in *England* at Diſcretion be left to proportion the Degree.

Seventhly, The Diſſenters have Reaſon to fear innumerable Injuries and Oppreſſions (beſides theſe mentioned) would be their Lot, in all municipal Rates, Freedoms, Duties, Privileges, Services, Pariſh-Offices, and every Sort of Intercourſe with their Townſmen and Neighbours. When upon Complaint of any ſuch Injuries, thoſe Fellow-Citizens, who only have Power to do them Juſtice, are like to ſuffer in their own Reputations, Intereſts, and Employments, for ſo doing, as Favourers of the fanatical, excluded Party.

Theſe Conſiderations of their Suffering, though they appear evident and unavoidable, are with all Candour and Reſignation referr'd to the Judgment of others; but the Diſſenters muſt crave Leave to add, that they would be the more pungent and ſenſible upon Perſons not chargeable by the Bill with any Offence, becauſe, without Penal Laws, and their At-

tendants, with the clamorous Inſults of the prophane and deſigning, the very diſſenting from the Publick is in itſelf (as to earthly Things) many Ways a Misfortune, which nothing but unpretended Conſcience (however miſtaken) would oblige them to.

Thirdly, The Penalties, which are the laſt Part of the Bill, ſhall be conſider'd under three Heads. *Firſt*, What Suitableneſs there is in them to the Act of Indulgence. *Secondly*, What Proportion between the Proteſtant Diſſenters and Popiſh. *Thirdly*, What Danger from thence to the Innocent.

Firſt, For the Suitableneſs there is in theſe Penalties to the Act of Indulgence; it may ſure be granted, that *the good Effects of Liberty to tender Conſciences are every where viſible, that the foregoing Bitterneſs and Animoſities are much calmed, the Diſſenters brought to a Temper of Reſpect, and more Candour towards the Church, and the Church ſatisfied by ſufficient Experience, that the Freedom of others does not leſſen her Security and Reputation. Thus is our* Sion *at Unity within herſelf, and the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace (according to the Prayer of our Church) preſerv'd.* One cannot therefore lay to Heart the Peace of our *Jeruſalem* without ſome Concern, leſt the Severities of this Bill ſhould contribute to diſturb it; for beſides that it would diſpoſſeſs immediately Perſons legally veſted with Places, and affect many Offices, which no Law did before, and many Ways be injurious in the Boroughs, and leave Men to occaſional Perſecution for Conſcience Sake, and be a Brand upon all Aſſemblies of Diſſenters, as already has been inſtanced; there are in it ſome further Peculiarities of Puniſhment.

Before the Act of Indulgence, while Conventicles were illegal and criminal Aſſemblies, even then a Man in Office, who was preſent at them, was only liable to a Fine of ten Pounds; whereas by this Bill he is liable to a Fine of a hundred Pounds, and five Pounds per Diem, *for three Months, beſides Loſs of his Place.* The Sum you ſee may amount to 550 *l.* which is more than would need to beggar ſome Thouſands of Corporations; and other Officers in *England* would be liable to it, and the more in Danger, becauſe the whole Sum goes to the Informer, which is good Booty for that Sort of Privateers; and the rather, when a Conviction on this Bill would not be ſo difficult as in moſt other Caſes.

The Diſſenters, during the worſt of their Proſecutions heretofore, upon a viſible Conformity, without Renunciation or declared Abhorrence of their former Practice, were at any Time capable of Places of Profit and Truſt, but this Bill draws over all their Heads a diſmal Cloud of Incapacity. *None will deny but a total Incapacity to ſerve his Prince and Country is a Mark of high Infamy; ſo that, next to the Loſs of Life, it ſeems the heavieſt Puniſhment; and in the ſeveral Towns corporate of* England *(which may probably be ſix or ſeven hundred) to be rendered by Law incapable of ever acquiring the Support of any of thoſe little Places which appertain to them, beſides thoſe of Profit under the Head of the Teſt-Act, and thoſe many more (upon Conviction) which no Law yet has ever affected, is altogether* (if conſider'd) *a very unhappy*

happy Condition; but after the immediate Forfeiture of all the ſeveral Offices, now legally poſſeſs'd by the Diſſenters, upon the Paſſing of this Bill, then a Perſon might ſtill go to a Meeting, without Breach of any Law (as long as the Toleration continues) and one would think ſuch a Man were *bonus & legalis homo*, and capable of the Privileges of a free-born Subject, and at Liberty to provide for his Family and Maintenance; but to impoſe a ſevere Cenſure on any Action allowed by Law, ſeems very unreaſonable. However that be, there would remain upon all, and every Man of the Diſſenters, an Incapacity not only as above, but (after the firſt Offence) for any Office or Imployment whatſoever within the Kingdom; in which Regard this Bill would extend to Offices of Inheritance, and in the Foreſts, Non-Commiſſion Offices in the Fleet, with many more, which neither the Teſt or Corporation-Acts, or any other, ever could affect, or ever intended ſo to do.

As to the Shame and Incapacity of one convicted upon this Bill; that is to ſay, *before he ever again could enter by Grant or Election, into any Office or Imployment within the Kingdom of* England, *he muſt, at the next Quarter-Seſſions of the County where he reſides, or in one of her Majeſty's Courts at* Weſtminſter, *in publick and open Court, make Oath in Writing, that within the Year foregoing, he has not once been preſent at any Conventicle, but has three Times at the leaſt received the Sacrament at the Church; which Oath is to be kept upon Record.* This would not be ſo much worthy of Conſideration, nor the Aggravation of the Sentence on a ſecond Offence, (as a Relapſe and Apoſtacy) if the Value of the Forfeiture, and Eaſineſs of Conviction, did not put too much Hazard on the Innocent, even after ſuch Purgation, as well as before it.

Secondly, The Proportion by the Penalties of this Bill, between the Proteſtant and Papiſt, is to be ſcanned by two Ways. *Firſt*, By examining whether they are equally liable to Loſs of Offices, and ſuffering the Puniſhments. *2dly*, What Difference there is otherwiſe. For the *firſt*, the Teſt being more expreſly contrived to reject all Popiſh Recuſants, and the Complexion of the Times ſince the grand Revolution not favouring them, every Man will agree with me, that the immediate Loſs to them upon paſſing this Bill would be nothing, they have no Concern in the Matter; but on the other Hand, the Diſſenters (*under the Terms hitherto required by Law*) do poſſeſs many Offices, as has been diſtinctly intimated, the firſt Loſs to them thereupon would upon many Accounts be very conſiderable. Now for the Puniſhments ſufferable by this Bill, the Diſſenters enjoying a Liberty upon Condition of open Doors, a Conviction would at all Times be more feaſible upon them than the Papiſts, who are enforced to conceal their Worſhip by other Laws. Furthermore, the Nature of the Proteſtant Worſhip requires all their Attendants at once, whereas that of private Maſſes need not engage above Five, beſides the Family, in the ſame Inſtant. Thus the Papiſt would not be ſo expoſed to the Forfeitures, Fine and Incapacity, as the Proteſtant.

The Difference otherwiſe between the Popiſh and Proteſtant Diſſenter is no more than this; that whereas the Teſt-Act did more expreſly intend the

Papiſt

Papiſt, and the Proteſtant was but tacitly included, the Bill under Conſideration uſes ſuch Terms only, as have been appropriate to Proteſtants; and herein the Papiſt is but tacitly included, however he is equally reach'd by the Intention and Penalties hereof; and thus the Popiſh Diſſenter and Proteſtant do ſtand upon a Par; but granting the Papiſt is not liable to Loſs of Benefit at all, or to ſuffering the Penalties like the Proteſtant, becauſe Conviction is more difficult upon him, *no Man is made liable to ſuffer ſo much by any other Law, for aſſiſting at the ſolemneſt Acts of that Religion, as he would by this Bill, for being preſent at a Conventicle. A Popiſh Convict, receiving the Sacrament of the Church, is immediately cleared; no ſuch Shame of Renunciation, no Incapacity lies upon him. A Papiſt that ſhall relapſe, and fall under a ſecond Conviction, is to be convicted over again, without any Aggravation of his Cenſure. But Juſtice and good Policy require there ſhould be a Proportion between the Offence and Puniſhment. Thus the Laws of* England *have all along treated Papiſts as the moſt inveterate, reſtleſs, and formidable Enemies of the State, becauſe they depend upon a foreign Power, and are ſubject to it; which is ſuch a one as always was, and ever will be employed to ruin us; therefore there has conſtantly been a leſs Degree of Puniſhment in the Laws upon the Proteſtant Diſſenter than them.* This Reaſon, if I be not miſtaken, has a conſiderable Acceſſion of Weight to it in our Days, the Papiſts having refuſed, ſince the late Revolution, their Allegiance to the Crown of *England* more than ever, from the early Days of the Reformation.

Laſtly, Let us conſider what Danger would ariſe from the Penalties of this Bill to the Innocent; for their Safety ſeems the higheſt Concern of all Laws. *Now for the Adminiſtrations in publick, according to the Liturgy of the Church, though for Want of it before Univerſity Sermons, or upon an Omiſſion of Prayer for the Royal Family, or upon contravening the Practice of the Church of* England, *Men would come within the Letter of this Bill, which is a Condition not wholly out of Danger*; yet 'tis likely the obvious Deſign of it being againſt Diſſenters, would render a Proſecution in thoſe Caſes fruitleſs: *However, Family Prayers differing from the Liturgy, at which ſhould be preſent more than Five accidentally above the Houſhold* (Circumſtances not uncommon) *would clearly come within Reach, and then the Villainy of a Couple of bad Servants* (diſmiſt perhaps for ill Practices) *would have ſufficient Encouragement:* But the greateſt Danger to the Innocent ariſes from two Things in this Bill. *Firſt*, From the Value of the Forfeiture, which may amount to 550*l.* and is all given to the Informers, *a Temptation beyond what is commonly ſet before them by our Laws, or what the Integrity of the Age can well aſſure us againſt; for a deteſtable Sort of Men there has been, who, for much leſs Gains, have done wrongfully to a great many, and proved a very Nuiſance to the Government, ſeveral of whom were convicted of Perjury about* 20 *Years ago. Secondly*, The Eaſineſs of Conviction is another Subject of Danger to the Innocent; *for as the Law in Relation to Offices now ſtands, every Man chuſes his own Witneſſes to receiving of the Sacrament; whoſe Atteſtation, with that of the Miniſters and Church-wardens, being put upon Record, a Man is almoſt beyond a Poſſibility*

bility of ſuffering by a falſe Accuſation. But in the Bill before us 'tis not ſo ſafe, *for falſe Witneſſes may chuſe to aſſign ſuch a Time and Place* (when they ſaw him at a Meeting) *as they know the Party leaſt likely to diſprove, and the Accuſed in that Caſe has but a Kind of negative Proof to defend himſelf withal.*

As I have not preſumed to draw into Argument the Diſpoſal of Offices, wherein the Safety of Church and State did appear manifeſtly concerned, ſo neither ſhall I once enter into the Thoughts of thoſe high Affairs, which might be any Ways affected by this Bill; as whether the deſirable Union with *Scotland* may not be embarraſſed thereby; whether putting all foreign Churches under a Cenſure may weaken the good Underſtanding which ought to be between *England* and her Proteſtant Allies; whether this Expedient bears due Regard to the Condition of like Affairs among our neareſt Neighbours, *Holland*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*; or whether, in Time of ſo dubious a War, eſpecially ſince a Pretender to our Throne is ſet up by the Enemy, it be proper to do any Thing which may raiſe Heats and Animoſities among ourſelves; theſe being Matters cognizable only by the proper Miniſters of State, or the High Court of Parliament, and not fit for private Perſons to debate.

As to the grand Point of their Loyalty and due Allegiance, which, above all others, the Diſſenters are concern'd to vindicate themſelves about; her Majeſty's loving Subjects, who (being Proteſtants, and by the Rights of Nature *Engliſhmen*) lye under the Unhappineſs of diſſenting in ſome ſmall Matters of Religion from the eſtabliſhed Church, are abundantly ſatisfied from the Chriſtian-like Preamble of this Bill, and otherwiſe, that in the ſacred Breaſt of her moſt excellent Majeſty, and in thoſe alſo of the highly honoured Lords and Commons of *England*, they ſtand fully acquitted from the vile and deteſtable Imputation of any Principles repugnant to the Safety of this Government; the Teſtimony of their own Conſciences does equally concur, and their Behaviour ſhall (as they hope it does) demonſtrate to all the World, that none of their Fellow-Subjects can be more devoted to the preſent rightful and lawful Settlement of the Crown; were ſuch Imputations true, they could never, with any Face, complain of whatever Hardſhips were put upon them; but being in the Caſe of the preſent Government abſolved before God and Men, they do always allow themſelves to hope, that during their conſonant and uniform Obedience, no Difficulties or Diſtreſſes will be laid upon them; and above all, nothing which may look like a Blemiſh upon their Loyalty; her moſt gracious Majeſty (whom God long preſerve) has ſeveral Times expreſſed her pious, parental Candour and Compaſſion unto them, who indeed, without the Severity of penal Laws, are, for the Sake of undiſſembled Conſcience, daily under various temporal Misfortunes; and as from that Diſpoſition of her Majeſty's, they hold the Benefits of the Act of Indulgence dear to them above all other earthly Conſiderations, none can more ardently and ſincerely than they conſtantly do, and will,

will, implore the choiceſt Bleſſings of Heaven upon her excellent Majeſty, and all their Governors.

To diſſent from the Publick, they are ſenſible is always to be in the Wrong; but if inſtead of the few Things ſcrupled, wherein they are involuntarily ſo, their Union in the eſſential, and more important Points of Religion with the Church, might find a due Conſideration; they doubt not but all Reproaches upon them, of any hoſtile Diſpoſitions towards it, would alſo be done away. This is what, next to an affectionate Allegiance to the State, they could deſire moſt, to vindicate to themſelves the Character of, and which they have for many Years, by all Means ſo endeavoured, that if the unfriendly Paſſions of ſome Men, with the viſible Intereſt of the Papiſts, had not hindered, the ſame would, long e'er this, have crowned their Wiſhes with an univerſal Atteſtation: To diſſent touching Matters civil and common, from any Society we are in, I appeal to all Men, does it imply Ill-will to it? Why then ſhould it be conſtrued ſo in the Caſe before us? Or if we pleaſe, why not quite otherwiſe?

The Church of *England*, is it not as a City, which has an ambitious and powerful Enemy in the Field? She has indeed other Fortifications more near and proper, but why may not the Diſſenters to her alſo be accounted as detached Outworks and Lines of Defence? Had ever the common Enemy a Deſign immediate to execute upon this City, but firſt his ſecret Engines were wrought to breed Miſunderſtanding between the Town and her Dependants, then open Attacks were made upon the ſeparated Forts; and while many Storms have fallen upon thoſe, their Fidelity to the Town has been the more approved, but the City itſelf ſecure? No Perſecutions could extort any Petition from them for a Toleration of Popery. But after a long and obſtinate Defence, when thoſe outward Poſts came to be abandoned and demoliſhed, did not the Enemy ſoon get within the Town? The Papiſts, it is true, when once poſſeſs'd of their Conqueſt, to ſecure againſt the Revolt of it, tho' before, by open Force, they had taken and levell'd all thoſe Redoubts, did then officiouſly erect them anew, thinking to ſerve their Intereſt of them: But the Diſſenters, glad of Liberty indeed (who can blame them?) no ſooner diſcovered the Enemy's Deſign, than they adhered to their ancient Mother and Principal.

The Author hereof, to obviate undue Conſtructions, thinks fit to declare, he is not liable to the Loſs of any Office by the foreſaid Bill, nor has he reaped any perſonal Advantage from the Revolution, or any Ways from the Government ſince; but the true Occaſion of this Diſcourſe was not ſo much a Reſpect to the Diſſenters, as an accidental Computation in himſelf of the flouriſhing Eſtate of the reformed Intereſt in *Europe*, in the Commencement of the laſt Century, and of the diſmal Declenſion of it at the latter End; which gave him Occaſion to reflect, that in human Appearance the only defenſible Bulwark of it muſt now conſiſt in the Welfare of our Government, and an indiſſoluble Union with *Holland*. Upon which Occaſion, conſidering that *the Indemnity of Diſſenters from penal Laws, was by the Act of Indulgence*

gence, declared an effectual Means to unite our Proteſtant Fellow-Subjects in Intereſt and Affection. He could not but conclude, that the impoſing new Penalties and Sufferings would diſunite them; and what can look more fatal upon us, than to ſee buried Animoſities flame out afreſh? Who can tell but a Breach, when open'd, may, beyond all our Foreſight, grow in Time ſo wide, that the mercileſs Uſurpations of *France* and *Rome* may enter at it?

Bus as to our Days, the Hope and Wiſhes of our Enemies ſhall be diſappointed, if we will liſten to the Direction which the pious and prudent Authority over us has preſcribed, in appointing, on the late ſolemn Faſt, *(to obtain Succeſs in this War, whereon the Safety of the Kingdom does wholly depend)* this Prayer for our Uſe, and the God of Mercy vouchſafe us a favourable Anſwer to it. *Give us Grace, O Lord, ſeriouſly to lay to Heart the great Dangers we are in, by our unhappy Diviſions; take away all Hatred and Prejudice, and whatſoever elſe may hinder us from godly Union and Concord; that as there is but one Body, and one Spirit, and one Hope of our Calling, one Lord, one Faith, one Baptiſm, one God and Father of us all, ſo we may henceforth be all of one Heart, and of one Soul, united in one Holy Bond of Truth and Peace, of Faith and Charity; and may, with one Mind, and one Mouth, glorify thee, O God, through* Chriſt Jeſus *our Lord.* Amen.

Great Britain's *Union, and the Security of the* Hanover *Succeſſion, conſidered. In a Letter from* Windſor, *of the* 30th *of* December, 1704, *to a Member of Parliament in* London. *By a Perſon of Quality.* 1705.

SIR,

THE extraordinary Succeſs of our Arms both by Sea and Land, eſpecially in the Plains of *Hochſtet* laſt Summer, was ſo much beyond the Expectation of any reaſonable Man, and the Event ſo far exceeded the firſt Deſign, that it is not to be wondered, if a Nation, raiſed to an Extaſy, by ſuch uncommon and ſurprizing Accidents, had neither Will nor Leiſure to think on any Thing elſe: For as when Mens Eyes are too fixedly intent upon one Object, they generally overlook other Things, that both require and deſerve their Regard; ſo whilſt the Nation was thus at a Gaze, few or none thought it worth their while ſo much as to enquire what was upon the Anvil, or gave themſelves the Trouble either to weigh the true Intereſt of the Nation, or to ſearch whether, in the Midſt of the deepeſt appearing Security, there were not real Deſigns of undermining us; from what ſecret

Springs they had their firſt Motion; by whom, with what View, by what Methods, and how far they had been carried on.

But Men rather ſatisfied themſelves with a general Notion of Things; the buſy Part of the Nation were torturing their Fancies, to find out Expreſſions of Force enough to leſſen and ſully, by fulſome, ſordid, and mercenary Flattery, one of the moſt glorious Actions of latter Ages, that ſhines brighteſt in its native Luſtre, like the Folly of thoſe who would attempt to paint a Diamond, whereby its original Light and Beauty is loſt; whilſt others gratified themſelves in a ſupine Indulgence: And this careleſs Temper grew to that Height, that Men of the beſt Eſtates in *England*, and Members of Parliament too, were ſo far from knowing what had been lately done in a neighbouring Kingdom, that when they were told of the *Act of Security* paſſed there the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, they could ſcarce believe it, even when it was ſhewn to them.

'Tis true, a little before the ſitting down of our Parliament, the *Scotch Act of Security* began to be diſcours'd of amongſt *ſome Men*; but whether it was to keep a *great Man or two* in awe, by threatening them with it, or whether to make the *better Terms for themſelves*, is not my Part to diſcover; Time will do that for me. But you may believe it upon the Teſtimony of a near Witneſs, that no Men were more hot and violent againſt *ſome Perſons*, and thought their Guilt more unpardonable, than thoſe, who, in a very few Days, were as ready to cover, as they before to accuſe. What Influence either Penſions or Promiſes had in this ſudden and wonderful Change, or whether any, I ſhall not trouble myſelf to examine; only it happened croſs, I believe to the Foundation of ſome Mens Merit, that nothing perſonal was ever deſign'd by any, unleſs by themſelves. However it was, it ſeems very probable to me, that if a certain Lord had not taken Notice of the Buſineſs of *Scotland*, we had to this Day been very much in the Dark, as to that Matter.

Since that Time, the Face of our Affairs has been ſo much changed, that inſtead of the laſting Felicity and firm Security we flatter'd ourſelves with, a Scene of threatning Dangers, like a gathering Tempeſt, has been open'd unto us; which makes it the Duty of every Man, that wiſhes well to *Britain*, to conſider, how either the menacing Storm may be avoided, or a ſafe Shelter provided: But as the Wiſdom of Prevention far exceeds that of Remedy, ſo, if any reaſonable and reconciling Methods could be found out, (with Submiſſion to better Judgments) they might be as effectual upon others, and leſs dangerous to ourſelves, than either *Standing Troops* or *Fortified Garriſons*.

I ſhall take Liberty to mention one or two, which, I think, would be of great Service to *England* in this preſent Juncture, if not to effect that mutual good Underſtanding, which every Man, wiſhing well to both Nations, earneſtly deſires; yet at leaſt to make us better known to one another.

And ſince we muſt have Characters of Diſtinction, I would rather chuſe a real, than a nominal one, and would go down into my Country with the Mark of one, who, by all poſſible and reaſonable Means, would endeavour to heal

heal the Breaches, and create and nouriſh a good Underſtanding, Correſpondence and Agreement, between *England* and *Scotland*; of one who is for the real Intereſt of *England*, as well perpetual as accidental, and would have neither betray'd, overlook'd, or ſold; of one who is for the Settlement of the *Succeſſion* in the *Proteſtant Line* and *Houſe of Hanover*, and ſtrict to National Oaths and Engagements, tho' under the *Jacobitiſh Name of a Tory*; than of one who either makes *the Illuſtrious Houſe of* Hanover *his Jeſt*, or the Intereſt of *England* his Property and Pretence, and endeavours by all the popular Colours to cover the Adviſers of thoſe Counſels that may prove dangerous to both Kingdoms, tho' under the falſe Character of a *ſtaunch Whig*.

The firſt Thing I ſhall mention is the Matter of *Trade*, which ſeems to be the tender Point between the two Nations: And if the general Calcule be true, *viz.* that we have loſt about two Thouſand Ships ſince the preſent War, aboard each of which, by a Medium, we may reckon ten Men made Priſoners, half of whom (by moſt credible Information) generally enter themſelves in the *French* Service; according to which Compute the *French* have near Ten Thouſand of our ableſt Seamen at preſent in their Pay, the Boys and old Men being thoſe that are actually ſent us Home in Exchange; there could not be a greater Service and Security to *England*, than to let the *Scots* into ſuch a Part of Trade, as may be no Way prejudicial to the other Parts, and be a conſtant Nurſery of numerous and able Seamen, to be ready for Service on all Exigencies.

'Tis well known what Advantages that Nation has for *Fiſhing*; and if there was a *Joint Stock* of both Kingdoms, eſtabliſh'd by both Parliaments for this ſingle Branch of Trade, it would be a conſolidating Project, and might have as powerful an Influence to bring that Nation to a better Temper, as any other Method.

Eſpecially if in that Eſtabliſhment, the Wiſdom of the Nation would think it reaſonable to give the *Scots* a *Conſideration* for the great Loſſes they ſuſtain'd at *Darien*; wherein, *by ſome Mens Advice*, there was more Compliment paid to a *Spaniſh Monarch*, and Regard had to the Intereſt of a *Neighbouring State*, than either to Parliamentary Engagement, or Perſonal Duty: It might prove a very effectual Way of defeating ſome Mens Deſigns, and ſettling the *Hanover Succeſſion* there, as we have done here. For I have always thought *Induction* a much ſtronger Argument to convince Men than a *formal Syllogiſm*, and that Men are more eaſily perſwaded of a general Truth drawn from ſenſible, advantageous Particulars, than by a *Demonſtration* grounded either on Principle or Maxim.

But ſince I have mentioned a *Neighbouring State*, let us a little conſider what great Advantages the *Dutch* have over us with reſpect to our *Trade*, our *Quotas* and our *Coin*, either from our Ignorance, or their Influence and Deſigns upon us.

Firſt, as to *Trade:* No Man, I think, who knows any Thing of the Courſe of it, but muſt be of Opinion, that the prohibiting the Importation of *French* Goods, whilſt our Neighbours the *Dutch* have the Liberty of Commerce

with that Nation, is as prejudicial to us as profitable to them: For 'tis moſt evident, that it were better for *England* to have *Wines*, *Brandies*, &c. immediately from *France*, in Exchange of our Home-Manufacture, than to have them, under the Notion of a Prohibition, by Second-hand, from the *Dutch*; by which Means they have not only the Advantage of ſettling and maintaining a preſent Trade with *France*, and thereby an Opportunity of beating us out of it for the future; but alſo make us pay ready Money and higher Rates for thoſe Commodities, which otherwiſe we might have much cheaper, and with more Advantage. A particular Inſtance hereof is the *French Brandy* brought in from *Holland*, paying the Duty but of *Dutch* Goods, with a *Dutch* Atteſtation of its being run there immediately from the Stills into the Casks, in which it is imported; it being the Practice of the Merchants there to put the *French* Brandy into their Stills, and immediately turn the Cock, and run it into the Cask; by which Practice the Laws are eluded, and *England* impoſed upon. Beſides this, the great Duties that are lay'd upon imported Goods, are as advantageous to the *Dutch*, as burthenſome to our *Engliſh* Merchants; for by this Method our Trade is very much driven from us, and the *Dutch* have the Advantage of the Freight, the Commiſſion, the Cuſtoms, the petty Charges, and the Credit of a great Part of it.

Every Man knows, that *Trade* is the true Intereſt both of *England* and *Holland*; and of all the *Branches* of it, there is none the *Dutch* more covet to monopolize than that Part which is left to us of the *Eaſt India* Trade: And if they could but engroſs the *Pepper* alone (as they have done the *Nutmeg*, *Cinamon and Mace*) they might put their own Price upon it, which, according to the Rate it went laſt War, would yield them many Millions. And here I could eaſily convince you, how conſtant a Regard the *Dutch* have to the Intereſt of their *Trade*, if I would mention the *private Article* of the *Partition Treaty* between them and the *French* King; and in how probable Circumſtances they are of obtaining again what by the ſaid *Article* was covenanted; but theſe Things being, in my Opinion, not ſo ſeaſonable to be made more publick than they are, I ſhall only wiſh *England may never be excluded any Branch of her Trade by any private Article for the future.*

As to our *Quota's*, 'tis evident, the Money exported hence for the Subſiſtance, Cloathing, Ammunition, *&c.* of our *Land Forces* there, enriches them proportionably to what we are impoveriſh'd thereby: And it ſeems but reaſonable, that ſince the Dangers *England* is expos'd to are by Sea, as thoſe of *Holland* are by Land, we ſhould have ſo much Care of ourſelves, as to have our Security in our own Hands as much as poſſible, and be at leſs Charge in raiſing and maintaining *Land Forces* to defend and enlarge the *Dutch Barrier*, tho' we ſhould be put to greater Expence in the Defence of our own, by which our *Quota of Charges* in the preſent War would be ſtill the ſame to us, but the Advantage much greater, by ſecuring ourſelves at Home, by encreaſing our *Trade*, *Seamen*, *Navigation*, *Coin and Wealth*, by maintaining our Dominion of the Seas, and making ourſelves Maſters of the

principal

principal Places of Strength and Importance in *America*, as the *Iſthmus* of *Darien*, *Carthagena*, *Portobello*, *Panama*, and the *Havanna*, which, by our League with the *Houſe of Auſtria*, we may keep, and thereby open a direct Trade thither with our Home-Manufacture for Exchange of Silver, inſtead of having it at Second-hand by the Way of *Spain*. Let none here object the Difficulty of finding Men for ſuch a Project, conſidering the great Number our Grand Fleet will take up in Time of War; for the *Scots* would moſt willingly join with us in this *great Deſign*, and furniſh more Men than we have Ships to put them into, which would ſo unite both Nations in one and the ſame Intereſt, that I can attribute it to nothing but the Power of a *Foreign Intereſt* (this being the Thing of all others the *Dutch* moſt dread) ſuch a Project has not been attempted, as the taking of thoſe Places has been adviſed before now.

But 'tis very amazing, if, under all theſe Difficulties with which we ſtruggle, and the vaſt Expence we are at in maintaining ſo great a Force Abroad, any one ſhould ſcruple to ſatisfy the Nation, Whether or no the *Dutch* make good their poor *Quota of three Ships* to our *five*; which one would think there ſhould be no Queſtion of: And yet, if we may believe what we hear from Abroad, *ten Ships to our thirty* is all they are to provide this Year. How this is brought to paſs I ſhall not ſay, but have always thought it as reaſonable, that the Meaſures and Quotas of our Operations and Force by Sea ſhould be regulated between *Holland* and us here, as that the Scheme of the Land Forces ſhould be concerted at the *Hague*, and that they ſhould rather ſend an Agent hither, than that the Queen ſhould be forc'd to ſend one of her *Admiralty* thither to adjuſt our Maritime Affairs with them; tho' I doubt not but they are very thankful to *ſome Perſons* for this Compliment, and find their own Account too in being ſo. But unleſs ſome immediate Care be taken of this Matter, the Time of the Year will too far advance to make any Alteration poſſible.

There is one Argument more, which I think I need but name, to convince any Man, that loves the Welfare of *England*, how reaſonable it is we ſhould both be very exact, and very poſitive in this Matter; I mean *the almoſt incredible Loſſes* we have ſuſtain'd by Sea, ſince this War broke out; which are not only great in themſelves, but irreparable to us: Towns may be re-taken, Provinces may be conquered or yeilded up, but our Merchants Loſſes will never be repay'd, our Ships will never be reſtored, nor our Seamen ever recovered. And tho' our Loſſes by Sea amount, I believe, to more than what the whole *Confederacy* by Sea or Land has ſuffered; yet, leſt the mentioning them ſhould be more criminal than the Neglect by which they are occaſioned, or ſeem an Attempt to leſſen *ſome Mens high Reputation* and *other Mens great Favour*, I ſhall not enlarge further on this Head, but hope the Nation will take it into their Conſideration.

The laſt Thing is the Matter of *Coin*; with regard to which, in how melancholy Circumſtances we are, you may eaſily judge, if you conſider (to omit other Particulars) only the vaſt Sums that *neceſſarily* go out of *England*

in

in Specie every Year, to ſubſiſt, *&c.* our Forces abroad, and that all the Silver Money which goes into *Holland*, is there melted down, leſt otherwiſe it ſhould find its Way Home: And beſides this, the *Dutch* are ſo very covetous of our Silver, that they actually give at preſent 56½ Stivers for every *Engliſh* Crown Piece, tho' the Exchange is only 52½; by which Means ſuch Quantities of our Coin are clandeſtinely carried thither, that we already find a ſenſible Want of it: Which Courſe, if it be not ſpeedily prevented, will leave us very little in a ſhort Time; for notwithſtanding the Foreign Expence of our Treaſure is very great, the *Weſt-Indies* bring us in but little Supply.

I have been the larger on this Head, to convince you how much it is our Intereſt to ſtrengthen ourſelves as far as poſſible, by bringing in the *Scotch Nation to a Union with us in the Fiſhing Trade*; for Want of which, the Advantages the *Dutch* make by that Trade are too many here to be enumerated.

How much it would be the Intereſt of both Nations to have the *Scotch Crown* ſettled upon the *Proteſtant Line* and *Houſe of Hanover*, is ſo well known, that it needs no Proof: It belongs not to me to ſay by what Arts and Methods that miſcarried in the laſt Seſſion of the *Scotch Parliament*; but ſurely there cannot be a more powerful Motive to perſwade the *Scots* to come into it, than by convincing them *that we ourſelves are in Earneſt:* And I may ſay there cannot be a greater Inducement to perſwade that Nation to ſettle their Crown as we have done, or to ſecure our own Settlement in Caſe they ſhould not, than if our *Preſumptive Heir* of the *Illuſtrious Houſe of Hanover* was always reſiding here, under the Care and Protection of *Her Majeſty*.

A few Particulars, amongſt many which might be mentioned, will be ſufficient, I think, to convince any unbiaſs'd Man of the Reaſon and Advantage of this *Propoſition*.

'Tis certain, if the Prayers of the People and the Perſonal Virtue of a *Prince* could make any one immortal, the Happineſs and Security we at preſent enjoy under her Majeſty would be perpetual; but how great ſoever theſe Bleſſings are, they all hang upon the ſingle Thread of *Her Majeſty's valuable Life*.

The Queen herſelf was ſo ſenſible of this, that amongſt other Things in her firſt Speech to her Parliament, ſhe recommended *the procuring a laſting Foundation of Security to* England; which neceſſarily includes the Care of the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*, becauſe without it as now ſettled in the *Houſe of Hanover* by Acts of Parliament, what other reaſonable Foundation can we have of a laſting Security to our *Laws, Liberties, and Religion?*

That which every good *Engliſhman*, I believe, wiſhes, is a long Life to her Majeſty, and a Succeſſor after her, that may inherit her Virtues and Piety, her Zeal for the *Church*, and her Care for the *State*; who being faſhioned and formed by her own Hand to her own Mind, by a daily View of her great and princely Virtues, may at once be led both to admire and imitate *the great Original*.

Nor

Nor can there be, in my Opinion, a greater Advantage and Security to the *Church of* England, than to have a Succeſſor to the Crown long and perſonally acquainted with the *Reverend Prelates*, her great Ornaments and Defence; whereby he would have a greater Opportunity of being more fully inſtructed in her Doctrines, and more evidently convinced of their Merit, who, in the late dangerous Times, ſhew'd their Learning in their Writings, and Courage in their Steadineſs to her Intereſt.

'Tis the Glory of our Religion, as of Truth, to be admired and loved according to the Degrees of its being known: So that it cannot be without ſome Prejudice to a Church, that the *preſumptive Succeſſor* to the Crown ſhould be at a Diſtance from thoſe Perſons who are beſt able to inſtruct him; and that he ſhould receive Things with the great Diſadvantage and Uncertainty of *diſtant Reports*, who otherwiſe might be an immediate *Obſerver* of Mens Principles and Actions.

It would be another Advantage to *England*, rather to have a Succeſſor to the Crown well acquainted with our *Perſons*, *Laws*, *Cuſtoms and Conſtitutions*, with a Heart *entirely Engliſh*, than one, who coming over very much a *Stranger* to all theſe, is liable to the Misfortunes of a *late Prince*, who, by the Weakneſs or Flattery of his *Miniſtry*, was led into ſuch frequent Miſtakes, ſuch falſe Steps, as often proved very troubleſome to himſelf, and very grievous to his People.

For the Knowledge of Men and Things comes not to any Perſon by *Infuſion*, but is gain'd by nice Obſervation and great Experience; and yet is ſo abſolutely neceſſary, that 'tis ſcarce poſſible any Government without it can be managed as it ought: For, as to the firſt Step of Government, *the Choice of a Council*, that muſt be the mere Effect of Chance in a Prince, who is altogether ignorant of Mens Merits and Qualifications; and the Reſolutions a Prince, who is unacquainted with the Nature and Circumſtances of Affairs, takes upon the different Opinions offered, are the Effects of blind Confidence, rather than the Acts of Judgment: The Orders ſuch a Prince gives, the Alliances he ratifies, the War and Peace he makes, and all other *Treaties* in general, are ſign'd by a *Hand without Eyes*; he knows not what he does, and ſo *Treachery* always finds him unprovided, and each Miniſter reigns abſolutely in that Part of Government which is aſſigned to him, making his Fortune out of the Publick, while all wink at one another.

But if it unfortunately happen, that ſuch a *Prince* puts himſelf and the Government into one Hand, no Man knows what the Conſequence of ſuch a Confidence may be either to *Prince* or *People*; for he is not born a Prince; when he ſees himſelf thus cloathed with *delegated Majeſty*, he will take Pride in ſhewing it, by exerciſing both his Authority and Paſſions; and if he happen to be of a *graſping and hungry Temper*, it is yet the more dangerous to the Prince, who, if he knows it not, is generally accuſed of Incapacity, Remiſſneſs or Neglect; or though he does, yet may want Strength, Reſolution, or Knowledge, to free himſelf from ſuch a Clog, or change the Scene of his Miniſtry.

The

The Great Duke of *Buckingham*, in the Reigns of King *James* the Firſt, and King *Charles* the Firſt, is an evident Inſtance of this, who being a Favourite of two Princes, and having got the whole Government into his own Hand, ſet this Nation ſo much againſt him *(which could never yet bear a ſingle Miniſter)* that he was accuſed in Parliament of *black and heinous Practices* againſt his late Maſter, King *James*, and his Ambition, Avarice, and exorbitant Power, laid the Foundation of thoſe fatal Troubles to King *Charles* the Firſt, than whom no Prince, that ever ſway'd the *Engliſh* Scepter before him, began his Reign with greater Affection and Love of his People.

Theſe are ſome of the many Advantages of having a Succeſſor to the Crown reſiding here; beſides which, no Man knows what the Danger of his Abſence may be in any *fatal and critical Juncture*. The Methods and Directions relating to the Settlement of the *Scotch Crown* on the *Houſe of Hanover*, make it reaſonable for any Man to believe it poſſible, that there may be a Difficulty to call over the *Hanover Succeſſor* at ſuch a Time; for we may then have no Fleet in Readineſs; Sickneſs, or many other Accidents, may hinder; the Wind may be contrary. All Men know, that Wind, which may bring the *French* Fleet hither, muſt keep him from hence; *and who can be ſure of a Proteſtant Wind twice? Scotland* on one Side is armed and angry; *France*, on the other, is watchful and ready, with a powerful Fleet, and a *bold Pretender*; and we ourſelves ſo divided and weakned, as to make the Event of Things in ſuch a Juncture uncertain.

Beſides this, if we would learn from the Experience of diſtant Ages, the Inſtances of King *William Rufus*, King *Henry* I. King *Stephen* and King *John*, may convince us how great an Advantage he that firſt ſteps into the Throne has of keeping it: And in the Caſe of King *Stephen*, how weak a Security the Oaths and Obligations of a Nation is, even to the rightful and lawful Succeſſor.

But we need not look ſo far back, when we have ſo preſent and ſo chargeable an Evidence of this Truth before our Eyes; for who is it that does not know, that the preſent *Duke of Anjou* not only has got the Poſſeſſion of the *Spaniſh Monarchy*, contrary to the moſt ſolemn Oaths, Renunciations, and Engagements by the *Pyrenean Treaty*, that either the Wit of Man could invent, or Religion make ſacred, but alſo by ſtepping firſt into that Throne, keeps Poſſeſſion to this Day, in Defiance of all the powerful Aſſiſtance of the Confederates to the *lawful Heir*, and the general Averſion of the *Spaniards* to the *Houſe of Bourbon?*

Theſe Things put together, I hope may convince you, that the beſt Way to induce the *Scots* to ſettle their Crown, as we have done, or to ſecure our own Succeſſion in caſe they do not, is by having always *the Preſumptive Heir to the Crown*, of the *Illuſtrious Houſe of Hanover*, reſiding here, under the Care and Protection of the *Queen*.

That her Majeſty may live long, *and always hold the Scepter in her own Hand*; that ſhe may have Heirs of her own to fill her Throne after her; and in Failure thereof, that the *Proteſtant Line*, *and Houſe of Hanover*, according

to

to the National Settlement, may take Place; and that thoſe who wiſh well to the Peace, Union, and Proſperity of *Britain*, and to our *Engliſh Liberty, Property, Conſtitution and Religion*, may be better known, and always proſper, is the hearty Prayer of,

SIR,

Windſor, Dec. 30, 1704.

Your, &c.

An Eſſay upon the Union of the Kingdoms of England *and* Scotland.

THE Conveniency, if not the Neceſſity of the Union of the two Kingdoms, is no longer a Diſpute with thoſe Men that have given themſelves the Leiſure to think of this weighty Juncture; but the Practicableneſs of this Union is what moſt People are in Pain for. I ſhould indeed deſpair of ſeeing *this great Work brought to a happy Concluſion*, did I wiſh for, or expect a Union, upon any Foot that hitherto has been propoſed in Print. Your univerſal or general Union, which muſt carry along with it the Deſtruction of the Conſtitution of both Kingdoms, and the Reſurrection of another in their Rooms, is no more to be expected, than the Annihilation of this World, and the Succeſſion of a new one in its Place. Your Fœderal Union can never ſubſiſt long, if it can exiſt at all, and tends more to diſunite the two Kingdoms from under one Head, than to unite them into one Body; but the Union I wiſh for has neither the Impoſſibility of the former in it, nor the Precarioufneſs of the latter.

If we are united ſo far as is neceſſary for the Benefit of both Kingdoms, and upon that Foot that will remove the Fears and Jealouſies of both Nations, and redreſs the Grievances complain'd of by both Sides, then we are united to all Intents and Purpoſes. The Benefit the *Scotch* expect from their Union with *England* is a Participation in the *Engliſh* Trade, and the Benefit the *Engliſh* may expect from a Union with *Scotland* is an Enlargement of Trade, eſpecially in the Fiſhery, and a ſuitable Encreaſe of People to manage that Trade, and to fill up the *Engliſh* Fleets and Armies; but chiefly what is wanting to compleat the Happineſs of *England* is Peace and Safety, which *England* ſcarce ever enjoy'd before the Union of the two Kingdoms under one Head, and can't with Reaſon expect to have continued, unleſs the ſaid Kingdoms be united into one Body.

But how this Union is to be made is what I intend to make an Eſſay upon, and in order to this, I ſhall follow this Method: *Firſt*, To touch upon

on what the Kingdoms are not to be united in, and again what they are to be united in.

As to the firſt, they are not to be univerſally or generally united, nor ſo united as to deſtroy the main Conſtitution of either Kingdom. We are united already under one Head, and we may be united into one Body, without confounding and deſtroying the Laws and Religion of either Country, or exchanging one for t'other: For this Reaſon, let the Municipal Laws of both Kingdoms continue as they now ſtand; the *Engliſh* Law for the Inhabitants of *England*, and the *Scotch* Laws for the Inhabitants of *Scotland*; let the Courts of Law and Equity, *Doctor*'s *Commons*, *&c.* ſtand as they are now in *England*, under the ſame Form and Extent of Power and Juriſdiction, as in *England* at this Day; and the Courts of the Lords of the Seſſion and Council, the Court of Admiralty and the Commiſſary Courts of *Scotland*, continue under the ſame Forms and Extent of Juriſdiction, as they are now at this Day in *Scotland*. Let the Parliaments of both Kingdoms continue as they are, and to do every Thing they can do now at this Day, reſtrain'd ſo far only, as ſhall be hereafter explain'd. Let the Religion of both Countries, or rather of Church-Government, continue as they are eſtabliſh'd by Law in both Kingdoms. Let the Churches of *England* and *Scotland* ſtand upon the two Rocks they are built upon, with Toleration to Diſſenters; and let the Gates of Hell never prevail againſt either of them, nor the Gates of either of them prevail againſt the other; for the People of both Kingdoms are very well ſatisfied with their own Forms of Religion, Law, and diſtributive Juſtice; nay, they ſeem to be fond of them to a high Degree, and no doubt they have Reaſon to expect no Alteration in thoſe Things, and the Union both Nations have Occaſion for is to be made up of none of theſe Forms and Matters, but muſt ariſe out of a Communication of Trade, and Unity of Peace and War in both Kingdoms: And this leads me to explain what the Kingdoms ſhall be united in, which are as follow:

Firſt, *Under one Head, and in Peace and War.*
Secondly, *In a Unity or Communion of Parliaments.*
Thirdly, *In a Unity or Communion of Trade and Taxes.*
Laſtly, *In a Unity of Adminiſtration in the publick Revenues of both Kingdoms.*

As for the *firſt*: We are already poſſeſs'd of that; for we are united under one crown'd Head, and in that crown'd Head the Prerogative of making Peace and War is lodg'd by the Fundamental Laws of both Kingdoms; ſo I need ſay no more to this, ſince we are already fix'd there.

Secondly, The Kingdoms are to be united in a Unity or Community of Parliaments, which is of abſolute Neceſſity; for albeit, by the Conſtitution of both Kingdoms, the Prerogative of Peace and War is lodg'd in either Crown, yet the Right of giving Money for the Support of the War is unconteſtably

conteſtably lodg'd with the People aſſembled in Parliament, or Meeting of Eſtates, as ſometimes in *Scotland*; and ſince both Nations are involv'd in one and the ſame Fate of War and Peace, its but reaſonable, that the People of both Nations ſhould be heard in one and the ſame Parliament, before they are concluded by this Prerogative of the Crown, or at leaſt before they part with their Money or Men, for the Support of the one, or the Keeping of the other.

But this is but by the bye; but what I am to explain is, the How, or the Way this Union or Communion of the two Parliaments is to be made and ſupported; which, with profound Submiſſion to the Publick, is of no great Difficulty in Speculation, nor can it be in Practice. We have a Precedent of this Union of the two Parliaments, under a very bad Government; and albeit the Thing was the beſt that could be for both Kingdoms, yet the Manner of it was the worſt that could be too, and all of a Piece with the Spirit that then prevail'd; but I am not to make a Criticiſm upon that Government, being mindful of the Buſineſs in Hand, which is to draw out the firſt Lines of this Union or Communion of the two Parliaments, which I would have thus.

When the Kings and Queens of *England* and *Scotland* (who are the ſame Royal Perſons, and ſtand upon the ſame Right of Succeſſion in both Kingdoms, ſo far as the Line of Succeſſion is not altered by Law ſince the Revolution) have occaſion, or are oblig'd to call for the Aſſiſtance of their Subjects in Parliament, at the ſame Time the Writs are iſſued out for the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and to the Sheriffs, *&c.* for the electing the Knights, Citizens, and Burgeſſes of Parliament, let Orders or Writs be iſſued or given for chooſing a certain Number of *Scotch* Peers and Commoners, as ſhall be agreed by the Act of the Union, and after the Manner hereafter deſcrib'd, to meet their King or Queen in Parliament. Let the *Scots* Peers be admitted into the Houſe of Lords, and the *Scots* Commoners into the Houſe of Commons, and let them have the ſame Privilege, and no more, than every Peer or Commoner has in either Houſe, in Matters that are within the Act of the Union, but in others that are without the Act of the Union, and which relate to the particular Conſtitution of an *Engliſh* Parliament, the Repreſentatives of *Scotland* ſhall have neither Vote nor Voice; that is, neither a Liberty to ſpeak, or a Right to give a Vote; thus the Juriſdiction of the Houſe of Lords, upon Writs of Error and Appeal, and the Rights of both Houſes to propoſe and amend the Laws, and relieve the Hardſhips of them, upon the Petition of the Subject, will remain as they are now, and go on without any Obſtruction from the *Scots* Members in either Houſe.

And as the Parliament of *Scotland* is to ſubſiſt after the Union of the two Kingdoms, as well as the Parliament of *England*, for the Regulation of their Religion, Laws, and good Manners, and doing every Thing a *Scots* Parliament can do now, excepting Trade, Taxes, Peace and War, in which the Kingdoms are to be united, and by the united Council of both Nations

in one Parliament, are to be hereafter determin'd, let there be a certain Number of *Engliſh* Peers and Commoners (the more the better for *Scotland*) to be choſen by each Houſe apart in the firſt Seſſion of every triennial Parliament: Let the ſame Number of *Engliſh* Peers and Commoners be admitted into the Parliament of *Scotland*, that of *Scots* Peers and Commoners ſhall be admitted into the Parliament of *England*, but without any Manner of Right and Privilege to ſpeak or vote in that Aſſembly, unleſs it be to make Declaration or Proteſtation againſt any Motion, Speech, Vote or Proceeding in the *Scots* Parliament or Members thereof, that may ſeem to intermeddle with the Act of the Union of the two Kingdoms.

Now as the Union of the two Parliaments, after this Manner, ſeems to be eaſy and practicable, I cannot find out there can be any Difficulty to agree upon the Method of chooſing the Repreſentatives of each Nation, in either Parliament, or the Number of them alternatively.

As for the Manner of chooſing the *Engliſh* Repreſentatives in a *Scots* Parliament, we have already hinted, that is to be done by the two Houſes apart in the firſt Seſſions of every triennial Parliament; and let this Election be upon the ſame Day that each Houſe chooſes their Committees; and let this Election hold for the whole *Triennium* of every *Engliſh* Parliament, or for every Seſſions of ſuch Parliament, as hereafter ſhall be found convenient.

As for the Manner of chooſing the *Scots* Repreſentatives in an *Engliſh* Parliament, the Cuſtom of *Scotland* ſeems to have prepared for that. In the *Scots* Parliament there are three Eſtates; the Nobility make the firſt Eſtate, the Barons and Repreſentatives of Shires make the Second, and the Boroughs or Repreſentatives of Towns and Corporations make the third Eſtate: By the Cuſtom of *Scotland*, this laſt Eſtate of the Boroughs have a Right to aſſemble once a Year or oftner. What can be eaſier then, than that this ſame Convention of Boroughs ſhall, by Orders to be iſſued out under the Great Seal of *Scotland*, be impower'd to chooſe a certain Number out of their Body, to ſit in every *Engliſh* Parliament, and repreſent there the Eſtate of the Boroughs of *Scotland*. Sure this is very practicable and very natural. Now albeit, by the Cuſtom of *Scotland*, there is no ſuch Cuſtom as a Convention of Nobles, yet let the Act of the Union ſupply this Defect, and impower the Queen, by Proclamation, or otherwiſe, to call a Convention of Nobles, for chooſing a certain Number of their Body to repreſent their Eſtate in the *Engliſh* Parliament. Both theſe Conventions can be called to meet in different Places of the Kingdom of *Scotland*, and upon one and the ſame Day, if occaſion be, and can finiſh their Elections within forty Days, that by the Cuſtom of *England* is allotted betwixt the iſſuing out of Writs for calling a Parliament, and the Meeting of the ſaid Parliament. As for the Manner of the Election of the Repreſentatives of the middle Eſtate, the Barons of *Scotland*, in my Opinion, the preſent Method of Cuſtom in *Scotland* is the beſt. That the landed Men in every Shire chooſe their own Repreſentatives, as it is in *England*, only I wiſh by the Act of the Union, the Queen and her Succeſſors be impower'd to iſſue out Writs or Orders to the

the Sheriff of each Shire in *Scotland*, for convening the landed Men in each County for chooſing their Repreſentatives to ſit in the *Engliſh* Parliament, and by this Method, the Elections of the Shires in *Scotland* may be finiſhed within the Compaſs of forty Days, and the Elected have Time to come to *London* within the ſaid Interval.

Now as to the Number of the Repreſentatives of each Nation in Parliament, is what I hope will not obſtruct the Union. The *Engliſh* will be very eaſy in this Matter, they have no Reaſon to contend for a greater Number of *Engliſhmen* to ſit in a *Scots* Parliament, than what the *Scots* ſhall deſire of *Scotſmen* to ſit in an *Engliſh* Parliament; for they can expect nothing but Charge and Trouble by going into *Scotland*, and the more of them go into *Scotland*, (the more the better for *Scotland*) the more Money will be ſpent in *Scotland*, and a better Underſtanding propagated betwixt both Nations, and better Opportunities offered for Alliances, Friendſhips, and Marriages, and for the Improvement of Trade, and Encouragement of Arts and Sciences. On the other Side, the more the *Scots* deſire of *Scotſmen*, out of every Eſtate, to ſit in an *Engliſh* Parliament, it is the worſe for themſelves, more Money will be carried out of *Scotland*, for the Support and Charge of their Attendance. Upon a due Reflection upon the whole Matter on both Sides, I am tempted to propheſy, that Twelve out of the firſt Eſtate, *viz.* the Nobility, ond one out of every Shire in *Scotland* for the Barons, which make but Thirty-two, and Twelve out of the Boroughs, in all Fifty-ſix, make a greater Number than in Proceſs of Time will be deſired. By this Scheme, the Nobility, tho' they have but Twelve directly for their Eſtate, yet by the Conſtitution of *Scotland*, they having a Right to vote in Shires and Corporations, will have an Influence to chooſe a far greater Number of Barons and Burgeſſes, and having their Sons, Favourites, and Dependents, choſen for the Repreſentatives of theſe two Eſtates; and, no doubt, this Proportion of Number, the *Scots* Nobility have by this Scheme in the Repreſentation of their Country in an *Engliſh* Parliament, is equal to, if not more than, the Proportion they have in the Balance of the Strength and Wealth of *Scotland*.

Theſe Fifty-ſix Members are a ſufficient Number of Men to repreſent any Kingdom, with all the Train of its Wants, Neceſſities and Grievances; and if it is a very great Inferiority to the Number of an *Engliſh* Parliament, yet no ill Conſequence can happen from that; for under a Union we are but one Nation, one People and Parliament, and have but one and the ſame Intereſt and Deſign; and we may imagine, with as much Reaſon, that the Repreſentatives of the *Engliſh* Parliament for the Counties and Corporation, South of *Trent*, ſhould conſpire to out-vote the Counties and Corporations of *England*, North of *Trent*, and oppreſs theſe Countries with unequal Taxes, *&c.* as we may fear the *Engliſh* Members will out-vote the *Scots* Members, and oppreſs *Scotland* with unequal Taxes or partial Laws; and as the former has never happen'd, ſo the latter is never to be fear'd.

Thirdly, The Kingdoms are to be united in Trade and Taxes.

By

By the Act of the Union, let the Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland* be deem'd one and the ſame in all Reſpects in Trade and Taxes. *Scotland* ſhall be conſidered and deem'd as *Yorkſhire*, or any other County of *England*, and *England* as the *Louthians*, or any other Shire of *Scotland*. Let there be no Tax, Cuſtom or Impoſition whatſoever, laid upon the Perſons, Product or Manufacture of either Kingdom, but the ſame that is laid on both, and by the united Parliament of both Kingdoms, as above deſcrib'd. By the ſame Act, *Scotſmen* and *Scots* Merchants and Traders, ſhall be deem'd as *Engliſhmen* to all Intents and Purpoſes, and *Scots* Merchants, and *Scots* Ships, *Scots* Maſters and Mariners ſhall be deem'd as *Engliſh* built Ships, and as *Engliſh* Ships, Maſters and Mariners, and ſhall trade by Land and by Water Coaſt-ways, and over Sea, into any Part of *England* or *Ireland*, or any Part of the *Engliſh* Plantations in *Aſia*, *Africa*, and *America*, and ſhall there enjoy the ſame Rights and Privileges as *Engliſhmen*, *Engliſh* Maſters, Ships and Mariners can or may do. On the other Hand, *Engliſh* Merchants and Sailors may go and trade into *Scotland* by Land or by Water, and ſhall be judg'd *Scotſmen*, and the Product and Manufacture of *England* ſhall be judg'd the Product and Manufacture of *Scotland* to all Intents and Purpoſes. In a Word, the Inhabitants of both Kingdoms ſhall have one and the ſame Right to trade every where, with Reſervation of the Rights and Privileges of the *Eaſt-India* Companies of *England* and *Scotland*, eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament, both which Companies, by the Act of the Union, ſhall be confirm'd in, and confined to the Rights and Privileges of theſe ſeveral Eſtabliſhments, neither Company ſhall interfere with the Rights and Privileges of the other Company. The Goods of the *Eaſt-India* and *African* Company of *Scotland* ſhall not be importable into *England*, nor *vice verſa*, the Goods of the *Eaſt-India* Company of *England* ſhall not be importable into *Scotland*. And with Reſervation of the Rights and Privileges of other Companies eſtabliſhed by Charter in *England*, and with the Reſervation of the Corporations of *England* and *Scotland*, eſtabliſhed by Charter, into which, *Engliſh* and *Scotſmen* may be admitted *hinc inde*, or on both Sides by Purchaſe and Servitude, as *Engliſhmen* or *Scotſmen* are, but the Companies and Corporations themſelves are to remain *ſtatu quo*, after, as before in the Union.

This Scheme of Trade is very plain in Speculation, but how to reduce it to Practice at all, and under the preſent Circumſtances of both Nations, is what ſeems to be very difficult at firſt Sight, but upon cloſer View, it will not appear impracticable.

In order to this, we are to conſider, that altho' the *Scots* are poor, the Publick of *Scotland* is not in Debt to the Value of one Farthing; and on the other Hand, altho' the *Engliſh* are rich, yet the Publick of *England* is under the Debt of many Millions. I dare anſwer for all the Well-wiſhers in *England* to the Union of the two Kingdoms, that it is none of their Intention, by uniting with *Scotland*, to draw the *Scots* into Part-payment of their Debts; nay, indeed, I can't ſuggeſt any other Thought of *Engliſhmen* in general, nor can I believe they will ever bear to think or hear, that the *Scots* ſhall

ſhall bear any Part in the Charge of this preſent or laſt War, that were entered into, upon *Engliſh* Views and *Engliſh* Intereſt, by *Engliſh* Councils, and for the glorious and inimitable Deſign of delivering the Princes and States of this weſtern Part of the Continent of *Europe*, from being or falling a Prey to the Power and Ambition of *France*.

This Deſign was too great for all *Europe*, without an *Engliſh* Genius and an *Engliſh* Purſe; and far as it is above the Pretenſions and Abilities of the *Scots*, ſo no leſs far was it againſt their Intereſt; for which they have no Reaſon to expect to bear any Part in the Execution of it: I ſay this War, and the laſt with *France*, is againſt the Intereſt of *Scotland*, conſidered in a ſeparate State from *England*, whoſe main Politick muſt be to keep well with *France*, for many ancient Reaſons, beſides the modern ones of Trade and Protection. *France* can beſt ſupport *Scotland* in a ſeparate State from *England*; and is both able and willing to raiſe the Trade of *Scotland*, by taking off the Prohibition upon their *Poiſſon ſallée*, Herrings, Salmon, *&c.* by getting their Linnen and Woollen Manufactures importable into *Spain* and the *Spaniſh Weſt-Indies*, which the *French* King is not wanting by his Emiſſaries to propoſe to the *Scots*, together with the Renovation of the ancient League of *Charles* and *Achaius*, and a Reſtoration of the Nobility to their ancient Poſts in the Guards and Court of *France*, and of the Merchants to their ancient Privileges in the Ports of that Kingdom, and a great deal more, if they will break off the Union with *England*; but, under Correction, I am ſenſible I go off from the Buſineſs in Hand, and ſhall ſay no more than this upon the whole Matter: It is very hard to believe the *Scots* ought to bear any Part in the Charge of this War, that was entered into without their Advice or Conſent, as well as againſt their Intereſt.

But the Caſe will not be the ſame in future Wars, under the State of the Union of the two Kingdoms, which can but have one and the ſame Council and Parliament to adviſe and ſupport them; in which the *Scots* having their Repreſentatives as well as the *Engliſh*, Matters will be accommodated as beſt ſuits to the whole and every Part of both Kingdoms, to which the *Scots* will ſubmit unanimouſly and chearfully, the Caſe, Circumſtances and Intereſt of both Kingdoms being then one and the ſame.

But then I know the Reader is impatient to aſk what it is the *Scots* are able to pay, and what they are willing to pay, towards the Support of the Government, in Peace and War? In anſwer to this, we firſt muſt conſider both Kingdoms under the Circumſtances of Peace at Home and Abroad, and an abſolute Diſincumbrance from publick Debts; if the Kingdoms are united under theſe Circumſtances, I deſire to *quæry*, what will be ſufficient for the Civil Liſt, and for Guards and Garriſons? It will be anſwered me, that *Seven hundred Thouſand Pounds* for the Civil Liſt, and *Three hundred Thouſand Pounds* for Guards and Garriſons, is near about the Sum given to the late King and her preſent Majeſty, and is ſufficient for *England* in Times of Peace. For *Scotland*; I muſt anſwer, it will be an Addition of Charge to her Majeſty in the Civil Liſt, and in Guards and Garriſons likewiſe; but ſo ſmall a Charge,

that

that *Scotland* will do more than pay her Proportion of both, as hereafter will appear. The Civil Liſt in *Scotland* will come to nothing, or next to nothing, under a Union with *England*. The Treaſury, Exchequer, Cuſtoms and Exciſe of *Scotland* will be ſwallowed up in the *Engliſh* Adminiſtration of the publick Revenue, and yet will be no Manner of additional Charge to the Revenue of *England*, beſides a few Salaries to inferior Officers of Cuſtoms and Exciſe.

And for what remains of the Civil Liſt of *Scotland* is as follows;

Lord Chancellor,	2000 *l.*
Lord Preſident of the Council,	1000
Lord Preſident of Seſſion,	1000
14 Lords of Seſſions, or Judges, at 500 *l.* each,	7000
Two Clerks to the Council,	500
To the Queen's Advocate,	500
To the Queen's Sollicitor,	300
One Secretary of State,	1000
	13,300

This is all the remaining Part of the Civil Liſt of *Scotland*, which will be a Charge upon her Majeſty's Revenue under a State of Union with *England*. As for the Charge of her Majeſty's Commiſſioner to the *Scots* Parliament, that will fall to little or nothing; for ſince the *Scots* Parliament are not to meddle with any thing of Money Matters, there will be no Occaſion for high Tables, great Pomp, and great Shew; indeed, if the Houſe was left to adjourn itſelf, as in *England*, it would be a great Amendment to the Conſtitution of a *Scots* Parliament, and take off the Neceſſity of having any Commiſſioner at all; a Letter from the Queen, impowering the Lord Chancellor, or any other Perſon, to mount the Throne, and give the Touch of the Sceptre to ſuch Acts as are ready for the Royal Aſſent, will anſwer all the Buſineſs of a Commiſſioner.

The Guards and Garriſons of *Scotland* will, for ſome Time, indeed, be a Charge of *Sixty Thouſand Pounds* to her Majeſty's Revenue; I reckon two Regiments of Foot, and two of Dragoons, and a Regiment of Horſe, at the Pay of *Twelve Thouſand Pounds* each, will maintain a far greater Army in *Scotland*, than ever King *Charles* or King *James* kept in *Scotland*. But this Charge cannot laſt long; if at all neceſſary, it can be but for a very ſhort Time, but at the worſt it can be but *Sixty Thouſand Pounds*; which, with the Charge of the Civil Liſts, being *Thirteen Thouſand Three Hundred Pounds*, as aforeſaid, makes but *Seventy-three Thouſand Three Hundred Pounds*, and this being added to the *One Million*, for the *Engliſh* Charge of the Guards and Garriſons of the Civil Liſts, makes but *One Million, Seventy-three Thouſand, Three Hundred Pounds*.

And

And now I come to anſwer the Queſtion, what the *Scots* are willing to pay, or able to pay, in Times of Peace. They are able to pay their Proportion of this Money, and they will do it moſt chearfully; for they can do it with far better Ability, and leſs Charge to themſelves, than what has been raiſed from *Scotland* for the Support of the Government there, ſince the Reſtoration of the Royal Family.

In order to raiſe this Sum of Money, let the two Branches of the Revenue of *England*, *viz.* the Cuſtoms and Exciſe, be ſet apart; and let theſe Branches be extended over *Scotland* as well as *England*; and let them be appropriated, by the Act of the Union of the two Kingdoms, for Guards and Garriſons, and the Civil Liſt. Theſe two Branches, the Reader will agree with me, are more than ſufficient to raiſe the *Million, Seventy-three Thouſand, Three Hundred Pounds*, above required, and when extended over *Scotland*, will ſtill raiſe more. But the Cuſtoms and Exciſe, I mean the ſimple Act of Tonnage and Poundage, and the two Acts of Exciſe of *Charles* the Second, of Fifteen Pence each the Barrel upon Beer and Ale; which two Branches will ſtill raiſe more Money than the *One Million, Seventy-three Thouſand, Three Hundred Pounds*, demanded; and when extended over *Scotland*, they will not fall near ſo heavy upon the *Scots* as the preſent and paſt Taxes, which they pay now, and have paid, towards the Support of the Civil Liſt, and Guards, and Garriſons of *Scotland*, ſince the Revolution.

By the Act of Tonnage and Poundage, the *Scots* Merchants and Traders will pay much about the ſame they do now, with their *Scots* Book of Rates, but will ſave five Parts in eight in their Duties upon Wine, which, by that Act, is but 3 *l. per* Tun for the *French* Wines, and ſo in Proportion for all other Wines.

As for the Exciſe, the *Scots* will not grudge to pay according to the two Acts of the 12th of *Charles* the Second. By which Act the *Scots* Ale and Beer cannot be judged above ſix Shillings the Barrel, every Barrel being 32 Gallons, according to the Standard in the *Exchequer*, which is anſwerable to 32 *Scots* Quarts. The Ale of *Scotland* (Beer they have none in that Country worth the noticing, or diſtinguiſhable from their Ale) and when ſold by the common Brewer, generally over *Scotland*, will not amount to ſix Shillings the Barrel, and by the Cuſtom and Practice of the Exciſe Office of *England*, will be judged and deemed ſo by the Gauger or Officer of the Exciſe. Indeed I am of Opinion the Acts of Exciſe want to be review'd, for the general Benefit both of the People of *England* and her Majeſty's Revenue; and it is to be wiſhed the Act may run upon theſe Partitions; every Barrel of Beer and Ale, not above ſix Shillings the Barrel, to pay Six-pence *per* Barrel; and every Barrel of Beer and Ale, above ſix Shilling *per* Barrel, and not exceeding ten, to pay one Shilling *per* Barrel; ('tis to be wiſhed the *Scotch* Exciſe may be fixed upon this Partition) and every Barrel of Beer and Ale, above ten Shillings, and not exceeding one Pound ſix Shillings, *per* Barrel, to pay two Shillings and Six-pence the Barrel; and every Barrel of Beer and Ale, above one Pound ſix Shillings *per* Barrel, to pay four Shillings *per* Barrel,

over and above the additional Nine-pences laid on the Barrels of Ale and Beer ſince the Revolution; by this Scheme the ſtrong Ale Countries will be brought to ſome Level with the ſmall Ale Countries, and the Fine-Ale Brewer with the Porter's Liquor Brewer: And indeed it's unaccountable, that a Barrel of Ale at ſeven Shilling, ſold by the common Brewer, ſhall pay as much as a Barrel of Ale ſold by the ſame Brewer at ſixteen Shillings, one Pound, or three Pound the Barrel; and that a Man, by drinking ſtrong Ale, ſhould get the better of the Publick by two Thirds in the Exciſe.

Now ſince it is agreed, that theſe two Branches of the Cuſtoms and Exciſe being ſufficient to anſwer the Charge of the Civil Liſt, Guards and Garriſons of both Kingdoms, and ſince the *Scots* are willing to pay according to the Laws eſtabliſhing the Cuſtoms and the Exciſes of Beer and Ale, *&c.* according to the Letter and Equity of the Act of Tonnage and Poundage, and the Acts of Exciſe of the 12th of *Charles* II. and according to the Practice and Method of the Exciſe and Cuſtoms of *England*, what can be required more of them? Sure the additional Duties to the Act of Tonnage and Poundage, and the additional Cuſtoms now in Force in *England*, and the additional Nine-pences upon the Barrel of Ale and Beer, and the new Duties upon Salt and Malt, Paper, Births and Burials *&c.* ought not to be expected to be paid by the *Scots*; for theſe new and additional Duties, Cuſtoms, and Exciſes, are the Sores and Wounds of the laſt War, and are the proper Debts of *England*, which neither the *Scots* can or ought to pay; and this is more than what was agreed by the Commiſſioners of the Union the firſt Year of her Majeſty's Reign, that both Kingdoms ſhould pay their ſeveral Debts, and neither Kingdom be affected with the Debt of the other.

And in Times of War, that is, future Wars, entered into after the Expiration of this preſent War, the *Scots* will be able to pay a Poundage upon Land of one, two, or more Shillings, or additional Cuſtoms and Exciſes, as well as moſt of the northern Counties in *England*. Land and Trade in *Scotland* will improve in *Scotland* under an Union with *England*, the one in Value and Rent, and the other in Extent and Bulk; and ſo much as there is of Land in *Scotland*, and how much that Land is improveable, or how much the Trade of *Scotland* is increaſable, ſo much will there be added to the Stock of *England*.

I know it will be a ready Objection, that if the People of *Scotland* pay but according to this Act of Tonnage and Poundage, and the two Acts of Exciſe of *Charles* II. they will be thereby enabled to run away with the Trade of *England*, and underlive and underſell what *Engliſhmen* can do for: But to this ready Objection I have this ready Anſwer, That it is to be underſtood the *Scots* ſhall pay no more than according to the fore-mentioned Acts of Cuſtoms and Exciſes; that is, within the preſent Diſtrict and Bounds of *Scotland*; but if the *Scots* import any Manner of Goods or Commodities into *England*, for which they have already paid the Cuſtom, according to the fore-mentioned Acts of Tonnage and Poundage in *Scotland*, as by Certificate will appear, they ſhall be liable to pay the additional Duties in any Port

Port of *England*, where the ſaid Goods or Merchandizes are entered and landed. Thus the Balance of Trade will, after the Union, remain as before the Union, and what the *Scots* ſave of their Cuſtoms and Exciſes, is always to be underſtood of their Home-Conſumption within the preſent Diſtrict of *Scotland*.

On the other Hand, the *Scots* will be ready to ſuggeſt they ſhall be no Gainers under theſe low Cuſtoms and Exciſes, ſince they are in *England* liable to the high ones as well as *Engliſhmen*; but, on the other Hand, they are to conſider, that they being under the low Cuſtoms and Exciſes at Home, it will be a mighty Benefit to them, for their living and manufacturing of every Thing among themſelves: But above all, they are to conſider, that upon the Day they are united with *England*, the Value of the Land in *Scotland* will riſe Fifty *per Cent.* and in progreſs of Time will double, nay treble the preſent Rentall. The Price of Corn and Meal will riſe proportionably; and the Poor and poor Labourer and Tradeſman, upon the Increaſe of Trade in *Scotland* by the Union, will have the Money ready to pay for his Corn and Victuals, and other Neceſſaries, ten Times faſter than at the low Rate. This is a Demonſtration to all Men, that have any Experience or Inſight in Trade, and ſuch Perſons as are but doubtful of this, let them ask thoſe Perſons yet alive, that can remember the *Engliſh* Adminiſtration in *Scotland*, from the Year 1654, to the Year 1660, they won't ſtick to tell them, that the Price of Meal riſe then from Half a Mark *Scots*, to Half a Crown *Engliſh*; and upon the withdrawing of the *Engliſh* Adminiſtration upon the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. the Price of Meal fell to Half a Mark *Scots* again; and yet the poor Labourer had the Half Crown readier to pay under the *Engliſh* Adminiſtration, than the Half Mark after the Return of King *Charles* II. The Reaſon was plain, under *Cromwell*, *Richard*, and the *Rumps*, was a Unity of Parliament, Trade and Cuſtoms betwixt *England* and *Scotland*, and under the ſame Unity and good Underſtanding betwixt the two Kingdoms, the ſame Benefits will return to both Nations. Now I come to conſider the laſt Thing propos'd,

Which is, an *Unity of Adminiſtration in the Publick Revenue of both Kingdoms.*

The Kingdoms being united under one Parliament, in a Communion of Trade and Taxes, it is of abſolute Neceſſity they ſhould be under one and the ſame Adminiſtration in the publick Revenue. The Conſtitution and Method of the Treaſury, the Exchequer, the Cuſtoms and Exciſes of *England*, are ſo far ſuperior to any Thing of theſe Kinds that are to be found in *Scotland*, that I dare ſay the *Scots* will not contend for their Forms and Methods in theſe Matters, but drop them with Satisfaction. But at the ſame Time they may expect with good Aſſurance to ſee their Countrymen provided for with Places in theſe Offices, in Proportion to their Merit, and without any Diſtinction or Reſerve betwixt them and *Engliſhmen:* Thus the Treaſury and Exchequer of *England*, together with the Offices of Cuſtoms and Exciſe of *England*, ſhall ſtand as they now are eſtabliſhed; but their

Authority ſhall be enlarg'd over all *Scotland* as well as *England*, and all Fraud and Abuſes in the Revenue ſhall be tried by the Act of Tonnage and Poundage, and the two Acts of Exciſe of the 12th of *Charles* II. and other Acts and Clauſes of Acts made ſince, for preventing of Frauds and Abuſes, and the better Management of the Revenue of the Crown, which are but very few, and lie within a ſmall Compaſs.

But then the Queſtion will ariſe, before whom ſhall the Treſpaſſes in *Scotland* againſt the Act be tried; upon Action at Law at the Suit of the Queen, or the Subject? The *Engliſh* Judges cannot have them tried before them; their Circuits cannot hold Aſſizes in *Scotland*, and it would be very hard to fetch the Subject and their Actions from the remote Parts of *Scotland* to *Newcaſtle*, and have them try'd there, and that but once a Year. On the other Hand, theſe Actions cannot be try'd before the *Scots* Judges; for the Revenues of Cuſtoms and Exciſe being within the Union, cannot be try'd or judg'd by them, nor can they any Manner of Ways interpoſe their Authority in theſe Caſes. To obviate this, I would propoſe, by the Act of the Union, to have a Court of Revenue erected in *Scotland*, to judge of all Actions brought at the Suit of the Queen and the Subject, upon Acts of Parliament and Laws relating to the Revenue of the Crown. This Court to conſiſt of five Perſons, two of which to be the Surveyors-General of Cuſtoms and Exciſe in *Scotland* for the Time being, and three others to be named by the Queen, *Engliſh* and *Scotch*, as her Majeſty ſhall think fit, with Power to try, and finally judge and determine all Cauſes and Actions brought before them, relating to the Revenue. But no Action ſhall lie before them until two Months or 60 Days after Seizure made by the Queen's Officer; in which Interval the Subjects may have Time to apply themſelves to the Commiſſioners of Cuſtoms, in Perſon or by Proxy, to have Juſtice done them to their Satisfaction; but after the Expiration of two Months or ſixty Days, they may have recourſe to the Commiſſioners of Revenue for a Trial before them.

The Acts and Law relating to the Publick Revenue are ſo few, and ſo plain and eaſy, that it is not requiſite to have a long Study and Practice in the Municipal Laws of either Kingdom, to qualify any Gentleman to be a Judge in this Court, and the Court itſelf may be ſo form'd, as to give all Diſpatch poſſible, with all Safety, to the Intereſt of the Revenue, and the Rights and Liberties of the Subject.

Thus I am come to the End of my Eſſay, and how far I have ſucceeded in it, I muſt leave that to the Publick, to whom I pray for the ſame Temper of Mind in reading of it, with which I have compoſed it, without Partiality to either Kingdom, but with a ſincere, firm, and conſtant Zeal for the Union of both.

A brief

A brief Account of the Tack: In a Letter to a Friend.

SIR,

I HAVE receiv'd the Favour of your Letter, in which you tell me ſtrange News indeed; for after all the Noiſe that has been ſo long againſt the Tackers, inſomuch that moſt of them thought their ſafeſt Way was to deny it in their ſeveral Countries, yet now they ſeem to take Heart again, and Mr. *B*———, who, you ſay, is lately come down, undertakes to juſtify all that Proceeding. The Arguments he makes uſe of, you tell me, are theſe.

In the firſt Place, he ſays, *The Practice of Occaſional Conformity is ſuch a ſcandalous Hypocriſy, as is no Way to be excus'd upon any Pretence whatſoever. That it is condemn'd even by the better Sort of Diſſenters themſelves. That the employing Perſons of a different Religion from that eſtabliſh'd by Law, has never been practis'd by any wiſe Government, and is now allow'd, even in* Holland *at this Day. That the Sacramental Teſt was appointed by the Wiſdom of the Legiſlature, to preſerve the Eſtabliſh'd Church; which Church ſeems in as much Danger from the Diſſenters now, as it was from Papiſts then. That this Law being ſo neceſſary, and having been twice refus'd in the Houſe of Lords, the only Way to have it paſs'd, was to tack it to a Money-Bill. That it had been an ancient Practice to tack Bills, that were for the Good of the Subject, to Money-Bills; that while grievous Taxes were laid upon the People for the Support of the Crown, the Crown might in return paſs ſuch Laws as were for the Benefit of the People. That the great Neceſſity there was for the Money-Bills paſſing, was rather an Argument for, than againſt this Proceeding: For what Danger could there be, that the Lords (who pretend to be ſuch great Patriots) ſhould rather loſe the neceſſary Supplies, than paſs an Act ſo requiſite for Preſervation of the Church? That however, if they could ſuppoſe them ſo unreaſonable, the Matter was not yet ſo bad; for it was but only proroguing the Parliament for a few Days, and the Commons might have paſs'd the Land-Tax again, without the Tack.*

To conſider theſe Arguments in their Order. I ſhall very readily own, that a Man, who thinks it unlawful to receive the Sacrament according to the Manner of the Church of *England*, and yet does it to qualify him for an Employment, is no Way to be juſtify'd: And I ſhall grant further, that one who goes once to Church to qualify himſelf, and never goes afterwards, is to be condemn'd; whether his not going afterwards be upon a Scruple of Religion, or for his having no Religion at all. But neither of theſe are the Perſons againſt whom this Bill is levell'd; the Deſign of the Bill being againſt ſuch as do ſometimes go to Church, and do at other Times reſort to ſeparate Congregations.

Now

Now to judge how far this Practice may be lawful, we muſt conſider the Reaſons the Diſſenters pretend for their Separation from the Eſtabliſh'd Church.

There are ſome who pretend all Communion with the Church abſolutely unlawful.

There are ſome who do not object to Communion with the Church in general, but to ſome particular Parts of the Common-Prayer.

There are others, who do not pretend there is any Thing in the Eſtabliſh'd Way of Worſhip abſolutely ſinful or unlawful; but they think their own Way more pure and decent, and more according to God's Word.

There are others who do not carry the Matter quite ſo far as theſe; but having been bred up in a Way of Worſhip that has nothing unlawful in it, they think they ought not to leave their Friends entirely, unleſs there was ſomewhat ſinful to make them do it.

As to the firſt Sort, they never communicate with the Church; ſuch are the Quakers, and therefore are not concern'd in this Queſtion.

As for the ſecond Sort, an Objection to a particular Part of our Service cannot juſtify Men for not conforming to the Church in thoſe Parts of our Service to which they have no particular Objection.

And as to the two laſt Sorts, which are by much the moſt conſiderable, and comprehend the greateſt Part of the Independents and Presbyterians, I cannot ſee how thoſe Objections can juſtify them for never going to our Church; tho' they may think themſelves juſtify'd by them for going to their ſeparate Congregations alſo.

That this was the Caſe of ſeveral of the Diſſenters, is very evident from their Practice. Dr. *Bates*, Mr. *Baxter*, and ſome other of the moſt eminent Teachers among the Diſſenters, did, after the Reſtoration, go conſtantly to the Pariſh-Churches, ſtay'd all the Divine Service, receiv'd the Sacrament every Month, and did exhort and bring their Auditors to do the like; tho', at the ſame Time, they thought themſelves oblig'd to keep up their ſeparate Congregations too. And accordingly there are at this Day, in many Parts of *England*, ſeveral Congregations of Men, Women and Children, of ſuch who neither by their Circumſtances, Sexes or Age, can have the leaſt Proſpect of any Office, who go ſometimes to the Eſtabliſh'd Church, ſtay all the Divine Service, receive the Sacrament, and yet at other Times reſort to ſeparate Congregations. And how this, which has been ſo great a Step towards a conſtant Conformity, and has prov'd ſo in very many Families of Condition, becomes at preſent ſo ſcandalous and hypocritical a Practice, I cannot for my Life imagine.

Our Anceſtors had a very different Opinion of this Matter: The Papiſts did communicate with our Church, in the Beginning of Queen *Elizabeth*'s Reign; and were ſo far from being charg'd with Hypocriſy, by any of our Church-Men for it, that all Encouragement that could be, was given to them; and a Declaration againſt Tranſubſtantiation, which was in the Liturgy in *Edward* the Sixth's Time, was, to avoid Offence, left out, and not put

in

in again till the Reſtoration. The Pope indeed did not think it for his Intereſt to allow the Practice, and therefore by a Bull forbad it. And yet I hope, Mr. *B*——— will not pretend the Differences between the Diſſenters and us are greater, than between us and the Papiſts; or that there is not as much Probability of making the former join with us in one Common Intereſt, as ever there was of the latter.

But this Practice, Mr. B——— ſays, *is condemn'd by the better Sort of Diſſenters themſelves.*

That this Practice ſhould be condemn'd by the moſt violent Part of the Diſſenters, I think there is no Reaſon to wonder at. Thoſe who would perſuade their Auditors, that all Communion with the Church of *England* is abſolutely unlawful, muſt uſe their utmoſt Endeavours to keep their Auditors from looking into the Practice of that Church. There is ſomewhat ſo devout, ſo reverend, and ſo chriſtian, in our Forms of Worſhip, and particularly in that of adminiſtring the Sacrament, that the ſafeſt Way to keep People from complying with them, is to keep them from knowing what they are. And there have been ſo many conſiderable Families, that by an Occaſional Conformity at firſt, have been brought to a Conſtant Conformity at laſt; that it is no Wonder, thoſe who are ſo violent for a Separation, ſhould be againſt thoſe Methods that have brought ſo many to an Union. But that Mr. *B*——, who profeſſes himſelf ſo zealous a Friend to our Church, ſhould call theſe the better Sort of Diſſenters, who are the moſt violent againſt it; and ſhould declare ſo warmly againſt a Practice, by which the Church has gain'd ſo many Proſelytes already, and is ſo likely to gain the reſt; that, I confeſs, is to me a little extraordinary.

But however ſome rigid Diſſenters may diſapprove the Practice of the Occaſional Conformiſts, I make no doubt, but the moſt violent of them would be alarm'd at any Thing done againſt it; or ever imagine, that if the Law were once alter'd to the Prejudice of thoſe Diſſenters, who approach ſo nearly to our Church, they might not ſoon expect a more ſevere Law againſt thoſe Diſſenters, who are ſo very diſtant from it.

But Mr. *B*———, you tell me, ſays further, *That the employing Perſons of a different Religion from that eſtabliſh'd by Law, has never been practis'd by any wiſe Government; and is not allow'd even in* Holland *at this Day.*

What Governments Mr. *B*——— will allow to be wiſe ones, I ſhall not take upon me to determine; but, that in all Ages, and in all Countries, where there were not Perſecutions for Religion, the Governments have employ'd Perſons under them, who were of different Religions, is ſo very notorious, that it would ſeem ridiculous to give particular Inſtances. The Jews employ'd the Sadducees; and the Heathen employ'd the Jews: The Pagans employ'd the Chriſtians; and the Chriſtians the Pagans. In *France*, (which ſeems to be the Place ſome Perſons propoſe for the Model of their Politicks, and Church-Diſcipline) there was an Admiral, a Lord Treaſurer, and a Conſtable of *France* (not to mention ſeveral others) who were Proteſtants. Nay, under this preſent Monarch (as great a Perſecutor as he has prov'd ſince) the whole

whole Army of *France* was entruſted in Proteſtant Hands. There is ſcarce a Town in *Holland* (whatever ſome have affirm'd to the contrary) where the Remonſtrants, as well as the Calviniſts, have not ſometimes been in their Publick Offices. Some of the Generals of their Army, and Governors even of their Frontier Towns, are at this very Time *Roman*-Catholicks. They do not only employ all Chriſtians without Diſtinction, but even Jews upon Occaſion; of which we had an Inſtance at *Madrid* in the late Reign, which caus'd a Sort of Rupture between them and us; and that the other *German* Princes follow them in this, we may be convinc'd by the printed Diſpute between Mr. *Limborch* and a learned Jew, where there is a Liſt of ſeveral Jews, at that very Time actually employ'd at the *Hague*, as Publick Miniſters, from ſeveral of thoſe Princes. And Queen *Elizabeh* employ'd Papiſts in her Councils, Fleets and Armies, during her whole Reign. Whether ſhe was a wiſe Princeſs, or a Friend to the Church of *England*, let the World judge.

But let all this be as it will, the Matter in Queſtion is not, whether Diſſenters from the Eſtabliſh'd Church are employ'd by the Government there; for tho' they are, yet there is not one employ'd, that I know of, under her Majeſty here. But the proper Queſtion is, Whether it be Penal in any one who is in Office, to go to a ſeparate Congregation? And this is ſo far from being Penal, that the Calviniſts and Remonſtrants make no Scruple of going to one anothers Congregations, when there is any particular Occaſion for it. Nor is there any Country, that I know of, except *England*, where the receiving the Sacrament, or any other Religious Exerciſe, is neceſſary to qualify a Man for any Temporal Employment; ſo that we have gone a great deal farther already, in that Matter, than any other Country has done.

But this Sacramental Teſt, Mr. *B*——— ſays, *was thought neceſſary to preſerve the Eſtabliſh'd Church; which Church ſeems in as much Danger now from the Diſſenters, as it was then from the Papiſts.*

Every Body knows the Circumſtances our Affairs were in, at the Time when this Teſt-Act was made. We had a Sovereign upon the Throne, who was ſuſpected to have a very ſtrong Inclination towards Popery; and who, if the Proofs publiſh'd after his Death by Authority, may be believ'd, was then actually a Papiſt. His Brother, who had then the greateſt Share in the Adminiſtration, and who had the Fleet and Army in his own Hands, was a profeſs'd one. The Lord-Treaſurer, who had the Diſpoſal of all the Publick Money, was a Papiſt. The Perſons employ'd in publick Truſt, were ſuch as were likely to purſue the Methods preſcrib'd them by theſe. Secret Treaties were made with the *French* King, great Sums of Money receiv'd from him, and his Ambaſſador was at the Head of our Affairs in *England*. In fine, there appear'd, upon all Occaſions, an evident Diſpoſition at Court to introduce Popery, and deſtroy the Liberty of the Subject; and there was a potent Foreign Prince ready at all Times, to engage in any Enterprize againſt the Proteſtant Religion, and the Civil Rights of all *Europe*.

But

But is there any Danger like this from the Diſſenters at preſent? Has ever the moſt malicious Enemy but once ſuſpected her Majeſty of any Deſigns againſt the Church of *England?* Is there any Man employ'd in any Office under her, who has ever been ſaid to be a Diſſenter? Have the Diſſenters ſhewn any Inclinations to invade the Church? Are they not firmly united with her in the ſame Common Intereſt? Or, if they were not, Have they any Foreign Prince either willing or able to ſupport them, in any Attempt againſt her?

Thus far I have conſider'd the Reaſons that are given for the Occaſional Bill itſelf, and I muſt freely confeſs I can ſee none that can ſatisfy me of the Neceſſity of it. I think the Practice of Occaſional Conformity, as us'd by Diſſenters, ſo far from deſerving the Title of a vile Hypocriſy, that I think it the Duty of all moderate Diſſenters, upon their own Principles, to do it. I think, that however it may be diſapprov'd by ſome rigid Diſſenters, it ought to be encourag'd by all good Church-Men, as a likely Means to bring them over. The employing Perſons of a different Religion from the Eſtabliſh'd, has been practis'd in all Countries where Liberty of Conſcience has been allow'd: That we have gone farther already in excluding Diſſenters, than any other Country has done: That whatever Reaſons there were to apprehend our Religion in Danger from the Papiſts, when the Teſt-Act was made, yet there does not ſeem the leaſt Danger to it from the Diſſenters now.

But on the other Hand, I can ſee very plain Inconveniences from this Bill at preſent. As it was brought in this laſt Time, indeed they have added a Preamble, that tho' it was put in the firſt Edition of the Bill, was left out in the Second, *viz. That the Act for Toleration ſhould be always kept inviolable.* But the Toleration-Act being to take away all the Penalties that a Man might incur by going to a ſeparate Congregation, and the occaſional Bill being to lay new Penalties upon thoſe that do it, how they can ſay that this is not itſelf a Violation of the other, I cannot very eaſily comprehend. I doubt it will put People in Mind of what paſs'd in *France*, where every Edict againſt the Proteſtants began with a Proteſtation, that the Edict of *Nants* ought to be always preſerv'd inviolable, till that very Edict in which it was in expreſs Words repeal'd.

At a Time that all *Europe* is engag'd in a bloody and expenſive War; at a Time that this Nation has not only ſuch conſiderable Foreign Foes to deal with, but has a Party in her own Bowels, ready upon all Occaſions to call in a Popiſh Pretender; and involve us all in the ſame, or rather worſe Calamities than thoſe from which, with ſo much Blood and Treaſure, we had been freed: At a Time that the Proteſtant Diſſenters (however they may be in the Wrong in ſeparating from us) yet are heartily and undoubtedly united with us againſt the Common Foes to our Religion and Government; what Advantage thoſe who are in earneſt for defending theſe Things, can have, by leſſening the Number of ſuch as are firmly united with them in this common Cauſe; I cannot for my Life imagine.

But notwithſtanding I can ſee no Reaſon for ſuch a Bill as this, yet I would not have it imagined the Dangers of the Tack were founded upon this Bottom only, for People may have quite a different Opinion of this Bill; they may think it convenient, they may think it in ſome Meaſure neceſſary, and yet they may be againſt the running ſuch a Riſque, as the tacking it to the neceſſary Supply; and to do every Body Juſtice, ſeveral Gentlemen, who were very zealous for this Bill, did however appear as zealous againſt *that dangerous Experiment* of tacking it to the other.

But Mr. B— *ſays, this Bill being neceſſary for the Preſervation of the Church, and having been twice refus'd by the Houſe of Lords, the only Way to ſecure its paſſing was to tack it to a Money-Bill.*

This truly is a very compendious Way of diſpatching Buſineſs: It has always been thought the Excellency of our Conſtitution, that no new Law could be made, or old one repeal'd, without going through ſeveral Hands that were all Checks upon one another. Let the Commons be ever ſo much prepoſſeſs'd in Favour of any Thing, they cannot propoſe it to the Throne to paſs into a Law, without Conſent of the Houſe of Lords. And let the Lords be ever ſo violent for any Bill, they cannot offer it to the Royal Aſſent without the Concurrence of the Houſe of Commons. And let both theſe Houſes agree in their Opinion, yet it cannnot paſs into a Law, till it has had its Sanction from the Throne. Theſe different Steps are wiſely ordered by our Conſtitution, for Fear any Thing ſhonld paſs into a Law by a particular Faction, by Heat of Parties, or by Inadvertency.

But this excellent Form of our Legiſlature is at an End, if Encouragement be given to this new Manner of tacking. As all Money-Bills, however neceſſary for the publick Safety, muſt have their Riſe and Form in the Houſe of Commons, if this Houſe may add to their Money-Bill new Laws of quite a different Nature to the Money, and if the Lords cannot after this paſs the Money-Bill, without conſenting to, the other to, then it is the Houſe of Commons only that has the Right of deliberating: For what Occaſion can there be for the Houſe of Lords to conſider whether a Law be reaſonable before they conſent to it, when it is in the Power of the Houſe of Commons to make them conſent to it, whether they think it reaſonable or not?

But Mr B—— *ſays, That it has been an ancient Practice to tack Bills, that were for the Good of the Subject, to Money-Bills; that while heavy Taxes were laid upon the People for the Good of the Crown, the Crown might, in return, grant ſuch Laws as were for the Good of the People.*

Whatever Pretences may be made of the Antiquity of this Practice, yet every Body knows it has been very rare, and is of a very freſh Date, and has been only when theſe two Circumſtances have agreed.

Firſt, When Money was ask'd for the private Support of the Crown, and not for the general Neceſſity.

Secondly, When ſome Bill had been before refus'd by the Crown, that was judg'd neceſſary for the Good of the Subject, not by ſome particular Men, or by one particular Houſe, but by both Houſes of Parliament.

But

But in the preſent Caſe, whatever Money was ask'd by the Queen, or granted by the Commons, was not for the private Support of the Crown, but for the general Neceſſity of the People. So far is her Majeſty from getting one Farthing by theſe Taxes, that it is very well known, ſhe has every Year, of her own Accord, contributed very largely out of her own private Revenue towards the War. They are given to carry on a War that is abſolutely neceſſary for ſupporting the Rights and Liberties of *Europe*, which have been ſo notoriouſly invaded by the *French* King, and to keep out a Pretender to our own Crown, who is bred up in the Religion and Principles of that Prince; and I hope no Man ever has, or ever will be thought fit to repreſent his Country in Parliament, who does not think this War neceſſary for the Intereſt of every Subject in *England*, as well as of her Majeſty.

In the ſecond Place, this Bill is ſo far from being thought for the Good of the Nation by both Houſes of Parliament, that one Houſe had before, in two ſucceſſive Seſſions, thought fit to reject it.

In the third Place, if both Houſes had agreed to it, there is no Reaſon to conclude her Majeſty would have refus'd the Royal Aſſent, in which Caſe, only this Way of tacking had ever been us'd.

But tho' this Way of tacking had been ſometimes practis'd, yet it is ſo far from being allow'd the Right of the Commons to do it, that the Lords have always, before the paſſing any ſuch Bill, how agreeable ſoever the Matter tack'd might be to them, enter'd Proteſtations upon their Books againſt that Manner of proceeding. And when the Houſe of Commons carry'd this pretended Right ſo far, as to offer at tacking Clauſes to Money-Bills, which the Lords did not think ſo reaſonable to be paſs'd, (tho' they never went ſo far as to tack any Thing the Lords had rejected before) the Lords, to preſerve the Conſtitution, and that there might be a laſting Caution againſt all ſuch Attempts, to ingroſs the whole Legiſlature to the Houſe of Commons, at a Time when there was no ſuch Matter depending between the two Houſes, caus'd a ſolemn Declaration to be enter'd upon their Book, and which was ſign'd by the greateſt Part of them, that they would never, after that Time, paſs a Money-Bill with any Clauſes that were foreign to the Subject of the Bill. And after ſuch a Declaration ſo publickly made, enter'd and ſign'd, the Commons could have no Deſign in tacking ſuch Clauſes, but only to have the Bill miſcarry.

But Mr. B—— *ſays, That the great Neceſſity there was for the Land-Tax's paſſing, was rather an Argument for, than againſt this Proceeding. For what Danger could there be, that the Lords (who pretend to be ſuch great Patriots) ſhould rather loſe the neceſſary Supplies, than paſs a Bill ſo requiſite for Preſervation of the Church?*

How far this Bill had been for Preſervation of the Church, I have conſider'd already. And as for the Lords being ſuch great Patriots, I wiſh ſome Members of the Houſe of Commons have not given their Electors too much Cauſe to think the Lords better Patriots than their own Repreſentatives.

But notwithſtanding that, no reaſonable Man can believe they could ever have paſs'd this Bill ſo tack'd.

The Houſe of Lords is an undoubted Part of the Legiſlature: This Houſe, upon ſolemn Debates before, thought this Bill not fit to be paſs'd; and if the Commons, notwithſtanding that, could have forc'd them into paſſing this Bill, by this Method, they muſt never have pretended to have rejected any Bill more. We ſee, by a thouſand Inſtances, that ſuch a Right once given up is never to be retreiv'd: And then they had not only parted with their Right of debating for ever, but they had, by that, broken the *Engliſh* Conſtitution, and overthrown thoſe fundamental Rights of Legiſlature, by which this Kingdom has flouriſh'd ſo long.

In the ſecond Place, they had fix'd an indelible Mark of Infamy upon their own Perſons, if they had ſuffer'd themſelves to be forc'd into the doing a Thing, that upon a ſolemn Deliberation they had reſolv'd, nay, moſt of them had proteſted under their Hands, they would never conſent to do.

But, ſays Mr. B——, *if the Lords ſhould refuſe the Bill ſo tack'd, Matters were not yet ſo bad; for it was but only proroguing the Parliament for a few Days, and the Commons might have paſs'd the Land-Tax without the Tack.*

I am ſorry to ſee Gentlemen purſue a bad Cauſe, till they are reduc'd to ſuch wretched Evaſions as theſe. Tho' I think there was no Sort of Reaſon for tacking this Bill, yet if it had been once tack'd, there might have been ſeveral Reaſons for not receding from it. How little Pretence ſoever there may be for the Commons Rights of tacking, yet there are ſeveral worthy Members, who would not have car'd to have given thoſe Pretences entirely up; which muſt have been the Caſe, if they had departed from the Tack, after having once inſiſted upon it.

'Tis indeed ridiculous to imagine that any one Man, who had voted for the Tack, would have given it up afterwards. However, if we could ſuppoſe a Houſe of Commons ſo childiſh, yet there muſt neceſſarily, by Parliamentary Forms, have been ſo much Time loſt, and ſo great Delays in all publick Buſineſs, as would have been very near as fatal as the granting no Supplies at all.

The Duke of *Savoy* was ſo preſs'd, that nothing but a conſtant Supply of Money from hence, and a firm Expectation of a ſudden Succour, could have made him ſupport the Cauſe with that Zeal and Bravery that he did. Any Stop of his Supplies from hence, any Fear of his early Succours (both which our Delays muſt inevitably have occaſioned) had forced him into a ſeparate Peace; and then the *French* Army in *Italy* had march'd immediately into *Germany*, and fallen upon the Confederate Forces there.

The King of *Pruſſia* was newly and heartily entered into the League, and had agreed to ſend a conſiderable Body of Men to the Relief of the Duke of *Savoy*. But as they were firſt to receive Supplies from hence, what Hopes could there be of their marching without thoſe Supplies, or indeed

of

of that Prince's continuing in the Confederacy, when that very Nation that had perſuaded him into it, was ſo little likely to ſupport him in it.

Portugal had been ſo ſoften'd by a long Peace, that there was no Thoughts of their continuing the War, but by their Hopes of conſtant Succours from hence, and by the Succeſs we had met at *Gibraltar*. This Town was thought ſo conſiderable by the *Spaniards*, that they had exerted their utmoſt Force againſt it. What a Damp the Loſs of that had put upon our Affairs, one may eaſily gueſs, by the Endeavours of the Enemy to regain it? And yet the Loſs of that muſt have been the neceſſary Conſequence of any Stop in our Supplies at Home.

The Succeſs of the Confederate Forces had been ſo great in *Bavaria*, that they had agreed to deliver up all their Garriſons to them: But what Likelihood was there of their performing that Agreement, if they had a Proſpect of a ſudden Succour from *Italy?* Or how ſhould our Army have ſupported themſelves without any Hopes of Supplies from hence.

All the Confederates were then in Conſultation how to carry on the War the next Year; and what Influence ſuch a Miſcarriage here would have had upon all their Proceedings, I almoſt tremble to think.

The *French* King found ſuch Difficulties in raiſing Supplies for the enſuing Campaign, that he was in a Manner obliged to declare himſelf Bankrupt. But ſuch an Encouragement from hence as the Tack had been, would have ſet his Matters right again, and one ſuch Vote from our Parliament, had made him ſufficient Amends for all the Prejudices our Armies had done him.

I cannot conclude this Paper better, than with the Words of her Majeſty's moſt Gracious Speech to the Parliament at parting.

> *We have, by the Bleſſing of God, a fair Proſpect of this great and deſirable End,* (of a laſting Peace and Security) *if we do not diſappoint it by our own unreaſonable Humours and Animoſity; the fatal Effects of which we have ſo narrowly eſcaped in this Seſſion, that it ought to be a ſufficient Warning againſt any dangerous Experiments for the future.*

The Caſe of the Epiſcopal Clergy of Scotland *truly repreſented.* 1707.

IN the Month of *December* 1688, a ſudden and ſurprizing Report was ſpread all over *Scotland*, that ten thouſand Papiſts were landed from *Ireland*, with ſtrange Inſtruments of Death for diſpatching Proteſtants. Concerning which, a Letter was writ from the Mayor of the City of *Glaſgow* to the Magiſtrates of the Town of *Hamilton*, bearing, that they had already burnt down the Town of *Kirkubright*, and were come within two and twenty Miles

Miles of *Hamilton*, in Order to uſe them at the ſame Rate. This Letter came to Hand upon *Friday* Night immediately before *Chriſtmas*, and all the Night after, the Citizens Wives were running about with their Children in their Arms, with hideous Cries, *What ſhould become of them and their poor young ones!* Upon *Saturday*, the Contrivance being ſpeedily and warmly managed, againſt Eleven o'Clock there were got together, in *Douglas-Moor*, ſome ſix thouſand Preſbyterians, well arm'd, upon Pretence of defending the Country from theſe Invaders. But their Deſign was quickly diſcovered; for, by Three o' Clock in the Afternoon, they were all divided into ſmall Detachments, of two or three Hundred in Company, whoſe Buſineſs it was to diſarm all that were diſaffected to their Cauſe, and which actually they did.

Theſe Companies of armed Men, to whatſoever Pariſh they came, if the Miniſter was at Home, and not ſo ſecurely protected by his Pariſhioners, as that they were afraid to attack him, they carried him out to the Market-Place of the Town or Village where he reſided, or to the moſt publik Place of the Pariſh, if it had no Town in it; and there, giving him Names in Abundance, pull'd his Gown over his Ears, and tore it in many Pieces, diſlodging his Family, and throwing the Furniture out of his Houſe, and threatening him with Death, if ever he ſhould return to the Place to preach any more. Some of them they drove through Rivers, in a deep Storm of Snow, which then happened, the Rivers not being quite frozen over, and in ſuch deep Places, as that the Water reach'd up to their Necks. One of theſe Miniſters, ſo uſed, came, in his wet Cloaths, thro' the deep Snow, to his Brother Miniſter of *Straven*'s Houſe, within ſeven or eight Miles of *Glaſgow*.

Theſe, and ſuch like Uſages, go under the Name of *Rabbling*, the various Inſtances of which were too tedious here to inſert: Some were cruelly beaten and wounded; ſome of their Wives, when they came to reſcue them big with Child, were ſo violently puſh'd with the Club-End of their Markets, that they immediately miſcarried; as particularly, the Miniſter of *Kilbride*'s Wife, a Gentlewoman of a very good Family, was ſo us'd. The Pariſh lies within ſeven Miles of *Glaſgow*. By theſe, and ſuch like Uſages, ſome two hundred and ſixty Miniſters in the Weſt of *Scotland* were expell'd their Livings. Theſe Violences were done all *Scotland* over, in ſuch Places where the Preſbyterians were abſolute Maſters, but with beſt ſucceſs upon the South Side of the River of *Forth*. The Miniſter of *Kirkintown*, within ſix Miles of *Edinburgh*, was more than once, I am ſure twice, if not thrice, thus rabbled, and had his Goods thrown out of his Windows. All theſe Things were done when Epiſcopacy was yet the eſtabliſh'd Government of that national Church.

But a little after, to the juſt Surprize of all, theſe very Violences came to bear, in plain Conſtruction of Law; for, in the very firſt Parliament after the Revolution, in the Act entitul'd, *An Act ratifying the Confeſſion of Faith, and ſettling Preſbyterian Church Government*, bearing Date the Seventh Day of

of *June*, 1690, not full a Year and an Half after theſe Violences were done, ſome three hundred Miniſters, or thereabouts, who were thus rabbled, had their Churches declar'd vacant from this very Deed, without having any Offer made them, or any other Sentence pronounc'd againſt them. The Word made uſe of in that Act which comprehendeth *rabbling*, is being *remov'd*; to which are added thoſe other two, of *deſerting*, or being *depriv'd*. That this was the Meaning of the Word is plain, from the Reaſonings which the late Duke of *Hamilton* made againſt thoſe Violences us'd, and why they ſhould not be patroniz'd, nor ſo much as pointed at, in any Act of Parliament; and to prevent its being ſo done, mov'd to have the Vote ſtated, *Approve the Deed of the Rabble, or no?* But the Majority rejecting that rough Word, ſtated, *Approve the Article, or no?* And carrying it in the Affirmative, the Duke immediately roſe from his Seat in great Reſentment, with ſeveral others of the Nobility, who followed him. See the Act, Nº. 1.

And that it may not be thought that this might happen thro' Want of due and timely Application by the Epiſcopal Miniſters, who had been ſo barbarouſly uſed, a Petition was preſented to the honourable Houſe of Parliament, by them, in the Month of *May* immediately preceding; which could never obtain ſo much as once to be read, notwithſtanding of the very importunate and moving Inſtances made by the Duke of *Hamilton* for it, and by Sir *Patrick Scot*, of *Ancrum*, who preſented it, until the Act itſelf was once paſs'd, and then there was no Place left for it. See the Petition, Nº. 2.

But to come cloſer to the Buſineſs, ſeeing it is aſſerted ſo boldly, that the *Scots* Epiſcopal Clergy have a Toleration, or the Equivalent of it, and that there are no Penal Statutes ſtanding in Force againſt them, but, on the contrary, Protection promiſed them, if they ſhall qualify themſelves in the Terms of the Act of Parliament.

For Anſwer: The Act of Parliament is appealed to, bearing Date *June* 12, 1693; and here it is deſired that the Qualification contained in the Act may be looked into, the Penalty therein threatened, with the Protection promiſed.

And, *Firſt*, As to the Qualification enjoined by the Act of Parliament, it runs in theſe Terms, over and above qualifying to the Government: *That they ſhall ſubſcribe to the General Aſſembly's Confeſſion of Faith*, (for that is the Confeſſion of Faith there to be underſtood) *declaring that it is the Confeſſion of their Faith, and that they own the Doctrine therein contained to be the true Doctrine, which they will conſtantly adhere to.* This Article, for ſeveral Things contained in that Confeſſion, not ſo proper to be mentioned here, cannot be ſubſcribed. And as to the Second Article, it runs thus: Firſt Article.

That they muſt own and acknowledge Preſbyterian Church-Government to be the only Government of that Church; and that they will ſubmit thereto, and concur therewith, and never endeavour, directly Second Article.

or

or indirectly, the Prejudice or Subverſion thereof. To this the Anſwer ſeems to be very plain and very ſhort; that a Man owning in his Conſcience Epiſcopacy to be the only true, antient, Catholick, and Apoſtolick Government of the Church of Chriſt, cannot, without a manifeſt Contradiction and Violence done to the Truth, ſign to that Article.

Third Article. As to the Third, it maketh the Act in *Terminis An Act of Uniformity in Worſhip, and which Worſhip they muſt ſubſcribe to obſerve, and declare that actually they do obſerve it:* For theſe are the Words of the Act. That Worſhip, which, to the great Scandal of all other Proteſtant Churches, hath thrown out that comprehenſive Form of Prayer which our Lord hath taught and commanded us when we pray to ſay; with that religious Hymn, ſo antiently enjoined, and ſo conſtantly uſed in the Chriſtian Church, to the Honour of the Holy Trinity; rejecting alſo the *Apoſtolick Creed* in Baptiſm, the great Standard and Summary of the Chriſtian Faith, to which we are to be baptiz'd; and admitting no other Standard of our Interceſſions and Prayers to Almighty God, no other Forms of ſound Words, than the private Conceptions of every Pretender, to be the Mouth of a whole Church-Aſſembly, or Congregation of God's People: And yet this is *the Uniformity of Worſhip which they muſt ſubſcribe to obſerve, and declare, that actually they do obſerve it*; and if in any Ways they diſſent from any of theſe, then they incur the Penalties contained in the Act. Is this a Toleration? Nay, a Toleration could never be intended, when we conſider that the Committee of the General Aſſembly, (which uſually ſitteth in Time of Parliament, and faileth not boldly to preſcribe in Church-Matters, as in their late Addreſs to the Parliament) openly declared, that if any Toleration was granted, it was to eſtabliſh Iniquity by a Law. But next, as to the Penalties, which are as follows: They muſt be ſuſpended *tam ab Officio quam a Beneficio*; that is, both from their Offices and Benefices: Firſt, from their Offices; and that is, (as interpreted by the ſubſequent Act of Privy Council, in whoſe Power it hath all along been both to interpret and execute the Law) not to exerciſe any Part of their Miniſterial Function in any Pariſh within the Kingdom. And is not this a Penal Law? The Penalty, methinks, is heavy enough to be depriv'd of Bread, which the Benefice implies, but yet heavier to be depriv'd of the Exerciſe of all theſe ſacred Offices of Religion, to which they were conſecrated. But this is not all, nor doth this Negative conſummate the Penalty of this Law; for if they continue to exerciſe any Part of their Miniſterial Function, without ſubſcribing and declaring as aforeſaid, then they muſt incur Baniſhment, and be for ever exil'd from their native Country, and expoſed to all the Miſeries of Poverty and Diſtreſs among Strangers. If this be a Toleration, they have it; and if theſe be not Penal Laws, where are they to be found?

See Act, N°. 3.

See the Act of Privy-Council, N°. 4.

Under all theſe Penalties, Reſtraints, and Coercions, lie at preſent ſome Hundreds of poor Epiſcopal Miniſters, depriv'd of Bread, and all Means of earning it, except what proceeds from a free, generous, and Chriſtian Charity. Some

Some few indeed have enjoyed both their Offices and Benefices ſtill, as before the Revolution, and have duly qualified themſelves to the Government; but they owe this Protection chiefly to the ſound Principles, and affectionate Adherence, of their People to them; among whom, no Preſbyterian Miniſter can find any Reception or Encouragement, elſe they might promiſe themſelves the ſame Entertainment which the above-mentioned Miniſter of *Kirknewtown* met with; for, their not ſigning to the General Aſſembly's Confeſſion of Faith, their not owning Preſbyterian Church-Government, their not obſerving Uniformity in Worſhip, maketh them abundantly obnoxious to the Penalties of the Law; but it were hard enough to part ſuch Miniſters and ſuch People from one another.

A few more are conniv'd at in Meeting-Houſes (in *Edinburgh*, *Kelſo*, *Sterling*, *Dundee*, *Perth*, *Montroſe*, *Aberdeen*, and *Elgin*,) in all not exceeding five or ſix and twenty, in thoſe Towns, and very few or none in Country Pariſhes, where the People are not able to maintain Miniſters both in Church and Meeting-Houſe, but ſtill upon a precarious Footing, or rather no Footing at all, lying at ſimple Diſcretion, which, upon proper Occaſion, expreſſeth itſelf by all poſſible Severities, as laſt *Summer* happened in the Caſe of the lately deceaſed Mr. *George Mathers*, Miniſter at the Meeting-Houſe of *St. Andrew*'s, who, after he had qualified himſelf in all Points, was immediately obliged to leave that Town, having his Meeting-Houſe ſhut up; who, in two or three Months afterwards, or thereabout, died at *Edinburgh*, in great Miſery and Want, not letting his Caſe be known till it was paſt Remedy. It was but a ſhort Time before, that, in Purſuance of the abovementioned Act of Privy-Council, the Miniſters of the Meeting-Houſes of *Perth* and *Elgin* were both put up in Jail, by the Magiſtrates of theſe reſpective Burghs, tho' they daily prayed for the Queen, and were ready to qualify themſelves to the Government. And how ſoon it pleaſeth any of theſe Magiſtrates or Juſtices, in whoſe Power it is, to put a Stop to the Miniſtry of theſe few that are in Meeting-Houſes, there is nothing ſtanding in their Way to obſtruct their Procedure, This is the Toleration and Protection which the Epiſcopal Clergy of *Scotland* now enjoy.

NUMBER I.

An Act ratifying the Confeſſion of Faith, and ſettling Preſbyterian Church-Government.

June 7, 1690.

OUR Sovereign Lord and Lady, the King's and Queen's Majeſties, and three Eſtates of Parliament, conceiving it to be their bound Duty, after the great Deliverance that God hath lately wrought for this Church and Kingdom, in the firſt Place to ſettle and ſecure therein the true Proteſtant Religion, according to the Truth of God's Word, as it hath of a

long Time been profeſſed within this Land; as alſo the Government of Chriſt's Church within this Nation, agreeable to the Word of God, and moſt conducive to the Advancement of true Piety and Godlineſs, and the eſtabliſhing of Peace and Tranquility within this Realm; and that, by an Article of the Claim of Right, it is declared, that Prelacy, and the Superiority of any Office in the Church above Preſbyters, is, and hath been, a great and unſupportable Grievance and Trouble to this Nation, and contrary to the Inclinations of the Generality of the People ever ſince the Reformation, they having reformed from Popery by Preſbyters, and therefore ought to be aboliſhed; likeas, by an Act of the laſt Seſſion of this Parliament, Prelacy is aboliſhed. Therefore their Majeſties, with Advice and Conſent of the ſaid three Eſtates, do hereby reviſe, ratify, and perpetually confirm, all Laws, Statutes, and Acts of Parliament, made againſt Popery and Papiſts; and for the Maintenance and Preſervation of the true reformed Proteſtant Religion, and for the true Church of Chriſt within this Kingdom, in ſo far as they confirm the ſame, or are made in Favour thereof. Likeas they, by theſe Preſents, ratify and eſtabliſh the Confeſſion of Faith, now read in their Preſence, and voted and approven by them, as the publick and avow'd Confeſſion of this Church, containing the Sum and Subſtance of the Doctrine of the Reform'd Churches, (which Confeſſion of Faith is ſubjoined to this preſent Act.) As alſo, they do eſtabliſh, ratify, and confirm the Preſbyterian Church-Government and Diſcipline; that is to ſay, the Government of the Church by Kirk-Seſſions, Preſbyteries, Provincial Synods, and General Aſſemblies, ratified and eſtabliſhed by the 114th Act of *James* VI. Parl. 12, Anno 1592, entitled, *Ratification of the Liberty of the true Kirk*, &c. and thereafter received by the general Conſent of this Nation to be the only Government of Chriſt's Church within this Kingdom; reviving, renewing, and confirming the aforeſaid Act of Parliament, in the whole Heads thereof, except that Part of it relating to Patronages, which is hereafter to be taken into Conſideration; and reſcinding, annulling, and making void the Acts of Parliament following; *viz. Act anent Reſtitution of Biſhops*, *Jac.* VI. *Parl.* 18. *Cap.* 2. *Act ratifying the Acts of the Aſſembly*, 1610, *Jac.* VI. *Parl.* 21. *Cap.* 1. *Act anent the Election of Archbiſhops and Biſhops*, *Jac.* VI. *Parl.* 22, *Cap.* 1. *Act* entitled *Ratification of the five Articles of the General Aſſembly at* Perth, *Jac.* VI. *Parl.* 23, *Cap.* 1. *Act* entitled, *For the Reſtitution and Re-eſtabliſhment of the antient Government of the Church, by Archbiſhops and Biſhops*, *Cap.* 2, *Parl.* 1. *Seſſ.* 2. *Act* 1*ſt*, *Act anent the Conſtitution of a National Synod*, *Cap.* 2. *Parl.* 1. *Seſſ.* 3. *Act.* 6. *Act againſt ſuch as refuſe to depone againſt Delinquents*, *Cap.* 2. *Parl.* 2. *Seſſ.* 2. *Act.* 2. *Act* entitled, *Act acknowledging and aſſerting the Right of Succeſſion to the Imperial Crown of* Scotland, *Cap.* 2. *Parl.* 3. *Act* 2 entituled *Act anent Religion and the Teſt*, *Cap.* 2. *Parl. Act* 6. With all other Acts, Laws, Statutes, Ordinances, and Proclamations; and that in ſo far allanerly as the ſaid Acts and others, generally and particularly abovemention'd, are contrary, or prejudicial to, inconſiſtent with, or derogatory from,

from, the Proteſtant Religion, and Preſbyterian Government, now eſtabliſhed; and allowing and declaring, that the Church-Government be eſtabliſhed in the Hands of, and exerciſed by, theſe Preſbyterian Miniſters, who were outed ſince the Firſt of *January*, 1661, for Nonconformity to Prelacy, or not complying with the Courſes of the Times, and are now reſtor'd by the late Act of Parliament; and ſuch Miniſters and Elders only as they have admitted or received, or ſhall hereafter admit or receive: And alſo, that all the ſaid Preſbyterian Miniſters have, and ſhall have, Right to the Maintenance, Rights, and other Privileges, by Law provided, to the Miniſters of Chriſt's Church within this Kingdom, as they are, or ſhall be, legally admitted to particular Churches; likeas, in Purſuance of the Premiſſes, their Majeſties do hereby appoint the firſt Meeting of the General Aſſembly of this Church, as above eſtabliſh'd, to be at *Edinburgh*, the third *Thurſday* of *October* next to come, in this Inſtant Year, 1690. And becauſe many conform Miniſters either have deſerted, or were remov'd from preaching in their Churches, preceding the thirteenth Day of *April*, 1689, and others were depriv'd, for not giving Obedience to the Act of the Eſtates, made the 13th of *April*, 1689, entitled, *Proclamation againſt the owning of the late King* James, *and appointing publick Prayers for King* William *and Queen* Mary: Therefore their Majeſties, with Advice and Conſent aforeſaid, do hereby declare all the Churches, either deſerted, or from which the conform Miniſters were remov'd or depriv'd, as ſaid is, to be vacant; and that the Preſbyterian Miniſters, exerciſing their Miniſtry within any of theſe Paroches, (or where the laſt Incumbent is dead) by the Deſire or Conſent of the Paroch, ſhall continue their Poſſeſſion, and have Right to the Benefices and Stipends, according to their Entry in the Year 1689, and in Time coming, ay, and while in the Church, as now eſtabliſh'd, take further Courſe therewith. And to the Effect the Diſorders that have happened in this Church may be redreſſed, their Majeſties, with Advice and Conſent aforeſaid, do hereby allow the General Meeting and Repreſentatives of the aforeſaid *Preſbyterian* Miniſters and Elders, in whoſe Hands the Exerciſe of the Church-Government is eſtabliſhed, either by themſelves, or by ſuch Miniſters and Elders as ſhall be appointed and authoriz'd Viſitors by them, according to the Cuſtom and Practice of Preſbyterian Government throughout the whole Kingdom, and ſeveral Parts thereof, to try and purge out all inſufficient, negligent, ſcandalous, and erroneous Miniſters, by due Courſe of Eccleſiaſtical Proceſs and Cenſures; and likewiſe for redreſſing all other Church-Diſorders. And further, it is hereby provided, that whatſoever Miniſter, being convened before the ſaid General Meeting and Repreſentatives of the Preſbyterian Miniſters and Elders, or the Viſitors to be appointed by them, ſhall either prove contumacious, in not appearing, or be found guilty, and ſhall be therefore cenſured, whether by Suſpenſion or Depoſition, they ſhall, *ipſo Facto*, be ſuſpended from, or depriv'd of, their Stipends and Benefices.

NUMBER II.

Unto his Grace their Majesty's Commissioner, and the honourable Estates of Parliament:

The Petition of the Ministers who were thrust from their Churches by Force and Violence, in December, 1688, *or at any Time thereafter, before the* 13*th Day of* April, 1689.

Humbly sheweth,

WHEREAS your Petitioners (though they entered to their Offices and Benefices at their respective Churches, according to Law, and were in uncontroverted Possession of them) were thrust from these their Offices and Cures, by notorious Force and Violence, cast out of their Dwellings, with their Families and Furniture, and threatened with Death, if they should offer to return to the Exercise of their Ministry at their respective Churches:

Whereas your Petitioners, upon such violent Treatment, made Application to his present Majesty, then his Highness the Prince of *Orange*, (who, at the humble Desire of divers Lords and Gentlemen of this Kingdom, had then taken upon him the Government and Administration of the Affairs of this Realm) by their humble Prayer for Protection, of the Date at *Glasgow*, the 22d of *January*, 1688-9, presented to his Majesty, by Dr. *Robert Scott*, Minister at *Hamilton*, impower'd by your Petitioners for that Effect, as will appear from his Commission of the same Date; and upon that Application, his Majesty did emit a Declaration for keeping the Peace, *&c.* in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, of the Date at *St. James's*, the sixth Day of *February*, 1688-9, whereby he did expresly prohibit all Disturbance and Violence upon the Account of Religion, and authorise all Protestants to enjoy their several Opinions and Forms of Worship, whether in Churches or Meeting-Houses, whether according to Law, or otherwise, with the same Freedom, and in the same Manner, in which they did enjoy them in the Month of *October* preceding, as the said Declaration more at length bears; whereby it is evident that his Majesty, and his Counsellors and Advisers for *Scottish* Affairs, at that Time, were clearly convinc'd of the violent Wrongs your Petitioners had met with, and of the Irregularity and Illegality thereof.

Whereas, notwithstanding the said Declaration, the Persecution of your Petitioners continued as hot as ever; as is evident from a second Tumult at *Glasgow*, upon the 17th Day of *February*, and Year abovesaid, being the Lord's Day, on which both Ministers and Hearers (having assembled for Divine Worship acccording to Law, and upon the Protection and Security contained in the said Declaration) were most violently assaulted by an enrag'd Multitude, in the high Church of that City; and a great many other Instances, which may be easily adduced. And a Representation of that Tumult

mult in *Glaſgow*, and a ſecond Application for Protection, were made to his Majeſty, by Dr. *James Fall*, Principal of the College of *Glaſgow*: And his Majeſty referr'd the Matter to the Meeting of Eſtates, indicted by him to ſit at *Edinburgh*, the 14th of *March*, and Year aforeſaid.

Whereas the ſaid Meeting of Eſtates did not think it convenient in that Interim, by their Authority, to repoſſeſs your Petitioners of their juſt, legal, and undoubted Rights, as appears from their Proclamation, of the Date at *Edinburgh*, the 13th Day of *April*, 1689; ſo that your Petitioners wanting Protection, durſt never ſince, without the manifeſt Peril of their Lives, adventure to return to the Exerciſe of their Miniſtry at their reſpective Churches.

Whereas your Petitioners (beſide the unſpeakable Grief it is to them to be thus reſtrain'd from the Exerciſe of their ſacred Function) are generally reduc'd to great Neceſſities, and many of them, with numerous Families, are at the Point of ſtarving, having no Livelihood but their Stipends, and being refuſed Payment of theſe by the Debitors thereof, upon Pretence of an Act of Council, dated *December* the 24th, 1689, whereby Intimation is made to all Judges, that the Caſe of the Miniſters, who are not in the actual Exerciſe of their Miniſterial Function the 13th of *April*, 1689, lieth under the Conſideration of Parliament; and they are required, in executing of Sentences already recovered, and in judging of Proceſſes, to be intented at the Inſtance of ſuch Miniſters, to behave themſelves as they will be anſwerable; which Act, not only the Debitors of your Petitioners Stipends pretend for not paying the ſame, as ſaid is, but alſo, many inferior Judges do ſo conſtruct, that they will grant no Decrees in favour of your Petitioners. And,

Whereas, by the Laws of this Realm, your Petitioners (being Miniſters of the Goſpel of Chriſt, and having entered legally to their Offices and Benefices, as ſaid is) have a Right to Protection in the Exerciſe of their Miniſtry, at their reſpective Churches, and to their Benefices, *ad vitam vel culpam*, and can neither be deprived of either without a legal Sentence. And now that your Grace and the Eſtates are met in Parliament, to which the Caſe of your Petitioners is referred by the aforeſaid Act of Privy Council:

May it therefore pleaſe your Grace, and the honourable Eſtates of Parliament, to take the Premiſes under Conſideration, and interpoſe your Authority, for reſtoring your Petitioners to the Exerciſe of their Miniſtry at their reſpective Churches; for cauſing make Payment of the Stipends that are due to them by Law, and for protecting them both in their Offices and Benefices, according to Law.

NUMBER III.

Act for ſettling the Quiet and Peace of the Church.

Edinburgh, June 12, 1693.

OUR Sovereign Lord and Lady, the King and Queen's Majeſties, with Advice and Conſent of the Eſtates of Parliament, ratify, approve, and perpetually confirm the fifth Act of the ſecond Seſſion of this current

current Parliament, intitled, *Act ratifying the Confeſſion of Faith, and ſettling Preſbyterian Church Government*, in the whole Heads, Articles, and Clauſes thereof: And do further ſtatute and ordain, that no Perſon be admitted, or continued, for hereafter, to be a Miniſter or Preacher within this Church, unleſs that he, having firſt taken and ſubſcribed the Oath of Allegiance, and ſubſcribed the Aſſurance, in Manner appointed by another Act of this preſent Seſſion of Parliament, made thereanent, do alſo ſubſcribe the Confeſſion of Faith ratified in the foreſaid fifth Act of the ſecond Seſſion of this Parliament, declaring the ſame to be the Confeſſion of his Faith, and that he owns the Doctrine therein contained to be the true Doctrine, which he will conſtantly adhere to; as likewiſe, that he owns and acknowledges Preſbyterian Church-Government, as ſettled by the aforeſaid fifth Act of the ſecond Seſſion of this Parliament, to be the only Government of this Church, and that he will ſubmit thereto, and concur therewith, and never endeavour, directly or indirectly, the Prejudice or Subverſion thereof. And their Majeſties, with Advice and Conſent aforeſaid, ſtatute and ordain, that [a] Uniformity of Worſhip, and of the Adminiſtration of all publick Ordinances within his Church, be obſerved by all the ſaid Miniſters and Preachers, as the ſame are at preſent performed and allowed therein, or ſhall be hereafter declared, by the Authority of the ſame; and that no Miniſter or Preacher be admitted or continued for hereafter, unleſs that he ſubſcribe to obſerve, and do actually obſerve, the aforeſaid Uniformity. And for the more effectual ſettling the Quiet and Peace of this Church, the Eſtates of Parliament do hereby make an humble Addreſs to their Majeſties, that they would be pleaſed to call a General Aſſembly, for the ordering the Affairs of the Church. And to the End that all the preſent Miniſters poſſeſſing Churches, not yet admitted to the Exerciſe of the aforeſaid Church-Goverment, conform to the ſaid Act, and who ſhall qualify themſelves in Manner aforeſaid, and ſhall apply to the ſaid Aſſembly, or the other Church-Judicatures, competent in an orderly Way, each Man for himſelf, be received to partake with them in the Government thereof; certifying ſuch as ſhall not qualify themſelves, and apply to the ſaid Aſſembly, or other Judicatures, within the Space of thirty Days after meeting of the ſaid firſt Aſſembly, in Manner aforeſaid, that they may be depoſed by the Sentence of the ſaid Aſſembly, and other Judicatures, *tam ab officio, quam a beneficio*; and withal declaring, that if any of the ſaid Miniſters, who hath not been hitherto received into the Government of the Church, ſhall offer to qualify themſelves, and to apply in Manner aforeſaid, they ſhall have their Majeſties full Protection, ay and while they ſhall be admitted and received in Manner aforeſaid: Providing always, that this Act, and the Benefit thereof, ſhall no ways be extended to ſuch of the ſaid Miniſters as are

[a] *i e.* That none of the Forms be retained in the Publick Worſhip of God, that are not uſed by the Preſbyterians; *viz.* the *Lord's Prayer*, the *Doxology*, the *Apoſtles Creed*; and that the Holy Scriptures muſt not be read in the publick Aſſemblies as heretofore.

ſcan-

ſcandalous, erroneous, negligent, or inſufficient, and againſt whom the ſame ſhall be verified within the Space of thirty Days after the ſaid Application; but theſe, and all others, in like Manner guilty, are hereby declared to be liable and ſubject to the Power and Cenſure of the Church, as accords. And to the Effect that the Repreſentation of this Church, in its General Aſſemblies, may be more equal in all Time coming, recommends it to the firſt Aſſembly that ſhall be called, to appoint Miniſters, to be ſent as Commiſſioners from every Preſbytery, not in equal Number, which is manifeſtly unequal where Preſbyteries are ſo, but in a due Proportion to the Churches and Parochines within every Preſbytery, as they ſhall judge convenient. And it is hereby declared, that all School-Maſters, and Teachers of Youth in Schools, are, and ſhall be, liable to the Trial, Judgment, and Cenſure of the Preſbyteries of the Bound, for their Sufficiency, Qualifications, and Deportment in the ſaid Office. And, *laſtly*, their Majeſties, with Advice and Conſent aforeſaid, do hereby ſtatute and ordain, that the Lords of their Privy-Council, and all other Magiſtrates, Judges, and Officers of Juſtice, give all due Aſſiſtance for making the Sentences and Cenſures of the Church, and Judicatures thereof, to be obeyed, or otherwiſe effectual, as accords.

Extracted forth of the Records of Parliament, by
TARBAT, *Cls. Regiſt.*

GOD *ſave King* William *and Queen* Mary.

NUMBER IV.

Act anent Intruders into Churches.

THE Lords of her Majeſty's Privy-Council, having taken to their ſerious Conſideration a Repreſentation made to them by the Commiſſion of the late General Aſſembly of the Church, and in the Name, and by the Warrant of the ſaid Aſſembly, of ſeveral Church-Irregularities and Diſorders, as particularly, that where Churches happen to vaik by Death, or otherwiſe, the Keys thereof are withdrawn by diſaffected Perſons, and the Preſbytery of the Bounds refuſed or hindred to have Acceſs thereto, notwithſtanding of the frequent Orders and Acts made for Remedy of theſe Abuſes. *Secondly*, That Perſons having no Authority from, or within this Church, but pretending Warrant from the late exauctorat Biſhops, do take upon them to preach and exerciſe other Acts of the Miniſterial Function, contrary to all good Order, and to perpetuate an unhappy Schiſm. And, *Thirdly*, That where Intruders are removed from Kirks or Paroches, by Sentence of the Lords of Council, for their Intruſion, yet, for eluding of the ſaid Sentence, they do either remove only to the Border of a neighbouring Paroch, and there continue to exerciſe, or otherwiſe intrude elſewhere, as if no Sentence had paſt againſt them. The ſaid Lords of Privy-Council, for Remedy of the ſaid Abuſes, do therefore, in the firſt Place, in Proſecution, and for the more

more effectual Execution of the Acts of Parliament and Privy Council made for that Effect, require and command all Sheriffs, and their Deputies, and all other Magiſtrates and Officers of the Law, within whoſe Bounds any Church is, or ſhall happen to be vacant, that, upon Application made to them by the Preſbytery of the Bounds, or any in their Name, they make, or cauſe to be made, the ſame Patent to the Preſbytery; and deliver, or cauſe to be delivered, to the ſaid Preſbytery, or any having their Warrant, either the uſual Keys of the ſaid Church, or new Keys, in Place of the former uſual Keys, abſtracted and withdrawn, whereby the Church may be made freely Patent; and that, within the Space of fifteen Days after, they ſhall be requir'd thereto, by Form of Inſtrument taken againſt them, perſonally for that Effect, with Certification, that if they refuſe to make, or cauſe to be made, the ſaid Church-Patent to the Preſbytery, in Manner aforeſaid, within the ſaid Space of fifteen Days, Letters ſhall be direct, at the Inſtance of the Kirk-Agent, by Deliverance of Privy-Council, ſummarily againſt them, charging them thereto *ſimpliciter*, within the Space of ten Days. And the ſaid Lords of her Majeſty's Privy-Council do hereby order and warrant the aforeſaid Letters to be direct conform to the ſaid Certification, and that without Prejudice of the Pains contained in the Act of Parliament 1698, againſt the ſaid Sheriffs, and others, who ſhall refuſe to obtemper in the Terms of the ſaid Act. And, in the next Place, the ſaid Lords of Privy-Council do hereby expreſsly prohibit and diſcharge all Perſons, who neither had, nor have, any Authority, from or within this Church, but pretend allennerly to a Warrant or Licence from the late exauctorat Biſhops, ſince they were exauctorat, to take upon them to preach, or exerciſe any Part of the Miniſterial Function, within this Church, or within any Kirk or Paroch thereof; certifying ſuch as ſhall preſume to preach or exerciſe in the contrary, without being duly authorized and qualified according to Law, they ſhall not only be liable, upon due Information, to be ſummarily ſeized and ſecured by the Magiſtrates of the Bounds, in order to their Trial, (and which Magiſtrates are hereby authorized to ſeize them accordingly) but alſo, upon due Trial, they ſhall be baniſhed, by Sentence of the Lords of the Privy-Council, forth of the Kingdom, conform to the Act of Parliament 1693; and farther, the late Biſhops exauctorat, as ſaid is, are hereby diſcharged to grant any ſuch Warrant or Licence, as they will be anſwerable upon their higheſt Peril. And, *Thirdly*, the ſaid Lords of Privy-Council do hereby declare and certify, that if any Miniſter or Preacher, either depriv'd by Sentence of the Lords of Privy-Council, or not qualified according to Law, and who ſhall be removed from any Church or Paroch, as an Intruder, by Sentence of the ſaid Lords, ſhall be found again tranſgreſſing, by intruding into any other Kirk or Paroch, contrary to the Act of Parliament 1695, made *againſt intruding into Churches*, without a legal Call and Admiſſion thereto, he ſhall not only be ſummarily ſeized and ſecured, upon due Information, by the Magiſtrate of the Bounds, to anſwer for his Tranſgreſſion (and which Magiſtrates are hereby authorized to ſeize him accordingly) but alſo,

alſo, after due Conviction, he ſhall be baniſhed forth of the Kingdom, conform to the ſaid Acts of Parliament. And the Lords of her Majeſty's Privy-Council do hereby ordain theſe Preſents to be printed and publiſhed at the *Mercat-Croſs* of *Edinburgh*, and all other Places needful, that none pretend Ignorance.

Given under our Signet at Edinburgh, *the 21ſt Day of* March, 1706, *and of our Reign the fourth Year.*

Per Actum Dominorum Secreti Concilii,

AL. MAITLAND, *Cls. Sti. Concilii.*

GOD ſave the QUEEN.

A Copy of a Letter from a Gentleman at London, *to a Lord at* Edinburgh, *concerning the* Scots *Peerage.*

My Lord,

THO' I have not any perſonal Concern or Proſpect in the *Scots* Peerage, I cannot but entertain a very high Regard for that once illuſtrious Body, and think myſelf bound to acquaint you, that I have too juſt Grounds to believe, that what was lately deſigned againſt the very Being thereof, will be once more attempted in this, or ſome ſubſequent Seſſion of the preſent Parliament.

I muſt own, that I was much ſurprized at the ſupine Silence, with which ſuch of the *Scots* Peers, who had no Deſigns or Hopes of being amongſt the Number of thoſe predeſtinated to be elected, nor influenced by the Threats or Promiſes of any Power whatſoever, did receive the Accounts of this intended Violation of their Rights, as it afforded an Handle to repreſent them in this Place, as a Pack of deſpicable, ſpiritleſs Creatures, who might be kick'd and cuff'd at Pleaſure, or as tacitly ſubmitting to, and approving of what was deſigned againſt them: And give me Leave to tell you, if they take not Care timeouſly to exert themſelves, and publickly manifeſt a Spirit of Oppoſition to this Meaſure, they are for ever utterly undone: And as a Vacancy has happened by the Marquis of *Annandale*'s Death, if they take not ſuch Meaſures as will evidently declare their Averſion to the Scheme, particularly by chooſing ſuch a Repreſentative as will not betray and deſert his Conſtituents, it will, in all human Probability, be the laſt Occaſion Porvidence will caſt in their Way, of providing for their future Honour and Proſperity.

Whence this ſtrange Indolence proceeded is to me unaccountable: The *Scots* Peers were formerly taxed with being Proud, Ambitious and Avari-

tious; but ſurely ſuch as tamely ſubmit to this Scheme are unjuſtly accuſed One would think they had ſufficiently humbled themſelves, by being reduced to the Condition we find them in at preſent; but, if once the new Scheme take Effect, what will remain to the reprobate Peers, but empty deſpicable Titles, and the melancholy Reflection of what they and their Predeceſſors formerly enjoyed? How contemptible muſt they be, when they have not the Privilege of the meaneſt Freeholder, I mean that of being repreſented any Manner of Way in the national Aſſembly of the States? Being thereby reduced to a State more ſuitable to Slaves than Members of any civil Society, whilſt a Parcel of other Peers, the beſt of them but their Equals, and ſome of them far inferior in perſonal Merit, or the Antiquity and Dignity of their Families, enjoy, at their Coſt, the full Fruition of the moſt extenſive Privileges of the *Britiſh* Peerage. In Days of Yore, the Intereſts of the Crown and Peers of *Scotland* were ſo interwoven, that they became reciprocal, theſe ſupported the former, who, on that Account, cheriſhed and rewarded them: But henceforward, when their Aſſiſtance will not be wanted in the only Point remaining to render them ſignificant, *viz.* The Election of their own Repreſentatives: From whence can they imagine or expect to reap any the ſmalleſt Portion of the regal Bounty? Our Kings now-a-days have too many preſſing Demands upon them, to think of beſtowing Favours on any Set of Men, who are but uſeleſs Drones in the Commonwealth, and can be of no Service to them, and from whom no Danger can be apprehended; ſo that theſe reprobate Peers may bid adieu to all Penſions and Offices, to all Honours and Preferments, and their Children need not expect to be provided for as formerly in the Army and Judicatures. The hereditrry Peers and Commoners will be henceforward entitled to theſe, whilſt the Families of the other will be left to ſtarve and dwindle away into the moſt abject forlorn Condition. Theſe, and the like obvious Conſiderations, ſhould, I humbly preſume, deeply affect ſuch (if any ſuch there be) who ſtupidly incline to graſp at any preſent Benefit or Temptation, in Prejudice of the future Proſperity of their Families, and prevail with them to look one Inch before their Noſes, and behold the helpleſs deſpicable Condition, into which, by their own Act and Deed, they will irretrievably plunge themſelves and their Poſterity; and reſolve for their own Sakes to make one noble Stand and Effort to prevent their utter Miſery, in which, tho' they ſhould not ſucceed, they'll have the Satisfaction of having acted as became Men of Honour, and the Approbation and Pity of all the impartial Part of Mankind; and in Order thereto, no Time, nor no Pains ſhould be neglected, every ſelfiſh perſonal View ſhould be poſtponed, and ſuch joint Meaſures concerted and proſecuted, as may moſt probably tend to promote and advance ſo juſt and honourable a Cauſe; and whilſt we have ſo good and gracious a King, and ſo hopeful an Heir to ſucceed him, there is no Danger to be apprehended, nor Reaſon to doubt of Succeſs in the Undertaking. Here then is a noble Opportunity for a Perſon of Diſtinction, and Abilities to eſtabliſh his Character, and raiſe his Reputation, by ſettling himſelf at the

Head

Head of thoſe, who with him will concur in oppoſing a Meaſure ſo unjuſt and deſtructive to the Body of the *Scots* Peerage, and in all Probability attended with Conſequences, pernicious and fatal to the Liberties of others.

For this Matter does not ſingly affect the Peerage, as it ſeems to interfere with the general Intereſt of all *Scotſmen*. *Firſt*, As the laying aſide the Repreſentation of the Peerage, and in its Room ſetting up a certain Number of hereditary Peers, is a manifeſt Injuſtice to ſuch of their Fellow-Subjects, as are thereby without any Crime forfeited of their juſt Rights and Privileges, and a bare-faced Infringement and Violation of a fundamental Article of the Union, by which that Repreſentation is ſtipulated perpetually to remain. And conſequently, in the ſecond Place, a Precedent is laid down for ſubverting all the other Articles in Favour of *Scotland* and *Scotſmen:* For if this fundamental Article can be abrogated, we have no Security for our Church Government, our Civil Rights, our Judicatories, the Privileges and Communication of Trade, the Regulation of the Land-Tax, the Exemption from ſome certain Duties and Impoſts, and the like, that does not reſt upon the ſame precarious Footing, and is not expoſed to the like Subverſion, if ſo be, it ſhall be judged proper for the Utility of *Great-Britain*, an Handle fitted for all Blades, and a Pretence to introduce the groſſeſt Abſurdities, and greateſt Abuſes, when cheriſhed and ſupported by an evil Adminiſtration.

Nay, who can tell, but after the Demoliſhing the Repreſentation of the Peers, it may enter into ſome Politicians Heads to change likewiſe the Conſtitution of the *Scots* Commoners, by leſſening their Number in the Houſe of Commons; we know how much ſome affect to have the Union rendered more and more complete, as they term it, by leſſening the Power and Credit of our Judicatories, and aboliſhing every Thing that derives its Origin from the *Scottiſh* Conſtitution; and it is not a far fetched Thought to dread, that ſuch may incline to open a Door, and introduce the Scum of the People into the Privilege of chooſing the Repreſentatives of Shires, as is practiſed in *England*. And what a Stroke this would be to that great Bulwark of our Liberties, the reſolute unbiaſſed *Scottiſh* Barons, is too obvious to need any Proof; and yet, if ſuch an Attempt ſhould be made, the Stipulations of the Union, reſerving to the Barons their ancient Rights and Privileges, will be of no Significancy, when this Precedent of the Peers is thrown in their Teeth.

In the next Place, as the Trouble and Expence the Crown is ſaid to be at in procuring and managing a Majority of the *Scots* Peers at the Election of the ſixteen (which if true, ought, and may be prevented by ſevere Laws made for that Effect, without ſo manifeſt a Subverſion of the Conſtitution) is one of the chief Reaſons for puſhing this Meaſure. May not the ſame Motives be thought ſufficient to render a Reduction of the ſeveral Diſtricts of the *Scots* Boroughs neceſſary, and to pitch upon fifteen Boroughs, in which, for the future, ſhall be lodged ſolely and perpetually, the Repreſentation of that State in Parliament? Since thereby, the Trouble and Expence which the Crown may, nay is truly ſaid to be at, in procuring an Intereſt in the

ſeveral Boroughs of theſe ſeveral Diſtricts, will be prevented. This Caſe is ſo near a Kin to that of the Peerage, that the ſame Motives affects both, and the ſame Powers may overturn both; ſo that the Fate of the one, is the Paſſing-Bell of the other.

I know there are ſome of our Country-men, who are very indifferent about the Proſperity of the Peerage; becauſe indeed that State hath loſt much of its priſtine Honour and Reſpect, by ſuch Shoals being introduced during this and the laſt Century, many of whom had no juſt Pretenſions thereto, either from their Birth or perſonal Merit, and becauſe the Peers in general have, under all Adminiſtrations, contributed too much to their Country's Felicity. But let ſuch conſider, that it is hard the *Juſt ſhould ſuffer with the Unjuſt*, and that there are ſtill ſome unblemiſhed Peers, the Repreſentatives of ancient Families and glorious Progenitors, and that the Puniſhment of a few guilty and obnoxious after ſuch an unprecedented Manner, may pave the Way to ruin many that are innocent, and introduce the Means of ſubverting all that is dear to a free People.

I might likewiſe here take notice, that it is very amazing, that the Peers of *England*, ſo jealous of their Liberties, ſhould ſeem ſo fond of this Alteration of the *Scots* Peerage, ſeeing an Encroachment upon any Branch of the Conſtitution, is a Precedent to a total Subverſion of the Whole. And as the *Scots* Peers have, under the preſent Conſtitution, as unqueſtionable a Right to elect their own Repreſentatives, and by them to be repreſented in the Houſe of Lords, as have the *Engliſh* Peers to ſit perſonally in that Houſe, the ſame Power, and the ſame Utility of *Great-Britain*, which can deprive the *Scots* Peers of their Right to elect and be repreſented, may likewiſe deprive ſome, or all the *Engliſh* Peers (as happened in old *Noll*'s Days) of their particular Privileges: As both their Rights are equally founded and ſecured, both of them are equally ſubjected to the ſame Powers, and the ſame political Maxims and Meaſures; and if the *Scots* Peers ſhall be handled after ſo barbarous a Manner, old as I am, I may live to ſee the *State-Coblers* of this Generation reduce the *Engliſh* Peers to the ſame deplorable Condition; for what has been may be again, eſpecially when ſupported by ſo ſignal and freſh a Precedent.

I ſhould now, my Lord, make a great many Apologies, for preſuming to enlarge ſo much on a Subject, in which your Knowledge very far ſurpaſſes any Thing I can pretend to; but as it proceeded from Love and Zeal to my own Country, and that this perhaps may ſerve as an Index to point out ſome Heads for your Lordſhip to enlarge upon and improve, I expect your Pardon, and that you will do me the Juſtice to believe I am, with the moſt profound Reſpect,

Your, *&c.*

A Liſt

A Liſt of the Nobility and Gentry, now ſitting in the Scots *Parliament, who were* for *and* againſt *the* UNION *of the Two Kingdoms.* 1706.

Of the Nobility, Approvers 45.

THE *Lord Chancellor.*
Marquis of Montroſe, *P. S. C.*
Duke of Argyle.
Marquis of Tweedale.
Marquis of Lothian.

Earls.

Marr, *Secr.* — Lowdoun, *Secr.*
Crawford. — Sutherland.
Rothes. — Mortoun.
Eglington. — Roxburgh.
Haddingtoun. — Galloway.
Weymes. — Dalhouſie.
Leven. — Northeſque.
Bellcarras. — Forfar.
Kilmarnock. — Kintore.
Dunmore. — Marchmont.
Hyndfoord. — Cromarty.
Stair. — Roſeberry.
Glaſgow, *Ther. Deput.*
Hoptoun. — Delorain. — Iſla.

Viſcounts.

Duplin. — Garnock.

Lords.

Forbes. — Elphinſtoun.
Roſs. — Torpichin.
Frazer. — Bamff.
Elibank. — Duffus.
Rollo. — *Lord Regiſter.*
Lord Juſtice Clerk.

Of the Nobility. No's 21.

Duke of Hamilton.
Duke of Athol.
Marquis of Annandale.

Earls.

Errol. — Mariſchal.
Buchan. — Glencarin.
Wigtoun. — Strathmore.
Selkrig. — Kincardin.

Viſcounts.

Stormount. — Kilſyth.

Lords.

Semple. — Oliphant.
Balmerinoch. — Blantyre.
Bergany. — Beilhaven.
Colvil. — Kinaird.

Of the Barons. Approvers 37.

Sir Robert Dickſon, *of* Inveraſk.
William Niſbet, *of* Dirletoun.
Jo. Cockburn, *Jun. of* Ormiſtoun.
Sir John Swintoun, *of that Ilk.*
Sir Alex. Campbell, *of* Ceſnock.
Sir William Kerr, *of* Greenhead.
Archib. Douglaſs, *of* Cavers.
William Bennet, *of* Grubbet.
Mr. John Murray, *of* Bowhill.
Mr. John Pringle, *of* Haining.
Will. Morieſon, *of* Preſtoungrange.
George Baiilie, *of* Jerviſwood.
Sir John Jounſtoun, *of* Weſterhall.
William Douglaſs, *of* Dornock.
Mr. Will. Steuart, *of* Caſtle-ſteuart.
Mr. John Steuart, *of* Sorbie.
Mr. Fran. Montgomery, *of* Giffan.
Mr. Will. Dalrymple, *of* Glenmuir.
Mr. Rob. Steuart, *of* Tillicultry.
Sir Robert Pollock, *of that Ilk.*
Mr. Joh. Montgomery, *of* Wrae.
John Halden, *of* Glenagies.

Mungo Grahame, *of* Gorthie.
Sir Tho. Burnet, *of* Leyes.
Will. Seton, *Jun. of* Pitmedden.
Alexander Grant, *Jun. of that Ilk.*
Sir Kenneth Mackenzie.
Mr. Æneas Maclod, *of* Catboll.
Mr. John Campbell, *of* Mammore.
Sir James Campbell, *of* Auchinbreck.
Ja. Campbell, *Jun. of* Ardkinglaſs.
Sir William Anſtruther, *of that Ilk.*
James Halyburton, *of* Pitcurr.
Alex. Abercromby, *of* Glaſſoch.
William Maxwell, *of* Cardinaſs.
Mr. Jam. Dumbar, *Jun. of* Hemprigs.
John Bruce, *of* Kinroſs.

Of the Barons. No's 33.

George Lockhart, *of* Carnwath:
Sir James Foulis, *of* Collingtoun.
Andrew Fletcher, *of* Saltoun.
Sir Rob. Sinclair, *of* Longformacus.
Sir Patrick Home, *of* Rentoun.
Sir Gilbert Elliot, *of* Minto.
Will. Baille, *of* Lamingtoun.
John Sinclair, *Jun. of* Stevenſon.
John Sharp, *of* Hoddom.
Mr. Alex. Ferguſon, *of Iſle.*
Jo. Briſbine, *Jun. of* Biſhoptoun.
Mr. Will. Cockran, *of* Kilmaronock.
Sir Humph. Colquhoun, *of* Luſs.
Sir John Honſton, *of that Ilk.*
John Grahame, *of* Killairn.
James Grahame, *of* Buchlobie.
Thomas Sharp, *of* Houſtoun.
Sir Patrick Murray, *of* Auchtertyre.
John Murray, *of* Strowan.
Sir David Kamſay, *of* Balmain.
Alex. Gourden, *of* Pitlurg.
James More, *of* Stoniewood,
John Forbes, *of* Culloden.
David Beathun, *of* Balfour.
Mr. Tho. Hope, *of* Rankeilor.
Mr. Patrick Lyon, *of* Auchterhouſe.
Mr. James Carnagis, *of* Phinhaven.
David Grahame, *Jun. of* Fintrie.
James Ogilvie, *Jun. of* Boyn.
Alex. Macgie, *of* Palgoun.
Sir Henry Innes, *Jun. of that Ilk.*
Alex. Douglaſs, *of* Eagleſhaw.
Mr. Geo. Mackenzie, *of* Inchcoulter.

Of the Boroughs. Approvers 33.

Sir Patrick Johnſtoun,
John Scrymſour.
Lieut. Col. John Muir.
James Scot.
Patrick Bruce.
Sir John Arſkin.
James Spittle.
Mr. Patrick Moncrieff.
George Monro.
Sir Andrew Home.
William Coltran.
Sir Peter Halket.
Sir James Smollet.
Mr. William Carmichael.
Capt. Daniel Maclod.
Sir David Dalrymple.
Sir Alexander Ogilvie.
Mr. John Clerk.
Mr. John Roſs.
Sir Hugh Dalrymple.
Mr. Patrick Ogilvie.
George Allardice.
William Alvis.
Mr. Roderick Mackenzie.
John Urquhart.
Sir James Steuart.
Daniel Campbell.
Sir Robert Forbes,
Mr. Robert Douglaſs.
Mr. Alexander Maitland.
Mr. George Dalrymple.
Mr. Charles Campbell.

Of the Boroughs. No's 29.

Robert Inglis.
Alexander Robertſon.
Walter Stewart.
Alexander Watſon.
Hugh Montgomery.
Alexander Edgar.
John Black.
James Oſwald.
Robert Johnſtoun,

Alexander

Alexander Duff.
Francis Moliſon.
Walter Scot.
George Smith.
Robert Scot.
Robert Kellie.
John Hutcheſon.
Mr. William Sutherland.
Archibald Sheils.
Mr. John Lyon.
Mr. Dougal Steuart.
George Brodie.
George Spence.
Sir David Cunninghame.
Mr. William Johnſtoun.
Mr. John Caruthers.
George Home.
Mr. James Bethun.
John Bayne.
Robert Frazer.

Approvers 115. *No's* 83.
Proteſtors 67.

A Liſt of thoſe worthy Patriots, who, to prevent the Church of England *from being undermined by the Occaſional Conformiſts, did, like truly noble* Engliſhmen, *vote, that the Bill to prevent Occaſional Conformity might be tack'd to the Land-Tax Bill, to ſecure its paſſing in the Houſe of Lords; ſo that this their Zeal does appear, to all wiſe Men, as conſpicuous for the Intereſt, as their Lives are Ornaments to that Church of which they are Members.* 1705.

The Names.	*Places.*	*County.*
JOHN Anſtis, Eſq;	*St. Germain,*	*Cornwal.*
Js. Andteron, Eſq;	*Illceſter,*	*Somerſet.*
Arthur Anneſley, Eſq;	*Cambridge* Univerſity,	*Cambridge.*
Sir Edward Acton, Bart.	*Bridgenorth,*	*Salop.*
Thomas Bulkley, Eſq;		*Carnarvan.*
Robert Byerley, Eſq;	*Knareſborough,*	*York.*
Robert Bertie, Eſq; } Henry Bertie, Eſq; }	*Weſtbury,*	*Wilts.*
Charles Bertie, Eſq;	*Stamford,*	*Lincoln.*
James Bertie, Eſq;	*New Woodſtock,*	*Oxon.*
Sir Edmund Bacon, Bart.	*Orford,*	*Suffolk.*
Sir Charles Blois, Bart.	*Dunwich,*	*Suffolk.*
John Bence, Eſq;	*Ipſwich,*	*Suffolk.*
—— Bilſon, Eſq;	*Petersfield,*	*Southampton.*
Sir Jacob Banks,	*Minehead,*	*Somerſet.*
William Bromley,	*Oxon* Univerſity,	*Oxon.*

Sir

The Names.	*Places.*	*County.*
Sir GeorgeBeaumont, Bt.	*Leiceſter*,	*Leiceſter.*
Orlando Bridgeman, Eſq;	*Wiggan*,	*Lancaſter.*
Sir Cs. Barrington, Bart.		*Eſſex.*
Sir Henry Bellaſys,	*Durham* City,	*Durham.*
John Banks, Eſq;	*Corſe* Caſtle,	*Cornwal.*
Sir Henry Bunbury, Bt.	*Cheſter*,	*Cheſter.*
Richard Bingham, Eſq;	*Bridport*,	*Dorſet.*
James Buller, Eſq;		*Cornwal.*
William Cage, Eſq;	*Rocheſter*,	*Kent.*
William Cary, Eſq;	*Lanceſton*,	*Cornwal.*
John Courzon, Eſq;		*Derby.*
Thomas Coulſon, Eſq;	*Totneſs*,	*Devon.*
Arthur Champney, Eſq;	*Barnſtable*,	*Devon.*
John Comyns, Eſq;	*Malden*,	*Eſſex.*
Charles Cæſar, Eſq;	*Hertford*,	*Hertford.*
Robert Crawford, Eſq;	*Queenborough*,	*Kent.*
William Cecill, Eſq;	*Stamford*,	*Lincoln.*
Sir Walter Clarges, Bart.	*Weſtminſter*,	*Middleſex.*
William Coward, Eſq;	City of *Wells*,	*Somerſet.*
Henry Chivers, Eſq;	*Calne*,	*Wilts.*
Thomas Caffin, Eſq;		*Dorſet.*
Sir William Drake,	*Honiton*,	*Devon.*
George Daſhwood, Eſq;	*Sudbury*,	*Suffolk.*
John Drake, Eſq;	*Agmondeſham*,	*Bucks.*
Lewis Dimmocke, Eſq;		*Lincoln.*
Richard Dyott, Eſq;	*Litchfield*,	*Stafford.*
Earl of Dyſert,		*Suffolk.*
Sir Robert Davers,	*St. Edmund's Bury*,	*Suffolk.*
James Darcy, Eſq;	*Richmond*,	*York.*
Sir James Etheridge,	*Great Marlow*,	*Bucks.*
William Elſon, Eſq;	*Chicheſter*,	*Suſſex.*
Richard Fowne, Eſq;	*Corſe* Caſtle,	*Dorſet.*
William Fitch, Eſq;	*Malden*,	*Eſſex.*
Ralph Freeman, Eſq;		*Hertford.*
Heneage Finch, Eſq;	*Maidſtone*,	*Kent.*
Charles Fox, Eſq;	*New Sarum*,	*Wilts.*
Sir Sam. Garard, Bart.	*Agmondeſham*,	*Bucks.*
Henry Gorges, Eſq;		*Hereford.*
Richard Gulſton, Eſq;		*Hertford.*
John Gape, Eſq;	*St. Albans*,	*Hertford.*
Sir Wm. Glyn, Bart.	*New Woodſtock*,	*Oxon.*
Francis Gwinn, Eſq;	*Chriſt-Church*,	*Southampton.*
Joſeph Girdler, Eſq;	*Tamworth*,	*Stafford.*
Thomas Gery, Eſq;	*Coventry*,	*Warwick.*

The Names.	*Places.*	*County.*
Francis Grevile, Eſq;	*Warwick,*	*Warwick.*
Algernoon Grevile, Eſq;	*Ipſwich,*	*Suffolk.*
Frederick Hern, Eſq; Nathaniel Hern, Eſq;	*Hardneſs,*	*Devon.*
Richard Halford, Eſq;		*Rutland.*
Henry Holmes, Eſq;	*Yarmouth,*	*Hampſhire.*
Thomas Heath, Eſq;	*Haſlemere,*	*Surrey.*
Sir Chriſt. Hales, Bart.	*Coventry,*	*Warwick.*
Sir Richard Howe, Bar.		*Wilts.*
Sir James Howe, Bar.	*Hindon,*	*Wilts.*
Robert Hyde, Eſq;		*Wilts.*
William Harvey, Eſq;	*Old Sarum,*	*Wiltſhire.*
Sir Thomas Hanmer, Bt.		*Flint.*
Sir Willoughby Hickman, Bar.	*Eaſt Retford,*	*Nottingham.*
John James, Eſq;	*Brackly,*	*Northampton.*
Sir Robert Jenkinſon, Bt.		*Oxon.*
Robert Kemp, Eſq;	*Dunwich,*	*Suffolk.*
Wilfred Lawſon, Eſq;		*Cumberland.*
Sir Francis Leigh.		*Kent.*
Tho. Leigh *of* Lime, Eſq;	*Newton,*	*Lancaſter.*
William Levenz, Eſq;	*Eaſt Retford,*	*Nottingham.*
Henry Lloyd, Eſq;	*Cardigan,*	*Cardigan.*
Sir Roger Moſtyn, Bar.		*Cheſter.*
Thomas Moſtyn, Eſq;		*Flint.*
Henry Manaton, Eſq;	*Taviſtock,*	*Devon.*
John Manly, Eſq;	*Boſſiney,*	*Cornwal.*
Sir John Mordaunt, Bt.		*Warwick.*
Sir Humphry Mackworth,		*Cardigan.*
John Mitchell, Eſq;	*Sandwich,*	*Kent.*
Sir Edward Norreys,		*Oxon.*
Francis Norreys, Eſq;	*Oxon* City,	*Oxon.*
Charles North, Eſq;	*Banbury,*	*Oxon.*
Hugh Parker, Eſq;	*Eveſham,*	*Worceſter.*
Sir John Packington, Bt.		*Worceſter.*
Sir Hen. Parker,	*Aliſbury,*	*Bucks.*
Granado Piggot, Eſq;		*Cambridge.*
William Pole, Eſq;	*Camelford,*	*Cornwal.*
Henry Poley, Eſq;	*Weſtlow,*	*Cornwal.*
James Praed, Eſq;	St. *Ives,*	*Cornwal.*
Thomas Price, Eſq;	*Webley,*	*Hereford.*
Thomas Polſgrave, Eſq;	*Norwich,*	*Norfolk.*
Henry Portman, Eſq;	City of *Wells,*	*Somerſet.*

The Names.	*Places.*	*County.*
Sir John Parſons,	*Rygate*,	*Surry.*
Henry Pennel, Eſq;	*Wotton Baſſet*,	*Wilts*,
John Roll, Eſq;	*Saltaſh.*	*Cornwal.*
Thomas Rowney, Eſq;	*Oxon* City.	*Oxon.*
John Snell, Eſq; } Sir Ed. Seymour, Bar. }	*Exeter*,	*Devon.*
Sir John Stonehouſe, Bt.		*Berks.*
Peter Sackerly, Eſq;	*Cheſter*,	*Cheſter.*
Charles Seymour, Eſq;	*Weſtlow*,	*Cornwal.*
Sir Henry Seymour, Bar.	*Eaſtlow*,	*Cornwal.*
William Seymour, Eſq;	*Totneſs*,	*Devon.*
Francis Scobel, Eſq;	*Grampound*,	*Cornwal.*
Joſeph Sawle, Eſq;	*Tregony*,	*Cornwal.*
John Spark, Eſq;	*Newport*,	*Cornwal.*
Hugh Smithſon, Eſq;		*Middleſex.*
William Stephens, Eſq;	*Medena*,	*Southampton.*
Sir Bryon Stapleton, Bar.	*Boroughbridge*,	*York.*
Bertram Stote, Eſq;		*Northumberland.*
Tho. Strangeways, Eſq;		*Dorſet.*
Henry Thyn, Eſq;	*Weymouth*,	*Dorſet.*
Sir Edward Turner,	*Orford*,	*Suffolk.*
Sir John Thorold, Bar.		*Lincoln.*
John Toke, Eſq;	*Eaſt Grinſtead*,	*Suſſex.*
Sir Richard Vivian, Bar.		*Cornwal.*
George Vernon, Eſq;	*Haſlemer*,	*Surry.*
John Vaughan, Eſq;	*Montgomery*,	*Montgomery.*
Edward Vaughan, Eſq;		*Montgomery.*
Sir Geo. Warburton, Bt.		*Cheſter.*
Sir John Williams,		*Hereford.*
James Winſtanly, Eſq;	*Leiceſter.*	*Leiceſter.*
Sir William Whitlock,	*Oxon* Univerſity,	*Oxon.*
Leonard Wyſſel, Eſq;		*Surry.*

A true

A true and just Relation of Major-general Sir Thomas Morgan's *Progress in* France *and* Flanders, *with the Six Thousand* Englisſh, *in the Years* 1657 *and* 1658, *at the Taking of* Dunkirk, *and other important Places; as it was delivered by the General himself.* 1699.

Cromwell, *being confirmed in his Protectorship by the Parliament, concludes a League offensive and defensive with the King of* France, *conditionally, that the Protector should assist the* French *with six Thousand Men, and that they should be put into Possession of* Mardyke *and* Dunkirk, *when taken. But* Cromwell's *great Aim, in this League, was to destroy the Children of* Charles the Firſt, *and their Adherents. So,*

In Consequence of this Treaty, James *Duke of* York, *and all others that adhered to the Fortune of the* Stuarts, *had Notice to leave* France; *and* Cromwell *sent his six Thousand Soldiers, who, as it plainly appears from all, but especially from the following Account, wrought Wonders in that Expedition, not under the Command of* Reynolds *and* Lockhart, *two successive Ambassadors at the Court of* France, *as* Rapin, *and most Historians have erroneously recorded, but under that brave Soldier, Sir* Thomas Morgan; *as this intrepid General has avouched under his own Hand.*

I shall say no more of the Value of this Piece of History, without which the Memoirs of those Times are imperfect, but conclude this Introduction with the Publisher's Advertisement.

Sir Thomas Morgan, *says he, drew up the following Relation at a Friend's Desire, who was unwilling that Posterity should want an authentick Account of the Actions of the six Thousand* Englisſh, *whom* Cromwell *sent to assist the* French *against the* Spaniards, *and thought the Right they did their Country, by their Behaviour, might make some Amends for the Occasion of their being in that Service. It had been printed in the last Reign* [a], *if the Authority of it had not interposed, because there was not so much said of some* [b], *who were* then *in the* Spaniſh *Army, as they expected; and is published now, to let the World see, that more was owing to our Countrymen, at the Battle of* Dunkirk, *than either* [c] *Monsieur* Bussy Rabutin, *or* [d] Ludlow *in their Memoirs, do allow. The former, by his Manner of Expression, seems contented with an Opportunity to lessen their Merit; and, being in the right Wing of the* French, *while this passed in the Left, comes under the just Reflection he himself makes* [e] *a little after, upon the Describers of Fights, who*

[a] Of K. *James* II. [b] The Duke of *York*, the Earl of *Bristol*, &c. [c] Part II. p. 115.
[d] Part II. p. 561. [e] Part II. p. 139.

are particular in what they did not ſee; and, whether the latter was miſinformed, or ſwayed, by his Prejudice, [a] *to thoſe that were engaged to ſupport the new-erected Tyranny, is left to the Reader to judge. It may not be improper to add, That theſe Papers came to the Publiſher's Hand, from the Gentleman, at whoſe Requeſt they were wrote, and to whom Sir* Thomas Morgan *confirmed every Paragraph of them, as they were read over, at the Time he delivered them to him: Which, beſides the unaffected Plainneſs of the Stile, may be urged for the Credit of the Narrative, ſince Sir* Thomas *was intituled to ſo much true Reputation, that he had no Need to graſp at any that was falſe.*

Jan. 24, 1698.

THE *French* King, and his Eminence the Cardinal *Mazarine*, came to view the ſix Thouſand *Engliſh* near *Charleroy*; and ordered Major-general *Morgan*, with the ſaid ſix Thouſand *Engliſh*, to march and make Conjunction with Marſhal *Turenne*'s Army, who, ſoon after the Conjunction, beleaguered a Town, called *St. Venant*, on the Borders of *Flanders*. Marſhal *Turenne* having inveſted the Town on the Eaſt-ſide, and Major-general *Morgan*, with his ſix Thouſand *Engliſh*, and a Brigade of *French* Horſe on the Weſt, the Army incamped betwixt Marſhal *Turenne*'s Approaches and Major-general *Morgan*'s; and, being to relieve Count *Schomberg*, out of the Approaches of the Weſt-ſide of the Town, Major-general *Morgan* marched into the Approaches, with eight Hundred *Engliſh*. The *Engliſh*, at that Time, being Strangers in Approaches, Major-general *Morgan* inſtructed the Officers and Soldiers to take their Places by Fifties, that thereby they might relieve the Point to carry on the Approaches, every Hour. In the mean Time, whilſt we beſieged the Town, the Enemy had beleaguered a Town, called *Ardres*, within five Miles of *Calais*. In the Evening, Count *Schomberg*, with ſix Noblemen, came upon the Point, to ſee how Major-general *Morgan* carried on his Approaches; but there happened a little Confuſion, by the Soldiers intermingling themſelves in the Approaches, ſo as there was never an intire Fifty to be called to the Point. Count *Schomberg* and his Noblemen taking Notice thereof, Major-general *Morgan* was much troubled, leaped upon the Point, and called out Fifty to take up the Spades, Pick-axes, and Faſcines, and follow him: But ſo it happened, that all in the Approaches leaped out after him, the Enemy, in the mean Time, firing as faſt as they could. Major-general *Morgan*, conceiving his Loſs, in bringing them again to their Approaches, would be greater, than in carrying them forward, paſſed over a Channel of Water, on which there was a Bridge and a Turn-pike; and, the Soldiers crying out, *Fall on, fall on*, he fell upon the Counterſcarp, beat the Enemy from it, and three Redoubts; which cauſed them to capitulate, and, the next Morning, to ſurrender the Town, and receive a *French* Garriſon; ſo as the ſudden

[a] Part II. p. 496.

Reduction

Reduction thereof gave Marſhall *Turenne* an Opportunity afterwards to march and relieve *Ardres*.

The next Place Marſhal *Turenne* beſieged was *Mardyke*, taken, in twice eight and forty Hours, by the *Engliſh* and *French*. After the taking whereof, Major-general *Morgan* was ſettled there, by Order of the *French* King and *Oliver*, with two Thouſand *Engliſh* and one Thouſand *French*, in order to the beleaguering *Dunkirk* the next Spring.

The reſt of the *Engliſh* were quartered in *Borborch*. For the Space of four Months, there was hardly a Week, wherein Major-general *Morgan* had not two or three Alarms by the *Spaniſh* Army: He anſwered them all, and never went out of his Cloaths all the Winter, except to change his Shirt.

The next Spring Marſhal *Turenne* beleaguered *Dunkirk* on the *Newport* Side, and Major-general *Morgan* on the *Mardyke* Side, with his ſix Thouſand *Engliſh*, and a Brigade of *French* Horſe: He made a Bridge over the Canal, betwixt that and *Bergon*, that there might be Communication betwixt Marſhal *Turenne*'s Camp and his. When *Dunkirk* was cloſe inveſted, Marſhal *Turenne* ſent a Summons to the Governor, the Marquis *de Leda*, a great Captain, and brave Defender of a Siege; but the Summons being anſwered with Defiance, Marſhal *Turenne* immediately broke Ground, and carried on the Approaches on his Side, whilſt the *Engliſh* did the ſame on their's; and, it is obſervable, the *Engliſh* had two Miles to march every Day, upon relieving their Approaches. In this Manner the Approaches were carried on, both by the *French* and *Engliſh*, for the Space of twelve Nights; when the Marſhal *Turenne* had Intelligence, that the Prince of *Conde*, the Duke of *York*, Don *John* of *Auſtria*, and the Prince *de Ligny*, were at the Head of thirty Thouſand Horſe and Foot, with Reſolution to relieve *Dunkirk*.

Immediately upon this Intelligence, Marſhal *Turenne*, and ſeveral Noblemen of *France*, went to the King and Cardinal at *Mardyke*, and acquainted his Eminence therewith; and deſired his Majeſty, and his Eminence the Cardinal, to withdraw their Perſons into Safety, and leave their Orders: His Majeſty anſwered, that he knew no better Place of Safety than at the Head of his Army; but ſaid it was convenient the Cardinal ſhould withdraw to *Calais*. Then Marſhal *Turenne* and the Noblemen made Anſwer, They could not be ſatisfied, except his Majeſty withdrew himſelf into Safety; which was aſſented to; and the King and Cardinal, marching to *Calais*, left open Orders with Marſhal *Turenne*, That, if the Enemy came on, he ſhould give Battle, or raiſe the Siege, as he ſhould be adviſed by a Council of War.

The Enemy came to *Bruges*, and then Marſhal *Turenne* thought it high Time to call a Council of War; which conſiſted of eight Noblemen, eight Lieutenant-generals, and ſix Marſhals *du Camp*; but never ſent to Ambaſſador *Lockhart*, or Major-general *Morgan*. The whole Senſe of the Council of War was, That it was great Danger to the Crown of *France*, to hazard a Battle in that ſtreight Country, full of Canals and Ditches of Water;

and

and, ſeveral Reaſons being ſhewn to that Purpoſe, it ran through the Council of War, to raiſe the Siege, if the Enemy came on. Within half an Hour after the Council of War was riſen, Major-general *Morgan* had the Reſult of it in his Camp, and went immediately to Ambaſſador *Lockhart* [a], to know if he heard any Thing of it: He ſaid he heard nothing of it; and complained, that he was much afflicted with the Stone, Gravel, and ſome other Impediments. Major-general *Morgan* aſked him to go with him the next Morning to the Head-quarters: He ſaid he would, if he were able.

Next Morning Marſhal *Turenne* ſent a Nobleman to Ambaſſador *Lockhart* and Major-general *Morgan*, to deſire them to come to a ſecond Council of War. Immediately, therefore, Ambaſſador *Lockhart* and Major-general *Morgan* went with the Nobleman to Marſhal *Turenne*'s Camp; and, by that Time they came there, the Council of War was ready to ſit down in Marſhal *Turenne*'s Tent.

Marſhal *Turenne* ſatisfied the Council of War, that he had forgot to ſend for Ambaſſador *Lockhart* and Major-general *Morgan* to the firſt Council of War, and therefore thought fit to call this, that they might be ſatisfied; and then put the Queſtion; Whether, if the Enemy came on, he ſhould make good the Siege on the *Newport*-ſide, and give them Battle; or raiſe the Siege? And required they ſhould give their Reaſons for either. The Marſhals *du Camp* ran away with it clearly to raiſe the Siege, alledging what Danger it was to the Crown of *France*, to hazard a Battle within ſo ſtreight a Country, full of Canals and Ditches of Water; farther alledging, that, if the Enemy came upon the Rock, they would cut between Marſhal *Turenne*'s and Major-general *Morgan*'s Camps, and prevent their Conjunction. Two of the Lieutenant-generals ran along with the Marſhals *du Camp*, and ſhewed the ſame Reaſons: But Major-general *Morgan*, finding it was high Time to ſpeak, and that otherwiſe it would go round the Board, roſe up, and deſired, though out of Courſe, that he might declare his Mind, in Oppoſition to what the Marſhals *du Camp* and the two Lieutenant-generals had declared. Marſhal *Turenne* told him he ſhould have Freedom to ſpeak his Thoughts. Then Major-general *Morgan* ſpake, and ſaid, That the Reaſons the Marſhals *du Camp* and the two Lieutenant-generals had given for raiſing the Siege, were no Reaſons; for the Streightneſs of the Country was as good for the *French* and *Engliſh*, as for the Enemy: And, whereas they alledged, That, if the Enemy came on the Bank between *Furnes* and *Dunkirk*, they would cut between Marſhal *Turenne*'s and Major-general *Morgan*'s Camps; Major-general *Morgan* replied, It was impoſſible, for they could not march upon the Bank above eight a-breaſt; and farther he alledged, That Marſhal *Turenne*'s Artillery and ſmall Shot would cut them off at Pleaſure: He added, That that was not the Way the Enemy could relieve *Dunkirk*, but that they would make a Bridge of Boats over the Channel, in an Hour and half, and croſs their Army upon the Sands of *Dunkirk*, to offer Marſhal *Turenne* Battle.

[a] This Man had married *Cromwell*'s Niece.

Farther,

Farther, Major-general *Morgan* did alledge, What a Diſhonour it would be to the Crown of *France* to have ſummoned the City of *Dunkirk*, and broke Ground before it, and then raiſe the Siege, and run away; and he deſired the Council of War would conſider, that, if they raiſed the Siege, the Alliance with *England* would be broken the ſame Hour.

Marſhal *Turenne* anſwered, 'That, if he thought the Enemy would offer 'that fair Game, he would maintain the Siege on *Newport*-ſide; and Major-'general *Morgan* ſhould march, and make Conjunction with the *French* 'Army, and leave *Mardyke*-ſide open.'' Upon Marſhal *Turenne*'s Reply, Major-general *Morgan* did riſe from the Board, and, upon his Knees, begged a Battle; and ſaid, That he would venture the ſix-thouſand *Engliſh*, every Soul. Upon which, Marſhal *Turenne* conſulted the Noblemen that ſat next him, and it was deſired, that Major-general *Morgan* might walk a Turn or two without the Tent, and he ſhould be called immediately. After he had walked two Turns, he was called in; as ſoon as he came in, Marſhal *Turenne* ſaid, 'That he had conſidered his Reaſons, and that himſelf and the Council 'of War reſolved to give Battle to the Enemy, if they came on, and to 'maintain the Siege on *Newport*-ſide; and that Major-general *Morgan* was 'to make Conjunction with the *French* Army.' Major-general *Morgan* then ſaid, That, with God's Aſſiſtance, we ſhould be able to deal with them.

The very next Day, at Four in the Afternoon, the *Spaniſh* Army had made a Bridge of Boats, croſſed their Army on the Sands of *Dunkirk*, and drew up into Battalia, within two Miles of Marſhal *Turenne*'s Lines, before he knew any Thing of them. Immediately, all the *French* Horſe drew out to face the Enemy at a Mile's Diſtance; and Marſhal *Turenne* ſent immediate Orders to Major-general *Morgan*, to march into his Camp, with the ſix-Thouſand *Engliſh*, and the *French* Brigade of Horſe; which was done accordingly.

The next Day, about Eight of the Clock, Marſhal *Turenne* gave Orders to break Avenues on both the Lines, that the Army might march out in Battalia. Major-general *Morgan* ſet his Soldiers to break Avenues for their Marching out in Battalia likewiſe. Several Officers being with him, as he was looking on his Soldiers at Work, Ambaſſador *Lockhart* comes up, with a white Cap on his Head, and ſaid to Major-general *Morgan*, 'You ſee 'what a Condition I am in, I am not able to give you any Aſſiſtance this 'Day; you are the older Soldier, and the greateſt Part of the Work of this 'Day muſt lie upon your Soldiers.' Upon which the Officers ſmiled; and ſo he bid *God be with us*, and went away with the Lieutenant-general of the Horſe, that was upon our left Wing; from which Time we never ſaw him, till we were in Purſuit of the Enemy. When the Avenues were cleared, both the *French* and *Engliſh* Army marched out of the Lines towards the Enemy. We were forced to march up in four Lines (for we had not Room enough to wing, for the Canal between *Furnes* and *Dunkirk*, and the Sea) till we had marched above Half a Mile; then we came to a Halt on riſing Hills of Sand, and, having more Room, took in two of our Lines.

Major-

Major-general *Morgan*, ſeeing the Enemy plain in Battalia, ſaid, before the Head of the Army, 'See! Yonder are the Gentlemen you have to trade 'withal.' Upon which the whole Brigade of *Engliſh* gave a Shout of Rejoicing, that made a roaring Eccho betwixt the Sea and the Canal. Thereupon, the Marſhal *Turenne* came up, with above an hundred Noblemen, to know what was the Matter and Reaſon of that great Shout. Major-general *Morgan* told him, It was an uſual Cuſtom of the Red-coats, when they ſaw the Enemy, to rejoice.

Marſhal *Turenne* anſwered, 'They were Men of brave Reſolution and 'Courage.' After which, Marſhal *Turenne* returning to the Head of his Army, we put on to our March again. At the ſecond Halt, the whole Brigade of *Engliſh* gave a Shout, and caſt up their Caps into the Air, ſaying, 'They would have better Hats before Night. Marſhal *Turenne*, upon that Shout, came up again, with ſeveral Noblemen and Officers of the Army, admiring the Reſolution of the *Engliſh*, at which Time we were within three Quarters of a Mile of the Enemy in Battalia. Marſhal *Turenne* deſired Major-general *Morgan*, that, at the next Halt, he would keep even Front with the *French*; for, ſays he, 'I do intend to halt at ſome Diſtance, that 'we may ſee how the Enemy is drawn up, and take our Advantage accord-'ingly.' Major-general *Morgan* demanded of his Excellency, 'Whether 'he would ſhock the whole Army at one Daſh, or try one Wing firſt?' Marſhal *Turenne*'s Reply was, 'That, as to that Queſtion he could not 'reſolve him yet, till he came nearer the Enemy.' Major-general *Morgan* deſired the Marſhal not to let him languiſh for Orders, ſaying, 'That 'oftentimes Opportunities are loſt for Want of Orders in due Time.' Marſhal *Turenne* ſaid, he would either come himſelf and give Orders, or ſend a Lieutenant-general; and ſo Marſhal *Turenne* parted, and went to the Head of his Army. In the mean Time, Major-general *Morgan* gave Orders to the Colonels and Leading Officers, to have a ſpecial Care, that, when the *French* came to a Halt, they keep even Front with them; and farther told them, if they could not obſerve the *French*, they ſhould take Notice when he lifted up his Hat (for he marched ſtill above threeſcore before the Center of the Bodies:) But, when the *French* came to halt, it ſo happened, that the *Engliſh* preſſed upon their leading Officers, ſo that they came up under the Shot of the Enemy: But, when they ſaw that Major-general *Morgan* was in a Paſſion, they put themſelves to a Stand. Major-general *Morgan* could ſoon have remedied their Forwardneſs, but he was reſolved he would not loſe one Foot of Ground he had advanced, but would hold it as long as he could. We were ſo near the Enemy the Soldiers fell into great Friendſhip; one aſking, Is ſuch an Officer in your Army? another, Is ſuch a Soldier in yours? and this paſſed on both Sides. Major-general *Morgan* endured this Friendſhip for a little while, and then came up to the Center of the Bodies, and demanded, How long that Friendſhip would continue; and told them further, that, for any Thing they knew, they would be cutting one another's Throats, within a Minute of an Hour. The whole Brigade anſwered, Their Friend-

ſhip

ſhip ſhould continue no longer than he pleaſed. Then Major-general *Morgan* bid them tell the Enemy, No more Friendſhip: Prepare your Buff-coats and Scarfs; for we will be with you ſooner than you expect us. Immediately after the Friendſhip was broke, the Enemy poured a Volley of Shot into one of our Battalions, wounded three or four, and one dropped. The Major-general immediately ſent the Adjutant-general to Marſhal *Turenne* for Orders, Whether he ſhould charge the Enemy's right Wing, or whether Marſhal *Turenne* would engage the Enemy's left Wing, and adviſed the Adjutant-general not to ſtay, but to acquaint Marſhal *Turenne*, that we were under the Enemy's Shot, and had received ſome Prejudice already; but there was no Return of the Adjutant-general, nor Orders. By and by the Enemy poured in another Volley of Shot, into another of our Battalions, and wounded two or three. Major-general *Morgan*, obſerving the Enemy mending Faults, and opening the Intervals of the Foot, to bring Horſe in, which would have made our Work more difficult, called all the Colonels and Officers of the Field together, before the Center of the Bodies, and told them, he had ſent the Adjutant-general for Orders, but, when he ſaw there was no Hope of Orders, he told them, If they would concur with him, he would immediately charge the Enemy's right Wing: Their Anſwer was, 'They were ready whenever he gave Orders.' He told them, He would try the right Wing with the Blue Regiment, and the four-hundred Firelocks, which were in the Interval of the *French* Horſe; and wiſhed all the Field-officers to be ready at their ſeveral Poſts. Major-general *Morgan* gave Orders, that the other five Regiments ſhould not move from their Ground, except they ſaw the Blue Regiment, the White, and the four-hundred Firelocks ſhocked the Enemy's right Wing off of their Ground, and, farther, ſhewed the ſeveral Colonels what Colours they were to charge, and told them moreover, 'That, if he was not knocked on the Head, he would come to 'them.' In like Manner, as faſt as he could, he admoniſhed the whole Brigade, and told them, They were to look in the Face of an Enemy who had violated, and endeavoured to take away their Reputation, and that they had no other Way, but to fight it out to the laſt Man, or to be killed, taken Priſoners, or drowned; and farther, that the Honour of *England* did depend much upon their Gallantry and Reſolution that Day.

The Enemy's Wing was poſted on a ſandy Hill, and had caſt the Sand Breaſt-high before them: Then Major-general *Morgan* did order the Blue Regiment, and the four hundred Firelocks, to advance to the Charge. In the mean Time, Major-general *Morgan*, knowing the Enemy would all bend upon them that did advance, removed the White Regiment more to the Right, that it might be in the Flank of them, by that Time the Blue Regiment was got within Puſh of Pike.

His Royal Highneſs the Duke of *York*, with a ſelect Party of Horſe, had got into the Blue Regiment, by that Time the White came in, and expoſed his Perſon to great Danger: But we knew no Body at that Time. Immediately the Enemy were clear ſhocked off of their Ground, and the *Engliſh*

his Excellency, Whether he was certain the Enemy was ſo near him; he anſwered, He had two Spies came juſt from them. Then Major-general *Morgan* told him, His Condition was ſomewhat deſperate, and ſaid, That a deſperate Diſeaſe muſt have a deſperate Cure. His Excellency aſked, What he meant? Major-general *Morgan* did offer him, to attempt the Counterſcarp upon an Aſſault, and ſo put all Things out of Doubt with Expedition. The Major-general had no ſooner ſaid this, but Marſhal *Turenne* joined his Hands, and looked up thro' the Boards towards the Heavens, and ſaid, 'Did ever my Maſter, the King of *France*, or the 'King of *Spain*, attempt a Counterſcarp upon an Aſſault, where there 'were three Half-moons covered with Cannon, and the Ramparts of the 'Town playing point-blank into the Counterſcarp?' Farther he ſaid, 'What will the King my Maſter think of me, if I expoſe his Army to theſe 'Hazards?' And he roſe up, and fell into a Paſſion, ſtamping with his Feet, and ſhaking his Locks, and grinning with his Teeth; he ſaid, Major-general *Morgan* had made him mad. But, by Degrees, he cooled, and aſked the Major-general, Whether he would ſtay to Dinner with him: But the Major-general begged his Pardon, for he had appointed ſome of the Officers to eat a Piece of Beef at his Tent that Day. His Excellency aſked him, If he would meet him at Two of the Clock, at the Opening of the Approaches? The Major general ſaid, He would be punctual; but deſired he would bring none of his Train with him (for it was uſually a hundred Noblemen with their Feathers and Ribbands) becauſe, if he did, he would have no Opportunity to take a View of the Counterſcarp; for the Enemy would diſcover them, and fire inceſſantly. His Excellency ſaid, He would bring none, but two or three of the Lieutenant-generals. Major-general *Morgan* was at the Place appointed a Quarter of an Hour before his Excellency, and then his Excellency came, with eight Noblemen, and three Lieutenant-generals, and took a Place to view the Counterſcarp. After he had looked a conſiderable Time upon it, he turned about, and looked upon the Noblemen and Lieutenant-generals, and ſaid, 'I do not know what 'to ſay to you; here is Major-general *Morgan* has put me out of my Wits; 'for he would have me attempt yonder Counterſcarp upon an Aſſault.' None of the Noblemen or Lieutenants made any Reply to him, but Count *Schomberg*, ſaying, 'My Lord, I think Major-general *Morgan* would offer 'nothing to your Lordſhip but what he thinks feaſible, and he knows he has 'good fighting Men.' Upon this, Marſhal *Turenne* aſked Major-general *Morgan*, How many *Engliſh* he would venture? The Major-general ſaid, That he would venture ſix hundred common Men, beſides Officers, and fifty Pioneers. Marſhal *Turenne* ſaid, That ſix-hundred of Monſieur *la Ferte*'s Army, and fifty Pioneers, and ſix hundred of his own Army, and fifty Pioneers more, would make better than two-thouſand Men: Major-general *Morgan* replied, 'They were Abundance to carry it, 'with God's Aſſiſtance.' Then his Excellency ſaid, he would acquaint the King and his Eminence, That Major-general *Morgan* had put him upon

that

that deſperate Deſign; Major-general *Morgan* deſired his Pardon; for it was in his Power to attempt it, or not to attempt it: But, in the Cloſe, Marſhal *Turenne* ſaid to the Major-general, That he muſt fall into Monſieur *la Ferte*'s Approaches, and that he ſhould take the one Half of Monſieur *la Ferte*'s Men, and that he would take the other Half into his own Approaches. Major-general *Morgan* begged his Pardon, and ſaid, He deſired to fall on with the *Engliſh* intire by themſelves, without intermingling them. Marſhal *Turenne* replied, He muſt fall on, and cut off one of the Approaches: The Major-general replied, That he would fall on in the Plain between both Approaches. His Excellency ſaid, That he would never be able to endure their Fireing, but that they would kill Half his Men, before he could come to the Counterſcarp; the Major-general ſaid, that he had an Invention, that the Enemy ſhould not perceive him, till he had his Hands upon the Stockadoes. Next, his Excellency ſaid, for the Signal, there ſhall be a Captain of Monſieur *la Ferte*'s, with twenty Firelocks, ſhall leap upon the Point, and cry, *Sa ſa! vive le Roy de France*; and, upon that Noiſe, all were to fall on together. But Major general *Morgan* oppoſed that Signal, ſaying, The Enemy would thereby be alarmed, and then he ſhould hardly endure their Firing. His Excellency replied then, That he would give no Signal at all, but the Major-general ſhould give it, and he would not be perſuaded otherwiſe. Then the Major-general deſired his Excellency, that he would give Orders to them in the Approaches, to keep themſelves in Readineſs againſt Sun-ſet; for, at the Shutting of the Night, he would fall on: He likewiſe deſired his Excellency, That he would order a Major out of his own Approaches, and another out of Monſieur *la Ferte*'s Approaches, to ſtand by him; and, when he ſhould be ready to fall on, he would diſpatch the two Majors into each of the Approaches, that they might be ready to leap out, when the Major-general paſſed between the two Approaches, with the commanded *Engliſh*. Juſt at Sun-ſet, Marſhal *Turenne* came himſelf, and told the Major-general, He might fall on when he ſaw his own Time. The Major-general replied, He would fall on juſt at the Setting of the Night, and when the Duſk of the Evening came on. The Major-general made the *Engliſh* ſtand to their Arms, and divided them into Bodies; a Captain at the Head of the Pioneers, and the Major-general and a Colonel, at the Head of the two Battalions; he ordered the two Battalions, and the Pioneers, each Man to take up a long Faſcine upon their Muſquets and Pikes, and then they were three ſmall Groves of Wood. Immediately the Major-general commanded the two Majors to go to their Approaches, and that they ſhould leap out, ſo ſoon as they ſhould ſee the Major-general march between their Approaches. The Major-general did order the two Battalions, when they came within threeſcore of the Stockadoes, to ſlip their Faſcines, and fall on. But ſo it happened, that the *French* never moved out of their Approaches, till ſuch Time as Major-general *Morgan* had overpowered the Enemy. When the Pioneers came within Sight of the Stockadoes, they ſlipped the Faſcines down, and fell on; the Major-general and the other two Battalions

were

were close to them, and, when the Soldiers began to lay their Hands on the Stockadoes, they tore them down for the Length of six Score, and leaped pell-mell into the Counterscarp amongst the Enemy; Abundance of the Enemy were drowned in the Moat, and many taken Prisoners, with two *German* Princes, and the Counterscarp cleared; the *French* were in their Approaches all this Time; then the *English* fell on upon the Half-moons, and immediately the Red-coats were on the Top of them, throwing the Enemy into the Moat, and turning the Cannon upon the Town; thus the two Half-moons were speedily taken: After the manning of the Half-moons, he did rally all the *English*, with Intention to lodge them upon the Counterscarp, that he might be free of the Enemy's Shot the next Morning; and they left the other Half-moon for Marshal *Turenne*'s Party, which was even before their Approaches.

Then the *French* fell on upon the other Half-moon, but were beaten off. The Major-general considered, that that Half-moon would gall him in the Day-time, and therefore did speak to the Officers and Soldiers, that it was best to give them a little Help; the Red-coats cried, 'Shall we fall on in 'Order, or Happy-go-lucky?' The Major-general said, 'In the Name of 'God, at it Happy-go-lucky;' and immediately the Red-coats fell on, and were on the Top of it, knocking the Enemy down, and casting them into the Moat. When this Work was done, the Major-general lodged the *English* on the Counterscarp; they were no sooner lodged, but Marshal *Turenne* scrambled over the Ditches, to find out the Major-general; and, when he met with him, he was much troubled the *French* did no better; for indeed they did just nothing: Then his Excellency asked the Major-general, to go to his Approaches to refresh himself; but the Major-general begged his Pardon, and said, He would not stir from his Post, till he heard a Drum beat a Parley, and saw a white Flag over the Walls. Upon that, Marshal *Turenne* laughed and smiled, and said, They would not be at that Pass in six Days, and then went to his Approaches, and sent the Major-general three or four dozen Bottles of rare Wine, with several Dishes of cold Meats and Sweet-meats. Within two Hours after Sun-rising, a Drum beat a Parley, and a white Flag was seen over the Walls. The Major-general ordered a Lieutenant, with a File of Musquetiers, to go and receive the Drummer, and to blindfold him, and carry him strait to Marshal *Turenne* in his Approaches. Marshal *Turenne* came immediately with the Drummer's Message to the Major-general, and was much troubled he would not receive the Message before it came to him. The Major-general replied, That that was very improper, his Excellency being upon the Place. The Message was to this Effect, 'That, whereas his Excellency had offered them honourable Terms 'in his Summons, they were now willing to accept of them, provided they 'might have their Charter, and the Privileges of the City preserved: That 'they had appointed four of their Commissioners, to treat farther with four 'Commissioners from his Excellency.' Marshal *Turenne* was pleased to ask the Major-general, whether he would be one of the Commissioners; but

but the Major-general begged his Pardon, and desired that he might abide at his Post, till such Time as the City was surrendered up. Immediately then his Excellency sent for Count *Schomberg*, and three other Commissioners, and gave them Instructions how to treat with the four Commissioners from the Enemy. Just as Marshal *Turenne* was giving the Commissioners Instructions, Major-general *Morgan* said, That the Enemy were hungry, so that they would eat any Meat they could have; whereupon his Excellency smiled, and shortened their Instructions, and sent them away. Within half an Hour, the Commissioners had concluded, That they should have their City-Charter preserved, and that they were to receive a *French* Garrison in, and the Prince *de Ligny* was to march out with all his Forces next Morning, at Nine of the Clock, with one Piece of Cannon, Colours flying, Bullet in Mouth, and a Match lighted at both Ends, and to have a Convoy to conduct him into his own Territories. Marshal *Turenne* was, in the Morning betimes, with several Noblemen and Officers of the Army, and Major-general *Morgan*, attending near the Gare for the Prince *de Ligny*'s Coming out. The Prince, having Notice that Marshal *Turenne* was there, came out of his Coach. Marshal *Turenne*, being alighted off from his Horse, and the Major-general *Morgan*, at both their Meeting there was a great Acclamation, and embracing one another. After a little Time, Marshal *Turenne* told the Prince, He very much admired, that he would expose his Person to a Garrison before a conquering Army: The Prince *de Ligny* replied, That, if Marshal *Turenne* had left his *English* in *England*, he durst have exposed his Person into the weakest Garrison the King of *Spain* had in *Flanders*; and so they parted, and his Excellency marched into the Town with a *French* Garison, and the Major-general with him. So soon as the Garrison was settled, Marshal *Turenne* writ his Letters to the *French* King, and his Eminence the Cardinal, how that the City of *Ypres* was reduced to the Obedience of his Majesty, and that he was possessed of it; and that Major-general *Morgan* was instrumental in that Service, and that the *English* did Wonders; and sent the Intendant of the Army with his Letters to the King and Cardinal. Monsieur *Tallon*, the Intendant, returned back from the King and Cardinal to the Army within eight Days, and brought a Compliment to Major-general *Morgan*, that the King and his Eminence the Cardinal did expect to see him at *Paris*, when he came to his Winter Quarters, where there would be a Cupboard of Plate to attend him. Major-general *Morgan*, instead of going for his Cupboard of Plate, went for *England*, and his Majesty of *France* had never the Kindness to send him his Cupboard of Plate: So that this is the Reward that Major-general *Morgan* hath had from the *French* King for all his Service in *France* and *Flanders*.

Killed at the Battle of Dunkirk,

Lieutenant-colonel *Fenwick*, two Captains, one Lieutenant, two Ensigns, two Serjeants, thirty-two Soldiers; and about twenty wounded.

Killed

Killed at the Storming of Ypres,

One Captain, one Serjeant, eight private Soldiers, about twenty-five Officers of thirty-five; and about ſix Soldiers ſlightly wounded, after they were lodged upon the Counterſcarp; Sir *Thomas Morgan* himſelf ſlightly hurt, by a Shot in the Calf of his Leg.

An Account of the Original of Writing and Paper, out of a Book, intitled, La Libraria Vaticana, *written by* Mutio Panſa, *Keeper of the ſaid Library. Printed at* Rome.

1ſt, *Of the Uſe of Books, and Invention of Letters.*

DISCOURSE I.

THAT the Uſe of Books and Libraries is very ancient, appears by many Authors, both *Chriſtian* and *Heathen*, from whom it may in ſome Meaſure be gathered, that they have been in Uſe ever ſince the World began; for we read, that *Jude* the Apoſtle, in one of his Epiſtles, quotes the Book of *Enoch*, which was before the Flood. (The Words of the Epiſtle are: *And* Enoch *alſo, the Seventh from* Adam, *propheſied of theſe*, &c. So that here is a Prophecy, but nothing expreſly of a Book of his Writing, whence a Debate may ariſe, whether this Prophecy was not left by oral Tradition, without more poſitive Proof; but to return to our Author.) And tho' Authors differ very much concerning the Invention of Letters, of which afterwards Books were compoſed; yet we take it for granted, that they were invented by *Adam*, his Sons, and Grandſons, in the firſt Age of the World, before the Flood, and were after preſerved by *Noah* and his Progeny, till they came to *Abraham*, and ſo to *Moſes*; and of this Opinion was St. *Auguſtin*, *lib.* xv. *de Civitate Dei*, and *Joſephus*, a *Jewiſh* Writer of great Credit, who, in the firſt Book of his Antiquities, writes, That *Adam*'s Grandſons, the Sons of *Seth*, erected two Pillars, the one of Stone, and the other of Brick, on which they left written, and engraved, all the Arts diſcovered by them, and he affirms he ſaw one of theſe Pillars in *Syria*; from the which, I am of Opinion, the *Egyptians* afterwards learnt the Way of Writing, and expreſſing their Myſteries with thoſe Characters called *Hieroglyphicks*, on ſeveral Obeliſks, wherein *Egypt* formerly ſo much abounded, that ſome of them are ſtill to be ſeen in *Rome*, whither they were tranſported by the firſt Emperors. This is the more credible, becauſe we read, that *Adam* was by God created in ſo great a State of Perfection, of Knowledge, and of Wiſdom, that he gave Names to all Things, according

to

to their Nature and Qualities; and that none ever ſo well underſtood the Revolutions of the Heavens, the Motions of the Stars and Planets, and ſo thoroughly knew the Nature of Herbs, Plants, Animals, and all other Things in the World, as he did. It is therefore to be believed, that he found out the Method for preſerving the Memory hereof to Poſterity. *Pliny*, in his *Nat. Hiſt. lib.* vii. *Cap. ult.* confirms this Opinion; for there, after delivering the Sentiments of many concerning the Invention of Letters, as that ſome pretend they were invented in *Syria* by the *Aſſyrians*, and others in *Egypt* by *Mercury*; that they were brought into *Italy* by the *Pelaſgi*, and into *Greece* by the *Phœnicians*, and *Cadmus* their Leader; that *Palamedes*, during the *Trojan* War, added four more; he concludes, it is his Opinion, that Letters were eternal, which is almoſt the ſame as to ſay, they began with the World. Hence it follows, that their Opinion is vain, who ſay the *Egyptians* were the Inventors of Letters and Arts, as *Diodorus Siculus* holds, *Lib.* i. where he ſays, that *Mercury* found them out in *Egypt*; though, in his fourth Book, he writes, that others think the *Æthiopians* had Letters before, and the *Egyptians* from them. Hence we may further infer, that *Moſes* was not the firſt Inventor of Letters, as ſome *Jews* and *Chriſtians* affirm, becauſe he was ancienter than any one of thoſe by whom they are ſaid to have been firſt found; as *Cadmus*, who lived in the Days when *Othoniel* governed *Iſrael*, which was forty-ſeven Years after the written Law was given to *Moſes*; and therefore the *Egyptians* learnt the Letters of him, and they communicated them to the *Phoenicians*, whence *Cadmus* carried them into *Greece*. True it is, that *Attabanus* and *Eupolemus*, *Heathen* Authors, ſay, that *Moſes* was by the *Egyptians* called *Mercury*, and the ſame that taught them Letters. Thus, we ſee, the Invention of Letters was ancienter than *Philo* the *Jew* believes it, who ſays, that *Abraham* firſt found them; for, as has been ſaid, they were in Being even in the Days of *Adam* and his Children, and afterwards preſerved by *Noah*, who was a Man of Learning and Letters; and it is to be believed, that he ſaved them with him in the Ark; though, after the Confuſion of Tongues at the Tower of *Babel*, moſt Nations might loſe the Letters, and the Knowledge of them might only remain in the Family of *Heber*, from whom the *Hebrews* afterwards deſcended, who loſt not their firſt Language, as St. *Auguſtin*, *Euſebius*, and moſt learned Men of our Time affirm. *Philo*, and the reſt, who thought that *Moſes* had been the Inventor of Letters, were the more eaſily deceived, becauſe it is manifeſt, that the Books and Hiſtory writ by *Moſes* are the ancienteſt in the World, or than the Wiſdom of the *Egyptians*, or the Philoſophy of the *Greeks*, as is made out by St. *Auguſtin* and *Joſephus*, writing againſt *Appion* the Grammarian, as alſo by *Euſebius* and *Juſtin Martyr*: And that there were Letters before *Moſes* is viſible, becauſe we find it written, that he learnt in *Egypt* unto *Pharaoh* the Arts and Wiſdom of the *Egyptians*; nor do I know how this could be, unleſs they had Letters before, though, it is true, we know they had ſome Characters called *Hieroglyphicks*, by which they taught moſt of their Sciences. Howſoever it was

the Invention of Letters is certainly divine, as being thoſe that preſerve and ſecure all other Invention, for without them none can ſubſiſt; and they are of ſuch Worth, that they make Men immortal, rendering thoſe Things preſent which happened a thouſand Years ago, and joining thoſe which are diſtant, communicating them, as if they were not aſunder. By them are known and learnt all Sorts of Sciences, teaching thoſe in being all that paſt Ages knew, and preſerving for Poſterity all that thoſe now living found out. In ſhort, the Benefit of them is almoſt infinite and inexpreſſible, and therefore their Invention may deſervedly be called rather *divine* than *human*. What Order was obſerved in the Characters of ancient Times, methinks is not to be ſought after, as depending on the Will and Pleaſure of the Inventor; as we daily ſee is done by thoſe who frame Cyphers or Characters, and other Sorts of common Letters, who obſerve no Order. It is true, they were, in Proceſs of Time, for the more Diſtinction, put into that Order we now ſee them: And, becauſe many afterwards ſucceſſively added other Letters, or made new Characters, therefore many were thought the Inventors of them; of whom we ſhall ſpeak to the Purpoſe hereafter, when we come to diſcourſe of the Pictures in the *Vatican* Library, among which are thoſe of all ſuch as were famous in the World for the Invention of Letters, or for adding any to them.

Of the Paper of the Ancients, of the Papyrus *of the* Romans, *of the ſeveral Sorts of it, and of the Paper of our Times.*

DISCOURSE II.

HAVING hitherto diſcourſed of the Letters, it will now be convenient to ſay ſomething of Paper, as the Matter on which they are made; and, to ſpeak the Truth, it is no ſmall Difficulty to decide what they writ on in former Ages, becauſe we have no Account in Hiſtory what they did write on before the Flood, but what we ſaid before, that *Adam*'s Grandchildren, the Sons of *Seth*, writ an Account of Arts on thoſe two Pillars abovementioned. After the Flood, all Authors agree, that Men had no Paper, but writ on the Leaves of *Palm* Trees, whence, to this Day, thoſe of Books are called Leaves. Next they writ on the fine Bark of Trees, and particularly on that Sort which ſlips off eaſieſt; ſuch as the *Elder*, the *Plane*, the *Aſh*, and the *Elm*; and theſe were the inward Films, which grow between the Bark and the Wood, which, being curiouſly taken off, were joined together, and Books made of them; and, becauſe this Film in *Latin* is called *Liber*, thence the ſame Name was given to a Book, though now they are not made of that Subſtance. The Wit of Man, which ſtill improved, after this found out a Way of writing on the thinneſt Sheets of Lead, of which

which private People made Books and Pillars. Next, the Ancients found the Way of Writing on Linnen-Cloths ſlicked and waxed, on which they writ, not with a Pen, but with a ſmall Cane or Reed, as ſome write to this Day. And, as *Pliny* tells us, we find in *Homer*, that theſe waxed Cloths were uſed before the Time of the *Trojans*; and *Mutianus*, who, as he writes himſelf, was thrice Conſul, that, when he was Preſident in *Lycia*, he read there, in a Temple, a Letter writ on one of theſe Cloths by *Sarpedon*, King of *Lycia*, then at *Troy*, where he aſſiſted *Priam* in his War againſt the *Greeks*, and was at laſt killed by *Patroclus*. In Proceſs of Time, the Method was found out of writing on Parchment made of Sheep-Skins, mentioned by *Herodotus*, *Lib.* vii. the Invention whereof *Varro* aſſigns to the People of *Pergamus*, a City in *Aſia*, on the Banks of the River *Caicus*, whereof *Eumenes* was King, and from that City it was called *Pergamenum*, which we have corrupted to Parchment. *Pliny* ſays, this *Eumenes* firſt ſent it to *Rome*; but *Elianus* ſays it was *Attalus*, King of the ſame Country, who firſt ſent it. *Joſephus*, the *Jew*, makes the writing on Parchment ancienter, and ſays, the Books of the *Jews*, ſo much ancienter than *Eumenes*, and the reſt of that Sort, were writ upon Skins; and relates, that when *Eleazer*, the High Prieſt, ſent the Books of the Holy Scripture to *Ptolemy* by the Septuagint, to be tranſlated out of *Hebrew* into *Greek*, King *Ptolemy Philadelphus* was much amazed at the Fineneſs of thoſe Skins or Parchment; ſo that writing on them was eaſier, and more laſting than the ancienter Uſe of Barks and Leaves of Trees; and it is to be believed, this Invention was not yet in *Egypt*, ſince *Ptolemy* wondered at it. After this, there was found a Sort of Paper made of a Ruſh, or Plant, called *Papyrus*, growing in the Marſhes, about the River *Nile*, though *Pliny* ſays there are ſome of them in *Syria*, near the River *Euphrates*. Theſe Ruſhes bear ſmall Leaves betwixt the outward Rhind and the Pith, which, being neatly opened with the Point of a Needle, and then prepared with fine Flour and other Ingredients, ſerved to write on and made Paper, the innermoſt Part making the fineſt, and according to the ſeveral Sorts it had ſeveral Names, and was put to ſundry Uſes; being from this Ruſh called *Papyrus*, which Name has continued to our Days, and is given to our Paper, though made of Rags, becauſe this ſerves for the ſame Uſes as that did. I ſaw one of theſe Ruſhes at *Rome*, which was ſhewed me by that worthy Gentleman *Caſtor Durante*, of happy Memory, my Maſter in the College, who told me it came from *Egypt*; and he had it from *Padua*, ſent him by Signior *Cortuſo*, a Man excellently learned in Simples, of whom he had got other more ſtrange and rare Things, as I have ſeveral Times ſeen myſelf, and particularly a Sheet of this *Papyrus*, or Paper, made of that Ruſh.

The firſt Invention of making Paper of this Ruſh, *Varro* affirms, was in the Days of *Alexander the Great*, when *Alexandria* was founded; but *Pliny* proves it was ancienter, by the Books which *Gn. Tarentinus* found in his Vineyard in a Marble Cheſt on the Hill *Janiculus*, in which were alſo the Bones of *Numa Pompilius*. Theſe Books were of the *Papyrus*, and it is

certain, that *Numa Pompilius* was long before *Alexander*. The *Romans* had ſeveral Sorts of this Paper; one of them was called *Hieratica*, as *Pliny* writes, and only dedicated to religious Books, which afterwards, through Flattery, took *Auguſtus*'s Name, and was called *Auguſtana*, as the ſecond Sort, from his Wife *Livia*; was called *Liviana*, as among us there is now Imperial and Royal Paper. There was another Sort called *Amphitheatrica*, from the Place where it was made, being about the Amphitheatre; and the firſt that began to make this Paper in *Rome* was one *Fannius*, who brought it to ſuch Fineneſs, that, whereas before it was for common Uſe, it became equal with the beſt, and took his Name, being called *Fanniana*, whereas that, which was not ſo curiouſly prepared, kept its own Name of *Amphitheatrica*; and theſe were the beſt Sorts of Paper in thoſe Days. Afterwards came the *Saitica*, ſo named from a City where it was made, where there was great Abundance of the *Papyrus*, and this was made of the worſt Part of it. There was ſtill another Sort made of the outward Part next the Rhind, and called *Teniotica*, from the Place where it was made, which was ſold rather by Weight than by Choice. *Laſtly*, there was the *Emporetica*, anſwerable to our Brown or Wrapping-Paper, unfit for writing, and only uſed to make Covers for the other Paper, and to wrap up Goods, therefore called Shop-Paper. All theſe Sorts of Paper were very different from one another; for the beſt was thirteen Inches broad, the *Hieratica* two Inches leſs, the *Fanniana* of ten, and the *Amphitheatrica* two narrower; the *Saitica* ſtill leſs, and the coarſe *Emporetica* not above ſix. Beſides, *Auguſtus*'s Paper was in great Eſteem for its Whiteneſs, as well as its Smoothneſs, but was ſo thin, it would ſcarce bear the Pen; beſides that, it ſunk, and the Letters appeared through it; and therefore, in the Reign of *Claudius Cæſar*, it loſt the firſt Place, and another Sort was made, from him called *Claudia*, which was preferred before all the others, and the *Auguſta* was reſerved for writing of Imperial Letters. The *Livian* Paper kept its Rank, having nothing of the firſt, but, in all Reſpects, like the ſecond. This Sort of Paper, made of *Papyrus*, the *Romans* uſed a long Time, on which many Books were writ; and, as *Pliny* informs us, there were, in his Times, abundance of Volumes of *Caius*, and *Tiberius Gracchus*, of *Cicero*, of *Auguſtus*, and of *Virgil*.

That this Paper was good and laſting, appears by what was ſaid above of *Numa*'s Books, found in the Conſulſhip of *P. Cornelius*, *L. F. Cethegus*, *M. Balbius*, and *Q. F. Pamphilius*; and, from the Reign of *Numa* till their Time, we find there paſſed five hundred and thirty-five Years, it being wonderful they ſhould laſt ſo long without rotting, eſpecially having been all that While buried under Ground. Authors differ very much about the Number of theſe Books; for ſome, as *Livy*, ſay they were two, and found by *Lucius Petilius*; of which Opinion are *Lactantius* and *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Numa*. Others ſay, they were fourteen, ſeven of the Pontifical Laws, and the other ſeven of the Precepts of *Pythagorean* Philoſophy; others ſay, they were twelve, as *Varro*, in his *Book of Antiquities*. *Tuditanus*, *Lib.* ii. writes, they were thirteen of *Numa*'s Decretals, yet *Antia* affirms, there were

two.

two *Latin*, one of the Pontifical Rites, and as many *Greek* of *Pythagorean* Philoſophy, and were therefore burnt by *Q. Petulius* the Pretor. Certain it is, that the Invention of Paper, made of the Ruſh *Papyrus*, continued long among the *Romans*, and very many Books were writ on it by ſeveral Authors, as has been ſaid above.

In the laſt Place was found out the Paper of our Days, a moſt noble Invention, which has afforded the Opportunity of writing and publiſhing a vaſt Quantity of Books. It is made of Linnen Rags beaten to Atoms; and it is wonderful that ſo mean a Thing ſhould perpetuate and immortaliſe the memorable Actions of Men. It is made in all Parts of the World, and of ſeveral Sorts great and ſmall, and ſo white and curious, that nothing can exceed it. On this, as the moſt perfect, are printed ſo many Volumes as are daily ſeen, laying aſide the *Papyrus*, the Parchment, and all others, which gave Occaſion to the finding out of this in our Forefathers Days.

Political Remarks on the Life and Reign of King William III. Firſt, *From his Birth to the Abdication of King* James II. Secondly, *From his Acceſſion to the Crown of* England *to his Death.*

Firſt. THOUGH Fortune might ſeem a Step-mother to this Prince, by depriving him of a Father, before ſcarce a human Soul had been breathed into the Infant, yet ſhe abundantly made Amends for that Unkindneſs, by the Prudence and Indulgency of his Mother, eldeſt Daughter of King *Charles* I. who, by means of the Blood from whence ſhe ſprung, not only conveyed to him a Proſpect of attaining to three Kingdoms, but alſo, by the Care ſhe took of his Education, ſhe formed his Soul worthy of the Crowns he was deſtined by Providence to wear.

We read a Story of *Sempronius*, that he caught two Snakes ingendering, and that, being ſurprized at the Novelty, he conſulted the Oracle what the unlucky Omen meant: The Prieſts returned an Anſwer, that either himſelf or his Wife muſt die; and that it was at his Election, whether he would ſubmit to Death himſelf, or doom the Partner of his Bed to that Misfortune: That, upon his killing the Male Snake, it was his Turn to die; and that, upon the Death of the Female, his Wife muſt undergo the ſame Deſtiny. This generous *Roman*, unterrified with the Apprehenſions of another World, cauſed the Snake to die, whoſe Fate was twiſted with his, confiding in the known Piety and Prudence of his Lady, and believing her Life more neceſſary to the common Good of his Family than his own. The Oracle and his uxorious Confidence were juſt; he died according to the Prediction of the

the firſt, and his Family, by the Conduct of his Widow, found themſelves little prejudiced in the Loſs of ſo eminent an Example of Tenderneſs.

I ſhall not inſiſt upon the Truth of this Story, we have ſome good Authors to vouch it; but certainly, if the Prince of *Orange*, Father to the late King *William*, had been permitted ſuch an unhappy Choice, he might, without a Blemiſh to his Character, have followed the Steps of that illuſtrious *Roman*, and ſpared his Lady, whoſe Wiſdom, Courage, and Civility laid the firſt Foundation of that Grandeur, which her warlike Son, in ſucceeding Ages, attained to.

The States of the Seven Provinces ſtood his Godfathers; nor did his Mother, though ſo nearly allied to the Crown of *England*, think it beneath her Quality to implore the Protection of Perſons meanly bo n, in Compariſon of her illuſtrious Offspring, nor were the Methods ſhe undertook unagreeable to ſound Policy. The princely Widow underſtood her Intereſt very well, and the Godſon of thoſe High and Mighty Potentates received, both in his own Perſon, and in the Reſpect was paid his Mother, the greateſt Arguments of their ſincere Friendſhip and Eſteem.

No blazing Star preceded his Birth, and, with its prophetick Beams, preſaged his future Grandeur. The *Dutch* Aſtrologers could not ſee ſo clearly as the *Engliſh*, who affirmed, that a Star of ſuch a Nature was ſeen juſt before the Nativity of King *Charles* II. In this his Country-men acted unhandſomely, in depriving his Birth of ſo glorious and remarkable an Accident.

And it muſt be acknowledged, as more reaſonable in itſelf, if thoſe Celeſtial Luminaries attend our Actions here below, that the brighteſt of them ſhould rather have waited on the Nativity of King *William*, who reſtored the Glory of the *Engliſh*, than upon King *Charles* II. who, by the Supineneſs of his Conduct, had near loſt the Reputation of his Country, and the Balance of *Europe*.

This Humility of the Princeſs of *Orange* was as much commended by ſome as cenſured by others; but whoever weighs it, muſt acknowledge it a Piece of refined Policy, and that her Conſideration was both juſt and rational: By this Step, and others of the like Nature, ſhe entirely rooted out thoſe Ideas, and that Umbrage the States had conceived at the Greatneſs of the Houſe of *Orange*, and ſhewed herſelf rather a Grand-daughter of King *James* I. than a Siſter of King *James* II.

His Education was conſiſtent with the Manners of the Country where he was educated; the Methods preſcribed him by thoſe that had the Honour of his Tuition, were ſolid and ſevere; nothing gay or glittering was ſeen in his Court, or the Converſation of thoſe Perſons who were intruſted with the Management of his tender Years: His Mind adjuſted itſelf to the Admonitions of his Tutors, and produced a Temper ſerious and thoughtful, quite averſe from the uſual Gallantries practiſed in the more refined and polite Courts, as they ſtiled themſelves, of *Europe*.

He

He was never a mighty Scholar himſelf, nor did he much affect Learning, or the Charms of a witty Converſation; ſuch as were Maſters of thoſe happy Qualities were ſeldom employed by him, unleſs ſome of the firſt in the Affairs of the Church; and if ever he made Uſe of Perſons ſo diſtinguiſhed in his ſecular Concerns, it was rather to pleaſe others than himſelf, and to acquire a Reputation to his Councils, more than for any Pleaſure he took in their Harangues or Converſation; and this may be truly ſaid of him, without Injuſtice to his Memory, That he was a much greater King, but nothing ſo fine a Gentleman as his Uncle.

Though he was no great Friend to polite Learning, yet he took Care to acquire the *French* and *Engliſh* Languages, which, afterwards, were of the higheſt Importance to his Management of ſeveral Treaties of the laſt Conſequence to himſelf and his Allies.

He never had many Favourites, and it was well for *England* that he had no more than two: The firſt of theſe was Monſieur *Bentinck*, now Earl of *Portland*, who obtained his Eſteem and Friendſhip by one of the moſt generous Actions imaginable.

This young Gentleman was Page to the Prince of *Orange*, and much of the ſame Age with his Maſter. It happened, that the Prince was taken ill of the Small-pox, which not riſing kindly upon him, his Phyſicians judged it neceſſary that ſome young Perſon ſhould lie in the ſame Bed with the Prince, imagining, that the natural Heat of another would drive out the Diſeaſe, and expel it from the nobler Parts: No-body of Quality could be found in all the Court to make this Experiment; at laſt, Monſieur *Bentinck*, though he had never had the Small-pox, reſolved to run the Riſque; he did ſo, the Prince recovered, his Page fell ill, and, in a little Time, had the Happineſs to find himſelf in a healthy Condition, and as well as his Maſter. Ever after this Action of Monſieur *Bentinck*'s, which was truly great and noble, the Prince had an entire Affection for ſo faithful a Servant, and particularly truſted him in Affairs of the higheſt Conſequence. It was my Lord *Portland* that tranſacted the Peace of *Reſwick*, and the ſame Nobleman managed the Negotiations that were ſet on Foot betwixt the then Prince of *Orange* and the *Engliſh* Nobility, who had Recourſe to his Highneſs before his Acceſſion to theſe Realms. If the Favours of the King had ſtopped here, and his faithful Miniſter had received no other Arguments of his Maſter's Eſteem, than reaſonable Gifts and Honours, perchance the Character of the deceaſed Monarch might have been ſomething greater; but Things were puſhed too far, and, when the Parliament put a Stop to ſome Conceſſions intended for my Lord, it was a plain Diſcovery of a Weakneſs which had been better omitted.

Though his Highneſs commanded the Army of the States very young, when he was ſcarcely Seventeen, an Age when ſome Noblemen are hardly exempt from the Tuition of a Pedant, yet he behaved himſelf with greater Vigilance, Prudence, and Conduct, than could be reaſonably expected of him at that Time of Day.

But though his Conduct was ſurprizing when he entered upon thoſe high Employments of Stadt-holder and General, yet he ſeems rather indebted to Chance and the Miſeries of his Country for thoſe Poſts, than to any perſonal Merits of his own, or the Atchievements of his Anceſtors.

The *French* had near over-run all *Holland*, their Armies had poſſeſſed themſelves of *Utrecht*, and moſt of the reſt of the Frontier-Towns belonging to the States had ſubmitted themſelves to that invincible Deluge, which their Troops could not reſiſt, nor their Prudence or Negotiations avoid. The Faction of *Barnevelt*, well known by that Name in the *Low-Countries*, were then at the Helm, and the two Brothers, the *De Wits*, were looked upon as Chiefs of a Party who oppoſed the Grandeur of the Houſe of *Orange*. One of theſe was Penſionary, which is Principal Secretary of State, and was either, in Reality, a Traytor to his Country, or eſteemed as ſuch by the Boors and common People, whoſe Misfortunes ſowred their Humours, and made them ripe for Tumults and Rebellions. Upon the conſtant Series of their ill Succeſs, the Populace aroſe, tore in Pieces the two unhappy Brothers, and wreſted the Government from the Hands of thoſe who were averſe to the Houſe of *Orange*. They continued their Reſentments, and obliged the States to reſtore his Highneſs to all the ancient Honours of his Family. Yet, though this young Gentleman was made General by a Tumult, yet, once poſſeſſed of that high Command, he behaved himſelf not like a tumultuary General; he ſoon repulſed the *French* out of their new Conqueſts, with a greater Chain of Succeſs than ever afterwards attended his military Actions.

Though ſevere and reſerved in the Cabinet, yet, in the Camp, he was fiery to a Fault, and often expoſed himſelf, and the Cauſe he defended, with a Raſhneſs, blameable in an Officer of his Dignity.

Yet one Thing is very obſervable in his Conduct, though he had the Spirit and Gallantry of a Hero, yet he wanted the Paſſion of Love to make that Character compleat; neither before, at the Time of his Marriage, or afterwards, was he ever noted for any extraordinary Tenderneſs; nor could the Beauty of his Queen, nor the Addreſs of any other Lady, raiſe in him extraordinary Tranſports; his Soul was free from theſe Weakneſſes, or he had the Art to conceal them.

But notwithſtanding his whole Life was an Inſtance of his Prudence in Affairs of this Nature (one Caſe only excepted) yet he never ſhewed ſo great a Reſervedneſs, nor, indeed, a greater Piece of Wiſdom, than upon his Marriage with the Lady *Mary*, eldeſt Daughter of the late King *James*: She was a Princeſs, who, for her Beauty, good Humour, Senſe and Piety, had no Equal in *Europe:* Her Zeal for the Proteſtant Religion was ſurpriſing in a Lady of her Youth, and what did not a little add to her ſhining Qualities, was her being preſumptive Heireſs to three Kingdoms. The People of *England* were infinitely deſirous this Match ſhould take Effect; and King *Charles* perſuaded the World he had the ſame Inclinations, but privately inſinuated to the Prince, that his making a Peace with *France*, and his inducing the *Spaniards* to do the ſame, upon ſuch Terms as his *Britannick* Majeſty propoſed (which

Terms,

Terms, in Truth, were too favourable to the *French*) were the only Means his Highneſs had to obtain the Lady. Here was Love and Glory in Oppotion to one another; but the Prince, under theſe extraordinary Circumſtances, ſhewed an unchangeable Temper, and a Mind impregnable againſt the ſtrongeſt Aſſaults. He aſſured the Crown of *England*, that, although he had the higheſt Veneration for the Princeſs *Mary*, yet nothing could make him recede from the Intereſt of the Allies, and he ſhould always prefer his Honour to all other Conſiderations whatſoever. Fortune was juſt to his Virtue; he gained his Point both Ways, and obtained the beſt of Princeſſes for himſelf, and thoſe Articles of Peace he inſiſted upon for his Confederates.

It ſeems a Wonder, if King *Charles* was a *Roman* Catholick, or, in Reality, inclinable to that Intereſt, he ſhould permit the Princeſſes to be educated in the Proteſtant Faith: Yet there ſeem ſo many Arguments for this Opinion, that I believe few Perſons ſtand in Doubt of it; but, if ſo, it is plain he preferred the Eaſineſs of a Crown to his future Conſiderations.

If the Prince was fond of any Thing to a Degree, it was of Hunting, and the Diverſions of the Field; he paid his Servants well that took Care of his Pleaſures this Way, and gave them all reaſonable Encouragement. Perchance ſome of theſe might receive their ſuperfluous Penſions, when the Army Abroad wanted their neceſſary Subſiſtance.

Some Perſons are of Opinion, that the Prince held Predeſtination; that it was his Judgment all Balls were commiſſioned, and had their Bounds ſet them, farther than which they were not able to go. It is true, at the Fight of *Seneff*, and the Battle of the *Boyne*, he fought with ſuch a Spirit, as generally poſſeſſes thoſe who have firmly imbibed a Belief of this Nature; but, whether his Judgment induced him to be of this Opinion or not, he countenanced the Thought, which he was ſatisfied made his Soldiers regardleſs of Danger, and contributed to their Courage and Reſolution.

During his being at the Helm of the *Dutch* Government in *Holland*, he was ſparing of his own Money, but yet not tenacious to that Degree, but he concluded ſeveral Alliances with the Proteſtant Powers of *Germany*, for which he paid dear enough; and it is even ſaid, that the Holy Father himſelf entered into an Engagement with him againſt the King of *France*, that Diſturber of Mankind. Certain it is, he knew how to ſpare, and how to lay out his Money to a good Advantage; and, if he could have commanded the Purſe of *England*, when he was once Prince of *Orange*, as he did afterwards, when he was King of *England*, in all Probability, he had never permitted the Growth of a Power which grew, in Time, to be ſo formidable to all *Europe*.

It is no ſtrange Thing, that the Pope oppoſed the King of *France*; Intereſt cements the cloſeſt Friendſhip; the Head of the moſt Holy Church and St. *Peter*'s Succeſſor, as he ſtiles himſelf, joins with a Prince of a different Faith, in order to protect their common Liberties: His moſt Chriſtian Majeſty acts the ſame Part, and confederates with his good Friends the

Muſſelmen. The one leagues with a Proteſtant, the other with an Infidel, each for their ſeparate Advantage; and, in this Affair, the Pope's Dealings muſt be owned the juſter of the two: His Reaſon for the Union was Self-defence, and what obliged the King of *France* to his Confederacy was no other than the diſhoneſt Motives of Tyranny and Ambition.

The Prince of *Orange*, landing in the *Weſt* of *England*, marched from thence to *Exeter*, of which City he made himſelf Maſter, and went forward with the Succeſs that we all know of. Yet his Preparations for this Deſcent were not carried ſo privately, but the Count *de Vaux*, Ambaſſador from his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty at the *Hague*, diſcovered the whole Affair, and gave Notice of it to his Maſter, and to the Envoy of King *James the Second*. The King of *France* immediately cauſed a Memorial to be preſented to the States of *Holland* on this Subject, who very fairly denied the Matter, and turned the Blame of the whole Affair on the Prince of *Orange*. The King of *France* was ſatisfied with this Anſwer, and certainly the Genius of that Empire was then aſleep, or ſo employed about the War going to be made againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, that it could not be at Leiſure to reſpect the Affairs of the *Low-Countries*. If the Troops of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty had fell down into the *Spaniſh Netherlands*, inſtead of marching into *Germany*, the *Dutch* had been obliged to have kept that warlike Prince at Home, to defend their own Territories; *England* might have juſtly deſpaired of a Revolution, and *Europe* of its Liberties: But Providence had ordered Things otherwiſe; the Court of *France* committed this unalterable Blunder, and the great *Lewis*, upon this Occaſion, failed to exert that Judgment which he ſo often convinced the World he was Maſter of, both before and afterwards.

The Battle of *Mons* was an Action in which the Prince of *Orange* acquired a great deal of Glory: He beat the Duke of *Luxemburg*, who lay encamped before that Town, out of his Intrenchments, and forced his Army to a precipitate Flight. This Relation, without other Circumſtances, is indeed extremely honourable to the Memory of that Monarch; but, if it be alſo true, which Tradition acquaints us with, concerning that Battle, the Prince deſerved no Laurels. It is moſt certain, that, a few Hours before the Fight, a Peace was concluded betwixt his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty and the States of *Holland*; but, whether the Prince had any Notice of this Pacification, I cannot tell; but, if ſo, to fight with the Articles of Peace in his Pocket, proves him vain-glorious and revengeful.

His Enterpriſe upon *England* muſt be allowed very juſt; that Step towards the Revolution, there are but few which cavil at; it is true, ſome Perſons would have been contented that he had proceeded but little farther, and only tied up the Hands of his unfortunate Predeceſſor. But theſe Gentlemen argue very little like Politicians, King *James* would have been King *James* ſtill, and ſoon, by the Violation of the People's Liberties, returned to that Courſe from whence the Succeſs of the Prince's Arms had obliged him to deviate; and admitting King *James* to have kept within the Bounds

of

of Reaſon and Moderation, yet ſtill the Proteſtant Religion, and the Liberties of all *Europe*, muſt have been betrayed to the Ambition of *France*, by the bare Neutrality of *England*, our Iſland being the only Balance to that incredible Power which the *French* has lately aſſumed; ſo that King *William*'s taking upon him the Regency of this Nation ſeems rather to have been an Act of Neceſſity than Ambition. Happy is that Prince, who finds ſuch an Opportunity of mounting a Throne, where Fate, or Providence, puſhes upon him that Grandeur, which it is the Nature of all Mankind to be deſirous of.

The ſecuring thoſe Lords, by the Prince of *Orange*, which were ſent to him on the Part of King *James*, when he fix'd his victorious Standards at *Windſor*, carried with it an Air of Ill-nature and Hardſhip, and looked like a Violence upon the Law of Nations; but they were ſoon diſcharged, and were only ſecured from receiving Injuries themſelves, and injuring others by their ill-timed Errand.

The Meſſage which the Son-in-Law ſent to his Royal Father, a little before the Blue Guards took their Poſt before *Whitehall*, was looked upon in theſe Times, by ſuch as had an Inclination to their old Maſter, as bitter, undutiful, and wicked; but, certainly, the Prince never ſhewed his Clemency, or indeed his Tenderneſs, for King *James*, more than upon that Occaſion. The Prince was under an unavoidable Neceſſity of entering *London*, the Heart and Capital of this Realm, in order to bring thoſe great Deſigns to a Concluſion, on Account of which he had run ſo many Hazards. The Troops that he commanded, and would, in all Likelihood, have took Poſſeſſion of *Whitehall*, were Foreigners, of a different Language and Religion than King *James*, and ſuch who might have offered Violence to the Perſon of that Monarch, notwithſtanding their Orders to the contrary: But allowing that King *William* had detached for that Service the *Scotch* and *Engliſh*, which bore his Colours, ſtill the Hazards of King *James* would have been the greater; ſeveral of the Officers, belonging to thoſe Regiments, had ſerved in *Ireland* under King *James*, and had been broke of their Commiſſions, purely for being Proteſtants; others had voluntarily quitted *England* or *Ireland*, to find a Liberty of their Religion Abroad, and which they conceived was in Danger at Home. In the Number of theſe were Major-General *Mackay*, and ſeveral others: Another Party were perſonally diſguſted by the late King *James*; ſuch were Lieutenant-General *Talmaſh*, my Lord *Cutts*, and many more of Quality and Diſtinction: To have commanded, therefore, theſe to guard their old Maſter, againſt whom they had, or pretended to have, ſo many Cauſes of Diſſatisfaction, would have been Madneſs in any Perſon, who intended or deſigned that Monarch ſhould live, till cut off by the Courſe of Nature; which was the viſible Deſign of King *William*, in reſpect to the late King *James*, as appears by this, and will be made yet further appareent by the ſubſequent Obſervations. It is true, the Honour of General *Talmaſh* and my Lord *Cutts* would have guarded the late King from Violence and Injuries to their Power: But who could an-

ſwer for the Caprice and Whimſies of the private Centinels? Or, who can ſay to their Humours, Thus far ſhalt thou go, and no further.

Thus, we frequently ſee the beſt of Accounts miſinterpreted; we turn the great or little End of the Perſpective ſuitable to our own Inclination or Fancy, and the Fact bears no Colour from itſelf, but from the falſe and prejudiced Gloſs we put upon it.

The Church of *England* was as forward in ſolliciting King *William* to invade *England* as the Diſſenters; the Reaſon of this was evident, becauſe King *James* invaded the Church, aſſumed a Power to new-model the Univerſities, ſilenced Dr. *Sharpe*, then Miniſter of *St. Giles's in the Fields*, ſet up an Eccleſiaſtical Court, ſuperior to that of *Doctors Commons*, and impriſon'd the Biſhops in the *Tower*. Yet this very Church of *England*, I mean ſome of the Clergy, the Repreſentatives of the Church, refuſed to take the Oaths to King *William*, equally diſſatisfied with their elective and hereditary King; they forgot the Memorials delivered, on their Behalf, to the Prince of *Orange*, their Honour, and their Misfortunes; but the Reaſon of this Uneaſineſs appeared moſt plainly; King *William* had not Diſhes enough to ſatisfy all the Longings and Expectations of his Gueſts; he could not cut out the whole State into Deaneries and Biſhopricks; and, indeed, King *William*, as politick a Prince as he was, had not yet Craft enough to humour the Clergy, neither, perchance, at that Time of Day, did he think it his Intereſt ſo to do; believing that, here in *England*, the Tribe of *Levi*, and their Doctrines, always depended on the Government, as in *Holland*.

Sir *Charles Sidley*, in a Speech made to the Houſe of Commons, took the Liberty to ſay, That King *William*, though a Prince in Years, was but a young King; inſinuating, that Monarch, though a very wiſe Man, was not, by Reaſon of the Shortneſs of his Reign, at that Time acquainted with ſeveral Syſtems of Government, neceſſary to be known by *Engliſh* Princes; and, ſure, one of the Miſtakes of that Reign appeared, in not managing the various Factions of the Clergy at firſt; which if the King had done with Addreſs, they had perfectly forgot the Notions [a] of *Sherlock*, *Sibthorp*, or *Manwaring*.

The Prince made a Bridge of Gold for King *James*; he was taken by his own Subjects, and in a Sort of Confinement, brought back to *London*. That Sun, which was dreaded in the *Weſt* as bad as Death itſelf, ſets in a ſmall Town, the Scorn and Mockery of the Rabble; but the unhappy King, however barbarous his Subjects were to him, would have had no great Cauſe of Complaint, had his Government been equal. The King of Kings was deſpiſed by his Friends and Relations, and that Monarch, like the ſuffering *Jeſus*, met with ill Uſage from thoſe Creatures he had made.

Yet the Permiſſion allowed King *James* to retire where he would was a plain Indication, that the Prince had no Manner of Deſign of injuring his

[a] Of Paſſive Obedience.

Perſon

Perſon, nor harboured any Sentiments of Revenge againſt a Father, whom he conceived endeavoured, by ungentleman-like Methods, to deprive him of a Throne, and his Right, by the Birth and Merits of his Lady, a Princeſs of inimitable Piety and Virtue.

It was an unaccountable Miſtake in Policy, and an Error ill-agreeing with the Prudence of King *William*, in not ſecuring and bringing to Juſtice thoſe Traytors, who, by their flagitious Councils, had near ruined the Church and State; I mean thoſe who once diſgraced the Bench, and from that Seat of Juſtice, forgetting the Duty they owed their God, their King, and their Country, and as little mindful of their own Honour and the publick Liberty, gave their Opinion, That the King might diſpenſe with the Penal Laws and the Teſt, thoſe Bulwarks of the *Engliſh* Franchiſes: A juſt Severity on theſe People, and a Retroſpection into their Actions, would have given their Succeſſors ſufficient Warning to make them honeſt; and, though our modern Judges have behaved themſelves with all the Worth and Probity imaginable; yet their Impartiality muſt not be eſteemed the Effects of any Terror that was ſtruck into them by a juſt Puniſhment of their Predeceſſors, but rather ſpringing from their own internal Goodneſs and Virtue.

As thoſe Gentlemen, who were falſe to their Country, might have eaſily felt the Reſentments of the Convention, juſt before the Prince's Acceſſion to theſe Realms; ſo he had an extraordinary Opportunity of doing himſelf and the Nation Juſtice, upon ſuch infamous Perſons, as betrayed both, without expoſing himſelf in the Quarrel: An *Old Bailey* Jury would certainly have meaſured to them the ſame Mercy as other ſuppoſed Criminals had found from their bloody Hands; for, by the Way, moſt Juries are for the ſtrongeſt Side, and few Perſons, as I ever heard or read of, when indicted for Treaſon, had the good Fortune to eſcape ſafe and ſound from their fiery Trial; and all this might have been done without Reflection upon the Prince, or calling his Nature or Mercy into Queſtion; if any Odium had happened, it would have been charged upon the Ferment of the Nation.

A Scrutiny of this Nature, though it had let ſome ill Perſons Blood, it might have been yet very neceſſary for the Health of the Republick; and I believe few Perſons would have been angry, if the Blood of *Ruſſel*, *Sidney*, and *Corniſh* had been ſufficiently expiated.

My Lord Chief Juſtice *Herbert*, who exerciſed that Office in thoſe Times, perchance a Man more innocent than ſome of his Contemporaries, and not inferior to any of his Succeſſors in Learning, foreſaw ſuch a Storm a-coming, and very fairly got away into *France*, beyond the Reach of it: But his Proſpect was erroneous, and he baniſhed himſelf to no Purpoſe; yet his Flight plainly evinced what he thought would be the Fate, or was the Merit of his Aſſociates; and, whether the *Engliſh* would have pardoned him or not, it is plain, he did not pardon himſelf.

No

No Wonder then our Navy, our Councils, and our Army were betrayed; no Wonder our Ships wanted Men, and our Men Victuals; nor is it ſurpriſing, that our Army had no Pay, whilſt Pay-Maſters, Agents, and Clothiers, ſucked the Blood of the Subject, and hamſtringed the Sinews of War. All theſe Misfortunes were owing to this Piece of Indulgence, and it may be juſtly affirmed, that he, who neglects to puniſh one known Traitor, makes a hundred more.

Thus the Prince of *Orange*, through a thouſand Difficulties, mounted the Imperial Throne of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, by a Parliamentary Title, rather than by any other: It is true, his Lady was next in Blood, ſuppoſing the pretended Prince of *Wales* illegitimate. But he never inſiſted upon that Title, ſo much as upon the Election of the People by their Repreſentatives convened in the moſt ſolemn Manner: Yet ſuch is the Wickedneſs of Mankind, and the Baſeneſs of their Nature, that even when he had enjoyed theſe Realms with the general Conſent of his People, and they had quietly enough ſubmitted to the Government they had made; yet theſe *Pontifens* muſt needs be giving him a new Right, which forſooth was that of Conqueſt. The *Dutch* at firſt were well enough pleaſed with the Fancy, and the Court itſelf ſhewed not much Averſion to the ill-grounded *Chimera:* But the Parliament ſoon took up the Quarrel, and ſhewed the Vanity of theſe Pretenſions, and gave the World to underſtand, that *England* never ſubmitted but once (if it did ſo) in the Reign of *William the Conqueror*. And thus I conclude my Obſervations on the Life of the Prince of *Orange*, now called to the Throne of *England*, on the Abdication of King *James* the Second. So that it remains to remark on the latter Part of his Life and Reign, as was at firſt propoſed. And,

Secondly, I have choſen to divide theſe Political Remarks on the Life and Actions of our late Monarch, into two Diviſions, becauſe there ſeems to be a vaſt Variety in the Fortune of that Prince, in theſe ſeveral Periods of his Life.

The firſt Part of his Life he ſtruggled with all the Difficulties of a craſy State, ata Time when his Youth and frequent Indiſpoſitions gave thoſe, who were really in the Intereſt of their Country, little Hopes from him of bettering their melancholy Circumſtances; but he equally deceived the Expectations of his Friends and Enemies, aſſerted the Honour and Happineſs of his Country, vindicated its Liberties, raiſed himſelf and thoſe Provinces, which gave him Birth, to a Degree of Grandeur, which neither the Houſe of *Orange*, nor the United States of the *Netherlands*, had before that Time been acquainted with.

The Faction of *Barnevelt*, when this Prince firſt took the Helm of the *Belgick* Provinces into his Protection, had ingroſſed all the chief Employments of the State under the ſpecious Pretence of Liberty; they had deluded the better and wealthier Part of the Commonwealth, to take Part with them, and be at their Devotion. The Military Commands were in their Hands, the Treaſure and all Things elſe in Diſorder at Home, and the King of *France*'s

France's Armies at their Gates; yet from all theſe Misfortunes the Prince reſcued the Commonwealth, and by its Miſeries made himſelf the happier.

The ſecond Part of his Life was yet more glorious; he obliged King *James* to do him Juſtice, aſſerted his Right to the Imperial Crowns of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, conquered the laſt, reſtored the Reformed Religion to its former Vigour in theſe Kingdoms, and ſuppreſſed the Enemies of himſelf and the Nation he ruled over; he was triumphant at the *Boyne* and *Athlone*, gave Peace to *Scotland*, and ſaw himſelf Maſter, as far as agrees with our Conſtitution, of a bold and daring People.

But the Remainder of his Life was nothing ſo glorious to the State, or fortunate to himſelf; he loſt the memorable Battles of *Steinkirk* and *Landen*, and though he took *Namur*, after an obſtinate Defence, made by the Beſieged, yet he threw away more Reputation by that patched up Peace at *Reſwick*, than he gained Honour by the Acquiſition of that important Fortreſs.

King *William*, upon his taking upon him the Government of theſe Realms, found *England* inclinable to his Wiſhes; ſome few indeed of the Clergy and Laity forgot their recent Obligations to him, and the late Danger of their Country; but he ſoon reconciled their jarring Spirits to his Government, or made them uncapable of injuring him.

Thus far his Adminiſtration ſailed with a ſucceſsful Wind, but his Affairs in *Scotland* ſoon took another Face; the Scene was changed there; a few of the Noblemen indeed adhered to his Intereſt; the reſt in general were diſſatisfied; and the Worſt of it was, that the Epiſcopal Clergy, for the moſt Part, ſtruck in with the Intereſt of the late King *James*. This obliged the Kirk of *Scotland*, which now, by the Conceſſions of King *William*, might be called the Church of *Scotland*, to ſtand upon their Guard; and indeed, fairly ſpeaking they uſed the Non-Conformiſts to the new Model of Religious Worſhip a little hardly: From hence ſprung the Rebellion of my Lord *Dundee*, and of ſeveral of the *Highland* Clans, many of whom followed his Lordſhip's Fortune for Affection or Plunder, and ſome, very few on the Score of Religion.

It is moſt certain, that my Lord *Dundee* did not originally deſign to break with King *William*; he had ſerved under his late Majeſty in *Flanders*, was a Proteſtant, and it is generally believed had no great Inclination to King *James*; but he was forced upon what he did, by the haughty Carriage of a fine Gentleman, and a very good Officer [a], who afterwards loſt his Life in the Quarrel [b], and who, by his own Death, and the Diſſervice he did the Government, may teach us, that, if it be dangerous to drive a Coward, it is much more ſo to puſh a brave Man on Extremities.

[a] Mr. *Cleeland*, Lieutenant-Colonel to my Lord *Angus*. [b] At the Battle of *Killicranky*.

Yet,

Yet, however cloudy this Affair was at the Beginning, it ended fortunately enough for King *William:* My Lord *Dundee* was killed at the Battle of *Killicranky*, at a Time, when Victory ſat upon his Helmet, who, had he lived, might have puſhed our late Monarch as far as the ſame Shores on which he landed.

But Heaven had decreed it otherwiſe; that Lord received a Shot under his Arm, or as ſome will have it, a Thruſt by a Halbert thro' his Armour, convincing us, that there is no Defence againſt Fate, and that Providence regarded more our Happineſs than the Council of *Scotland*.

Soon after the Deceaſe of this Gentleman, the Laird of *Glencow*, with ſeveral of his Followers and Dependants, were put to the Sword in their Beds, after they had embraced a Pardon, which the Government condeſcended to offer. If King *William* was acquainted thoroughly with the Matter, and they ſuffered after their Submiſſion by his expreſs Order, it was an Action contrary to all Juſtice, below the Majeſty of a King, and beneath the Character of his Courage, which he had acquired, at the Peril of his Life, in ſeveral bloody Rencounters.

By viewing this King at the Battle of *Seneff*, at the Battle of the *Boyne*, and the Fight of *Landen*, a Man would not eaſily conjecture, that his Soul could entertain Thoughts of ſo infamous a Nature; but what ſtartles our Imagination, and makes us doubtful in this Argument is, the Authority produced by thoſe who committed theſe Homicides in their own Vindication; but what Arguments induced the Grant of theſe Powers is uncertain; Heaven pardon the Authors of ſo bloody an Enterpriſe!

The Siege of *London Derry* gave a greater Turn to King *William*'s Affairs than could be expected, and plainly demonſtrates to the unthinking Part of Mankind, that there is no ſuch Thing as Certainty in human Affairs. King *James* ſent thither the Duke of *Berwick*, ſeveral *French* Generals, and the beſt of his Militia, rather to obtain Glory and Plunder, according to their ſeveral Capacities, than to hazard themſelves and his Army, before a Town he conceived naked and defenceleſs; but what was his Succeſs? All his fine Troops were ruined or killed, that City, and *Iniſkilling* changed the Complexion of his Conqueſts, and he never ſucceeded in one ſingle Attempt he made afterwards.

Had this Town ſurrendered to the Catholick Forces, the late King *James* had intirely made himſelf Maſter of *Ireland*, and been at Leiſure to have poured in a numerous Army upon *Scotland*; which he might eaſily have done, the Paſſage from one Kingdom to another being not above four Hours Sail; and what would have been the Conſequence it is not hard to judge, when my Lord *Dundee* was in Arms at the ſame Time, and had, if he had lived, over-run all *Scotland*, and endangered the Loſs of *England* into the Bargain.

What Rewards then were ſuitable to the Merit of thoſe Gentlemen, who ſtopped a Deluge, which might have proved fatal to theſe Kingdoms, more than at firſt Bluſh can be imagined? But, let their Deſerts be what they will,

will, they ſtarved, as my Lord *Haverſham* expreſſes himſelf, with Teſtimonials of their Service in their Pockets.

The Battle of *Bantrey Bay*, in which the late Sir *Cloudeſly Shovel* exerted a moſt remarkable Courage, taught King *William*, as wiſe a Prince as he was, a Secret which he was a Stranger to, and that was, that the *French* were no deſpicable Enemies by Sea; and, if he was not thoroughly convinced of this Truth, in a little Time afterwards, he knew it by a dear Experience.

All that were Witneſſes to *Cloudeſly*'s Conduct and Bravery, upon the Occaſion I have juſt mentioned, thought it a Piece of extraordinary Merit; but our Monarch was obliged to him in a higher Degree ſoon after; for that Admiral, in the Sight of King *James*, and in the Preſence of his Guards, who were drawn up to their Relief, burnt or took a Man of War in *Dublin* Bay, and two or three other Ships. The extraordinary Merit of the Service lay here; a great many Officers of the Fleet, at the ſame Time, were not ſufficiently hearty to the Government, and this Action was a Precedent to the reſt, and quite diſpirited ſeveral Perſons who were in the Intereſt of the abdicated King.

The King had a great Opinion of Duke *Schomberg*, and indeed that Gentleman deſerved it; but I am fully perſuaded, that there was an *Engliſh* Officer, in his Dominions, every jot as fit for the high Command of Captain-General, and Time has abundantly declared it.

The Camp of *Dundalk* was fatal to the *Engliſh*; we loſt a great many brave Men there, amongſt whom were Colonel *Wharton*, Colonel *Deering*, and ſeveral other Perſons of Quality; and it is thought, that, if his Grace the Duke of *Schomberg* had fought the *Iriſh* with all their boaſted Odds, he would hardly, though beaten, been a greater Loſer.

But, whether King *William* approved the Duke of *Schomberg*'s managing the Army or not, it is plain, he acted contrary to his Grace; for no ſooner could he reach the *Boyne* with his Troops, but he gave the Enemy Battle, humouring, or approving of the Inclinations of the *Engliſh*, whoſe Cuſtom it has been always, to engage at Sight, without counting Numbers.

What made the King ſo fiery at the *Boyne* is uncertain; ſome attribute it to the Raſhneſs of his Temper; others, with more Juſtice, believe the Precipitation, he then ſhewed, was occaſioned by the ill News he had received from *England*, that my Lord *Torrington* had engaged the *French* Fleet off *Beachy-head*, and was worſted in the Combat; he loſt the *Anne*, commanded by Captain *Tyrrel*, and the *Dutch* ſuffered extremely in the Engagement; ſee here the Vanity of the *Engliſh*, and the Induſtry of our Enemies. We proudly imagined, that a ſingle Squadron of ours was a ſuperior Match for all the Naval Power of *France*, and now we find, that our united Fleets give Way to the Admirals of *France*.

My Lord *Torrington*'s Conduct was mightily blamed, with what Reaſon I ſhall not determine; at the Inſtance of the *Dutch* Captains he was tried at a Court Martial, and acquitted immediately; thereupon he laid down his Com-

Commiſſion, and it is yet uncertain, whether we did not ſacrifice a brave Man, who deſerved a better Fate, to the Ferment of the People, and the Fury of their Reſentments; and it is equally ſtrange, that in ſuch publick Actions, where ſo many Thouſands were Witneſſes of the Fact, the Commonwealth ſhould not be capable of knowing whether an Officer did his Duty, or omitted it.

Had the *French* ſtaid much longer on our Coaſts, it is reported, King *William* deſigned to have commanded his Fleet himſelf, and to have given them Battle; but, as the World is malicious, ſo this Monarch found this Deſign of his ridiculed by ſome pretended Politicians, who imagined, that the Command of an Army at Land is very different from the Management of a Fleet at Sea; never conſidering, that the *Dutch* had an *Opdam*, and the *Engliſh* a *Monk*, and an *Oſſory*, who, though they were no Marine Officers, yet behaved themſelves with as much Honour, Prudence, and Courage, as any who ever ploughed the Surface of the Ocean.

The Reduction of *Ireland*, ſome two or three Towns excepted, was the Conſequence of the Battle of the *Boyne*, and King *James* himſelf took Shipping at *Waterford*, deſerting now this Realm, as he had lately done that of *England* ſome Time before; and indeed, by ſo precipitate a Flight, he made himſelf unworthy of any other Fate than that which he ſuſtained.

King *William* found himſelf repulſed at the firſt Siege of *Limerick*, more by the Inclemency of the Air, and the Badneſs of the Seaſon, than by the Valour of the Garriſon, though the Town was commanded by three Officers of great Experience, and ſheltered the Remains of the whole *Iriſh* Army: But there's no fighting againſt the Elements; they were appointed and commanded by a greater King than *William the Third*; and *Canutus*, the *Daniſh* Monarch, might have inſtructed our Royal General in the Truth of this Maxim, if the latter had given himſelf the Trouble of conſulting the *Engliſh* Hiſtory.

The King quitted *Ireland* the latter End of this Campaign, and left Monſieur *Ginkle*, afterwards Earl of *Athlone*, to reduce that Part of the Kingdom which continued in the Intereſt of King *James*. It is true, that Lord, by the Inſtances of the *Engliſh* Commanders, and by the Valour of their Troops, ventured to fight, and won the Battle of *Aghrim*, and obliged all the Enemies of his Maſter to ſubmit themſelves to his Obedience; yet it is the Opinion of our Officers, if a General of our own Nation had commanded our Troops, the Matter would as ſoon have been effected.

Thus far King *William* had all the Succeſs he could in Reaſon deſire; but Fortune was not always indulgent to his Wiſhes, and the reſt of her Conduct towards that Monarch ſhewed, that Kings as well as Peaſants are often mortified by her Caprices.

The Battle of *Steinkirk* was glorious to the *Engliſh*, though they ſmarted ſeverely by the Numbers, and continual Fire of the *French*. My Lord *Cutts* was wounded in the Action, the Generals *Lanier* and *Mackay* killed, and Troops of our braveſt Officers attended them to the Regions of Futurity.

The

The *Engliſh* were exaſperated at the Cowardice or Ill-nature of ſome *Dutch* Officers, who refuſed to ſuſtain our Battalions, and ſeemed to make a Jeſt of their Ruin. Our Soldiers took all Opportunities of quarrelling with the Officers and Soldiers belonging to the States; and the Umbrage we had received from the Misfortunes of that Skirmiſh, had like to have been of the worſt Conſequence to both Nations.

But the Prudence of King *William*, or, to ſpeak plainly, the Influence he had over the ſuperior Officers, allayed the Ferment our Soldiers were in, which, perchance, had he not been King of *England*, and Stadtholder of the *United Provinces*, he had never effected.

But Vengeance ſeldom ſleeps, and, if Count *Soames*, by his omitting to ſuccour the *Engliſh*, occaſioned the Death of ſeveral brave Men, he himſelf died ſoon after, being ſtruck with a Cannon-Ball; and that General, in the Hour of his Death, ſo far forgot his Honour, as to call to the Soldiers to ſhoot him, in order to be freed from the violent Pains he was tormented with.

If our Loſs at *Steinkirk* was conſiderable, it was much more ſo at *Landen*; ſeveral Reaſons were given out to colour the Shame of our Defeat, but nothing could be alledged to vindicate our Diſgrace, or extenuate the Glory of the *French*.

The Intelligence which the Duke of *Bavaria*'s, Secretary held with the *French*, was generally aſſigned to be the Cauſe of the Loſs of this Battle; whether the Correſpondence he managed was by the Order of his Maſter, is uncertain; but the Servant was hanged very fairly, and tried afterwards.

The Elector of *Bavaria* is reckoned a ſuperſtitious Prince, brave enough, and very much devoted to his Religion; but the Execution of this Gentleman in ſo odd a Manner, without any Examination, Tryal, or Conviction, convinces us of the late Elector's Policy, but gave us no great Proofs of his Piety.

Our Horſe, excepting two or three Regiments, behaved themſelves but indifferently, and they declared openly, that they fought as they were paid; but our Foot did good Service, if not to the *Engliſh* Nation, yet to the reſt of the Confederates; for they ſtood very firmly, and maintained their Ground with all the Courage imaginable, and by this Means gave the Allies an Opportunity of running away.

General *Talmaſh* and Sir *Henry Bellaſis* continued laſt upon the Field of Battle; and one of theſe had won immortal Reputation, if the Memory of *Vigo* and *Port St. Mary*'s did not cancel the Glory he acquired in *Flanders*.

But he ſurvives, and *Talmaſh* lies as low as Envy or Jealouſy could deſire him; though it is impoſſible to imagine he was ſacrificed to the Reſentment of a Court Party, yet it is eaſy to believe ſome in the Miniſtry heartily wiſhed his Ruin.

He was too brave and too publick a ſpirited Man, either to let himſelf, the Parliament, or Nation be impoſed on; he loved a Soldier, and, as he was

the readieſt to lead his Men to Battle, ſo he took the greateſt Care to ſee them rewarded after the Combat. His Principles of Honour and his Senſe were too good to be bribed or amuſed, and his perſonal Courage and Integrity too great to be forced or threatened into an unworthy Silence.

Such Qualifications as theſe were, without Diſpute, made him obnoxious to ſuch as hated the Intereſt of *England*; and, at laſt, they prevailed ſo far, as to have him employed in an Attempt, where he muſt of Neceſſity loſe his Honour or his Life.

But theſe were not the only Loſſes that afflicted King *William*; he had the Misfortune to ſee his Queen fall ill of the Small-Pox, and a few Days robbed the *Engliſh* of a Princeſs, a better than whom never mounted a Throne, or gave Laws to a willing People.

She died as unconcerned, as his Majeſty her Huſband fought, and braved the King of Terrors with as great a Reſolution on her Bed of Sickneſs, as he did in the Field of Battle; and certainly that Lady's Piety or Courage was the greater; ſince, as ſhe ſaid herſelf to my Lord Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, ſhe was always prepared to die, and her Royal Spouſe very often took the Sacrament before a Battle.

King *William*, as it is reported, was very much concerned at her Death; and, if he had expreſſed a more viſible Sorrow, the Nation would have reſented it ſtill more kindly, who ſincerely mourned the Loſs of that Princeſs, and ſtill do upon her Memory.

But, though the Loſs of ſo good a Princeſs afflicted King *William* very much, yet the Peace of *Reſwick* mortified him much more; he was obliged at laſt, by the murmuring Temper of his Subjects, to acquieſce in Terms very diſhonourable to *Europe*, and not over-glorious to his Majeſty. By this Treaty of Pacification, the *French* were to retain *Luxemberg* and *Straſburgh*, thoſe Bulwarks of *Flanders* and the Empire, who inſtead of them were only to have an Equivalent, which, in Fact, was far from the intrinſick Value of thoſe Provinces; but, notwithſtanding the Inequality of theſe and other Articles, the Conduct of the Duke of *Savoy*, and the Neutrality in *Italy*, powerfully perſuaded the Allies to put an End to the War.

Soon after the Peace, the Partition Treaty followed, and, by too much Precaution, the Government involved the Nation in a dreadful War, which, to their beſt thinking, they endeavoured to avoid. The *Spaniards*, who are a haughty People, ſo much reſented the intended Diviſion of their Monarchy, that their Grandees made a Will, or influenced their Monarch ſo to do; by which he deviſed all his Dominions in *Italy*, *Spain*, and the *Weſt-Indies*, to the Houſe of *Bourbon*, in the Perſon of the Duke of *Anjou*, who, notwithſtanding the moſt dreadful Imprecations of his Grandfather to the contrary, took Poſſeſſion of thoſe States and Provinces, by the Aſſiſtance of that Monarch, who, to prefer his Family, deſpiſed all Sanctions, both divine and human.

It is frequently obſervable in Politicks, that Men often loſe the Subſtance, by an Inquiſition after the Shadow; old *Æſop* told us this a great many

Years

Years ago, and we ſee it every Day's Experience, that, greedily deſiring the Whole, we even loſe that Part of which we might have ſecurely poſſeſſed ourſelves. But it fell out quite otherwiſe, in relation to this Partition-Treaty; for the Houſe of *Auſtria*, not being contented with a Part of the *Spaniſh* Provinces, loſt them the Whole, and the Balance of *Europe* was turned to the Part of *France*, which they thought would have been at the Diſcretion of the Confederates.

When the Peace of *Reſwick* was brought to a Concluſion, the Parliament of *England* thought it high Time to diſband ſome of their National Regiments, and all the Foreigners in their Service. Amongſt theſe laſt were the *Dutch* Blue Guards, and my Lord *Portland*'s Regiment of *Dutch* Horſe, who attended his Majeſty in all his Expeditions, long before and after his Acceſſion to the Throne of *England*. His Majeſty was much diſſatisfied at the Proceedings, and made all the Intereſt he poſſibly could in the Houſe, to diſannul the Injunctions of his Supreme Council; but all to no Effect; he uſed Intreaties to the Parliament, but to no Purpoſe; and upon this Occaſion, behaved himſelf much different from the haughty Character he had all along maintained.

He laid the Scheme of the preſent War we are engaged in againſt *France* and *Spain*, and made all the Proviſion the Grandeur of ſuch a Deſign required. After the unfortunate Accident of breaking his Collar-bone, he fell into a Fever, which quickly put an End to his Reign and Glory.

During his Sickneſs, he behaved himſelf with that Greatneſs of Soul, which he had often ſhewed in the Field, and died with the ſame Bravery as he had expreſſed in the Heat of Action.

A Letter

A Letter to a new Member of the honourable House of Commons, touching the Rise of all the Imbezzlements and Mismanagements of the Kingdoms Treasure, from the Beginning of the Revolution unto this present Parliament. With an Account, from Time to Time, of the many Oppositions the House of Commons met with about redressing the said public Grievances. And lastly, A Proposal humbly offered to their Consideration, how to prevent the like Miscarriages for the future. To which is added, A parallel Account of the National Expences, from November 3, 1640, *to* November 1659. *And from* November 5, 1688, *to* Michaelmas 1700. 1710.

SIR,

YOU being a new Member of this honourable House, I presume you are not so well acquainted with the Transactions of several former Parliaments, in relation to the Miscarriages and Imbezzlements of the Publick Monies of this Kingdom; because I perceive you are somewhat surprized at her Majesty's Speech, touching that Paragraph, wherein she complains to your House, *That she cannot, without great Concern, mention to you, That the Navy and other Offices are burthened with heavy Debts*; which so far affect the publick Service, that she most earnestly desires you to find some Way to answer those Demands, and to prevent the like for the Time to come: The Justice of Parliament in satisfying former Engagements being the certain Way for preserving and establishing Credit.

I say, being a new Member, you are utterly at a Loss in this Matter, and want thoroughly to be instructed in Mismanagements of the Ministry; for you are earnestly desired by the Queen to find out now some Way to answer those Demands, and to prevent the like Imbezzlements and Misapplications for the Time to come; it being but Justice of the Parliament in satisfying former Engagements, and it is the most certain Way for preserving and establishing of Credit.

Is this the Way of establishing and preserving of future Credit? Then 'tis plain, That by her Majesty's Confession, the Credit of the Nation begins now

now to flag: And if ſo, the Queſtion will be, Whether it is occaſioned by the Funds not anſwering the intended End they were raiſed for, or whether the Credit of the Nation is ſunk by crafty Miniſters, that have lick'd themſelves into fair Eſtates, and ſo have embezzled and miſapplied the Kingdom's publick Treaſure? Now, if you can find out but where this Shoe pinches, you have done your Work; for her Majeſty's earneſt Deſire is to prevent the like Practices for the Time to come.

In order to which, give me Leave to inform you, That the Right H—— the H—— of P——, in their Addreſs to her Majeſty, do as frankly complain of Miſmanagements and Imbezzlements in ſeveral of the Queen's Offices heretofore committed, as well as her Majeſty; which, at your Leiſure, you may read in their Addreſs to the Queen, printed in the Year 1705.

And I muſt beg your Patience to ſhew alſo, That the Honourable Houſe of Commons have formerly made as hearty and heavy Complaints as moſt have done, and publickly declared, that common Juſtice was refuſed to be done this honourable Houſe, when ſo often deſired to redreſs the publick Grievances of the Nation, eſpecially touching the Miſmanagements and Imbezzlements of the publick Monies of the Kingdom. *Vide* their Votes of *March* 24, 1701.

Since they have had every one their Turn of complaining, don't you admire where the Fault lies all this while, and *that there is no Remedy as yet found out*; that is to ſay, from the Year 1701, to this preſent Year 1710, being full nine Years?

One would think at firſt Daſh, That the Queen, the Lords, and the Commons, were all at a Loſs, and willing, hearty, and ready to embrace any Expedient, and liſten to any Propoſal that could be found out to put a Stop, and prevent the like Miſmanagements and Imbezzlements of the Kingdom's Money for the future; or elſe they would never certainly make their Complaints ſo often: But alas! Sir, there lies the Myſtery.

Now, Sir, to unriddle this grand Secret, is, to let you into our former Miſcarriages, and the Way that was then taken to ſtop and redreſs thoſe grand Grievances, and the many Obſtructions former Parliaments met with, though they heartily eſpouſed, and deſigned to go thorough Stitch with the Remedy; and then you will find where this great Fault has lain all the while, and perceive who were blame-worthy, ſuch as complained, or thoſe very-Perſons that refuſed to puniſh the Tranſgreſſors when they were firſt catched offending. And give me Leave to add, That all Miſmanagements and Loſſes that have ſince happened to this Kingdom, are owing to ſuch as refuſed to do common Juſtice, when ſo often importuned thereto.

The great Miſmanagements of the Kingdom's publick Treaſure, and the Miſapplications thereof, fell out in the Reign of the late K. *William*; which was then obſerved for ſeveral Years together to be a growing Evil upon the Government, and at laſt, it did produce ſeveral annual Commiſſions by Act of Parliament, for taking, examining, and ſtating the publick Accounts of the

the Kingdom ; but what Succeſs theſe Commiſſions had, will be worth our Time to examine.

Though it has been publickly objected, that by theſe Commiſſions little was done towards the adjuſting the Accounts of the Nation, and Inferences have been thence drawn, that ſuch Commiſſions are of little or no Uſe ; yet certainly, 'tis the Duty of our Repreſentatives (eſpecially ſince deſired from the Throne) to make it their earneſt Endeavour to find out proper Remedies for this fatal Diſtemper, leſt it end in the Ruin of the Monarchy, the Church and the State : For the Commons have complained of theſe Miſcarriages ; the Lords in their Turn have complained of them ; and now, at laſt, her Majeſty, in her moſt gracious Speech, is heavily complaining of theſe Miſcarriages. And, ſince they have all had their Turns of Complaint, one would think it were high Time to redreſs this common and publick Grievance, which has, in ſhort, almoſt ruined the Credit of the Parliament ; and there will be no retrieving of it, till a Stop be put to thoſe growing Evils. It will ſcarcely be pretended by any Man, that ſuch an Adjuſtment of Accounts is in its own Nature impracticable. If then the former Commiſſions had not alogether the deſired Succeſs, the Fault muſt lie either in the Scheme laid down, as probably it might be for the firſt Year or Two ; or in the Commiſſion, if they wanted either Skill, Application, or Integrity, ſufficient for the Buſineſs they were employed about.

Now all theſe Wants have been charged upon ſome of them ; but whether with Juſtice, or not, I am not yet well ſatisfied ; But I am ſure there were two other Impediments, of which I may ſpeak with more Certainty, either of which was enough to hinder the Execution of that Commiſſion.

The firſt of theſe was, That divers great Men, that had mighty Accounts to paſs, and perhaps had little Stomach to do it, had ſuch a Power and Influence in the Houſe of Commons, as were able to cramp the Commiſſioners in their Power, and diſcountenance them in their Report ; and even to banter them in the Execution of their Truſt.

That this was openly practiſed, is notorious to all that were then Members of the Houſe ; and how much the Commiſſioners muſt needs be diſcouraged in the Execution of ſo difficult a Task, the Performance of which was to be laid before ſuch Judges ſo poſſeſſed, I'll leave any one to gueſs.

The Influence of theſe Men perhaps produced another Difficulty, which was a Flaw in the Commiſſion itſelf ; for the Commiſſioners were not empowered ſufficiently to require Proof of ſuſpected Vouchers ; they could not commit Perſons for Contempt of their Authority, and conſequently were expoſed to the Hazard of being abuſed by falſe Vouchers. Theſe were Difficulties almoſt, if not abſolutely inſuperable.

Now, that never-to-be-forgotten Parliament, in the Year 1701, took care to remove moſt of theſe Obſtructions, by providing a Bill with larger Power, appointing Commiſſioners of known Worth and Integrity, who were willing, without Recompence, to take the Trouble upon them, and having ſuch an Houſe of Commons (as God be thanked we now have) diſpoſed to hear

hear, and enquire ſtrictly into thoſe Miſcarriages; and there was great Reaſon to expect a good Iſſue.

But perhaps this very Expectation (pray God it don't again) defeated the Bill, becauſe ſome of thoſe very Perſons who had heretofore borne ſuch Sway in the Houſe of Commons, were then grown ſo powerful in another Place, and Accounts were ſtill as terrible as ever; it was not therefore their Intereſt to ſuffer ſuch a Bill to paſs, for thoſe very Reaſons before-mentioned.

Firſt, Becauſe ſuch a Commiſſion, with ſuch Powers, was as hard to be reſiſted, as, on the other ſide, ſome Mens Accounts were to be made up; and conſequently, ſuch an Enquiry, as the Commiſſioners were thereby empowered to make, might have ruined the Credit, and perhaps the Fortunes of ſome great Men.

Secondly, The ſame Perſons knew, that there were no bantering the Commiſſioners named in the Bill, becauſe they knew them to be Men of Senſe, Honour and Courage, and that knew, and were reſolved to execute their Commiſſion; and as they were Volunteers in that Service, had given Earneſt of their Reſolution to unriddle that Myſtery, which divers good Men had before loſt their Labour in, and thereby perhaps might have made Diſcoveries, at that Time, very unſeaſonable to ſome great Men. And,

Laſtly, The Diſpoſition of the Houſe of Commons itſelf, who were reſolved, as faſt as poſſible, to extricate this Nation from that Labyrinth of Debts, Intereſt, Deficiences, and other Incumberances ſhe was then in, and is at preſent in a manner loſt, was a Terror to thoſe who knew by what Steps and Artifices ſhe was led into, and left in it.

I ſay, it was not ſafe for them, either to let the Bill paſs, or to have it rejected in groſs; and therefore ſuch Expedients were to be found out, as might embroil the two Houſes about it; a Practice in which they had not long before ſhewn a great deal of Maſtery.

They knew that the Commons, as they had the ſole Power of granting Money, ſo alſo of taking an Account of the Diſpoſition of all Money by them granted, and of appointing Commiſſioners for that Purpoſe. This was laid hold on as a proper Handle, to introduce thoſe Amendments which they knew the Commons could not agree to, without departing from thoſe Rights which they were ſure they would never relinquiſh.

Divers Amendments therefore were made, not perhaps ſo much to alter the Bill, as to lay upon the Commons a Neceſſity of throwing it out; thereby hoping to ſhift the *Odium* of ſuch an Action from their own Door.

But the Commons, who were aware of this Drift, and ſaw the Concluſion of the Seſſion ſo near at hand, appointed a Committee to draw up their Reaſons, why they could not agree to the Amendments made by the Lords, and afterwards ordered them to be printed, for the Satisfaction of the People whom they repreſented; which I ſhall give you in the very Words of the Houſe, as they ſtand in their Votes, *March* 24, 1701.

"The Commons do diſagree to the firſt Amendment made by the Lords:

Becauſe it is notorious, that many Millions of Money have been given to his Majeſty King *William* by the Commons, for the Service of the Publick; which remains yet unaccounted for, to the great Diſſatisfaction of the good People of *England*, who cheatfully contributed to thoſe Supplies: And their Lordſhips firſt Amendment prevents any Accounts being taken of thoſe Monies by the Commiſſioners appointed by the Commons for that Purpoſe.

The Commons do diſagree to the ſecond Amendment made by the Lords:

Becauſe *John Parkhurſt*, and *John Paſcal*, Eſqrs; have for ſeveral Years been Commiſſioners of the Prizes taken during the late War, and are accountable for great Sums of Money ariſing thereby, which ought to be applied to the Uſe of the publick.

That the ſaid *John Parkhurſt* and *John Paſcal* were frequently preſs'd to account for the ſame, by the late Commiſſioners appointed by Act of Parliament; but by many Artifices and Evaſions delayed and avoided giving any ſuch Account, as was required by the ſaid Commiſſioners.

That the Clauſe, to which their Lordſhips have diſagreed by their ſecond Amendment, requires them to account before the firſt of *September* next; but by their Lordſhips Amendment, the ſaid *John Parkhurſt* and *John Paſcal* are exempted from giving any ſuch Account, which is highly unreaſonable.

The Commons do diſagree to the fourth Amendment.

The Commons cannot agree to the Clauſe ſent down by the Lords, marked with X, becauſe their Lordſhips have therein directed the Commiſſioners to allow and certify a pretended Debt to Colonel *Baldwin Leighton*; whereas the Diſpoſition, as well as granting of Money by Act of Parliament, hath ever been in the Houſe of Commons; and this Amendment relating to the Diſpoſal of Money does intrench upon that Right.

The Commons do diſagree to the fourth Amendment:

Becauſe it is notorious, that *Edward Whitacre*, mentioned in ——, left out by their Lordſhips, hath by Colour of his Imployment (as Sollicitor to the Admiralty) received the Sum of Five and Twenty Thouſand Pounds and upwards, of publick Monies, without producing any juſt or reaſonable Vouchers for the Expence thereof; and therefore ought to be accountable for the ſame.

And that, by reaſon of their Lordſhips diſagreeing to the ſeveral Parts of this Bill, the Supplies provided by the Commons for paying the Arrears due to the Army, muſt of Neceſſity be ineffectual, till another Seſſion of Parliament."

Theſe Reaſons were ordered to be inſerted in the Votes of the Day: And tho' I have ſeen many Attempts to anſwer them, yet never met with one that bore a good Face, or a true Reaſon for the Occaſion of them; and till ſomebody ſhall produce others more juſtifiable and probable, the Commons will ſtand clear of all Imputation for the Miſcarriage of that Bill, and

the evil Conſequences that have attended the Nation ever ſince the Want of it.

But tho' King *William* thanked this good Parliament for their quick Diſpatch of thoſe neceſſary Supplies which they had granted for the publick Occaſion, and for the Encouragement they had given him to enter into Alliances, for the Preſervation of the Liberty of *Europe*, and the Support of the Confederacy; and made no Doubt, that whatſoever he ſhould do during their Receſs, for the Advantage of the common Cauſe, in this Matter, would have their Approbation at their Meeting again in the Winter; (*Vide* the Speech he then made at the Concluſion of that Seſſion of Parliament, 1701.)

Yet ſo diligent were the then Miniſters of State, that for fear of being called to Account by the ſaid Commiſſioners, they got the Conſent of King *William* to diſſolve that Parliament, by reaſon they did aſſure him they would get him a better, and ſuch a one as ſhould not queſtion the Imbezzlements of his Miniſters, being now able to carry all Things before them; which was then the Language of that State Miniſtry: And the good King aſſured them he would do it, when he next came from *Holland*, and was as good as his Word; and then the Miniſtry were ſafe in their Affairs: And upon the Death of King *William*, ſome of the Miniſtry being changed, we never heard a Word of them more till their L——ps began to take up the Cudgels.

You muſt know, at that Time, ſome of the late Miniſtry being turned out, had ſet up that which they now call a *Junto*, in Oppoſition to the Court Party; and who ſhould be more forward in puſhing on the ſaid H—— of P——s into an Enquiry of Miſmanagements and Imbezzlements, than certain noble Perſons who had run the ſame Way the new Courtiers had juſt entered, to lick themſelves into as fair Eſtates as other antiquated Courtiers had done.

I ſay, theſe Perſons, having ſet up a *Junto*, in Oppoſition to the Court Intereſt, preſs'd forward an Enquiry into a Three Years Imbezzlement and Miſapplication of the publick Treaſure, under her Majeſty's Adminiſtration. And is as follows.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
1*ſt*. Their L——ps were pleaſed to obſerve, That in three Years Time the Navy had exceeded its Charge, allowed by Parliament, the Sum of	366032	17	2
2*dly*, That the Officers had iſſued for the Uſe of the Navy, ſhort of the Sum allowed to that Service, the Sum of	1142361	2	4
3*dly*, The Debt of the Navy in two Years has increaſed to the Sum of	1250097	14	1

4*thly*, There wanted of the Complement of Men, which was then allowed for the Sea-Service, 1566 Perſons.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
5*thly*, There were the laſt Year 10 Flags in Pay of the Navy; and three were not in their Poſts, *viz.* The H. — *Churchill*, Eſq; *Graydon*, and Sir *James Wiſheart*.			
6*thly*, The Penſions of the Navy ſince the Year 1697 are increaſed; that the Eſtimate for 1705 comes to	18011	0	0
7*thly*, That Sir *John M——n*, (whom her Majeſty was pleaſed to turn out for not doing his Duty) has a Penſion of —— ——	319	17	6
8*thly*, The Penſion of Admiral *N——l*'s Widow, which is ſet down Continued, has not been paid her theſe two Years laſt paſt.			
9*thly*, The Prince of *Denmark*'s Council to him, as Lord High Admiral, are allowed *per Ann.*	7000	0	0
And yet there is paid but 1000 *l.* *per Annum* to each Council; and in the Years —— —— 1702, 1703, 1704 — There were but			4, 5, 6
10*thly*, The H. —— *Churchill*, Eſquire's Appointments for the Navy, are, firſt Council to the Prince *per Annum* —— ——	1000	0	0
2*dly*, A Penſion to him *per Annum* ——	500	0	0
3*dly*, As Admiral of the Blue *per Annum* ——	1277	0	0
4*thly*, For his Table-Money *per Ann.* ——	365	0	0
Tot.	3142	0	0

And *laſtly*, Though by Parliament there are allowed 43 Cruiſers and Convoys for our Merchant-men, there have not been employed at any Time 22, and they have not done the Duty of three Ships for the Protection of our Trade: All which Obſtructions they have humbly laid before the Queen, and do reſt aſſured, that her Majeſty, in her great Wiſdom, and tender Concern for the Happineſs of her Subjects, will diſpoſe herſelf to apply the proper Remedies. And they humbly beſeech her to give Commands, that all poſſible Methods may be taken for the Encouragement of Seamen, the guarding of the Coaſts, and the Protection of Trade.

Now you may perceive, Sir, that here is a mighty Imbezzlement and Miſapplication among the Navy to a conſiderable Sum, as you may perceive in the aforeſaid Articles; and would not one believe, that their L——ps were concerned at this Matter in good Earneſt; and that they had nothing more at Heart than the Preſervation of the Merchants Trade, they ſo ſenſibly complain for Want of due Protection: But, alas! Sir, this is nothing but a mere Pretence, as I ſhall prove to you anon. But I muſt beg your Patience till I have let you into a Commoner of *England*'s Obſervation thereon, by way of Reply to each Particular, as he then wrote from *Braintree*, *Feb.*

Feb. 19, 1705, to a certain Member of Parliament, and printed the ſame Year.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Firſt then, ſays he, their Lordſhips obſerve, That in three Years Time the Navy has exceeded its Charge, allowed by Parliament, the Sum of ——	366032	17	2

This, at firſt View, he ſays, was a very heavy Charge on the Government; but with humble Submiſſion, it is preſumed their L——ps are not all bred Accomptants, and therefore not ſo much blameable as ſome are. I confeſs it ſtartled me at this Time of Day, to ſee ſo Good, ſo Gracious, ſo Mild, and ſo Gentle a Government, charged with ſuch an inconſiderable Sum, not worth mentioning, conſidering the Length of Time, *viz.* three Years. We cannot forget the Miſcarriages of a late Reign ſo ſoon, when ſome of the L—ds of a C—— were impeached for the Imbezzlement of the Kingdoms Treaſure. Let them but look back, and they will find twice as much exceeded in the Service for the ſame Time.

When *E—— R——ll*, Eſq; (now L—— *O——d*) was Treaſurer and Paymaſter of the Navy, there was then actually received out of the Exchequer for that Service, from *Michaelmas* 1691, to *Michaelmas* 1694, *viz.* three Years Time, the Sum of —— ——	6170359	10	3¾
The Eſtimate allowed by Parliament for the Navy, amounts for the ſame Time but to ——	5400000	0	0
So that the Charge of the Navy did exceed what was deſigned by Parliament, the Sum of ——	770359	13	0¼
And then no Complaint was made of it; yet our three Years inconſiderable Sum, *viz.* 366033 *l.* 17 *s.* 2 *d.* is a monſtrous Charge now: Yet theirs exceeds this by	404325	13	1¼

What would not the Saints have ſaid, if ſuch a Sum as this had fell upon the Party the L——s are now accuſing?

Secondly, That the Admiralty have iſſued ſhort of the Sum allotted by Parliament for that Service, the Sum of	1142361	2	4
But their L——ps wiſely obſerve, That the Navy Accounts make the Sum received by the Treaſurer of the Navy, between *Michaelmas* 1701, to *Michaelmas* 1704, to amount to the Sum of ——	*6193094 5420700	15 11	0 1
Which, if ſubſtracted from the Proviſions intended by Parliament, * which I have placed above the laſt Sum, and then it will come to but —— ——	772394	3	11
So that their L——ps have overcharged the Admiralty in this Article, by the Sum of —— ——	369966	18	5
Proof —— —— ——	1142361	2	4
Now, Sir, if the Sum of —— ——	366033	17	2

Be

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Be added with the Sum of Proviſions, ——	772394	3	11
Intended by Parliament for the Navy's Uſe, then the Sum will be —— —— ——	1138428	1	1

Which is all their L——ps can pretend to charge the Treaſurer of the Navy with; and we hope their Honours think it in ſafe Hands, ſo long as Sir *T—— L——* is of Ability to make it good; if not, pray let them ſpeak.

But their L——ps not ſpeaking, ſhewed they thought him to be of Ability; but now it ſeems he is dead, and indebted to the Navy, the Nation will find whether he was of Ability or not.

Thirdly, It appears at *Michaelmas* 1704, the Debt of the Navy to be — —	2266864	17	10
And the Navy Debt at *Michaelmas* 1702, came but to	1016767	3	9
So that it has increas'd in two Years Time to	1250097	14	1

And well it may; for it appears by the Treaſury-Books, that the Sums given by Parliament have fallen ſhort; and by the extraordinary Expences of the War, *viz.* the taking of *Gibraltar*, and beating of the *French* Fleet, muſt needs increaſe the Debt conſiderably, as the Treaſury-Books obſerve, to the Sum of —— —— | 1194249 | 16 | 5 |

And if any Complaint ought to be made, it was on the Government's Side, and not on their L——ps, as if a Miſmanagement; but thoſe L—— of the C——, I preſume, knew which Way they crept into fair Eſtates, by fingering the publick Treaſure of the Nation; and now would make all Perſons as guilty, *&c.* that they might come off the eaſier.

To the 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10 Articles, if there be any Miſmanagement or Imbezzlement in them, they are ſo inconſiderable, not worth taking notice of, and eſpecially by the H—— of P——

Allow the three Flag-Officers Pay and Table, comes to *per Ann.* 4927 *l.* 10 *s.* for three Years, comes to	14781	10	0
We'll allow a Miſapplication of the Navy's Penſions to amount for three Years (though in Truth it is not ſo) to —— —— ——	3000	0	0
And the P——'s Council for three Years have imbezzled the Sum of —— ——	6000	0	0
Now what a mighty Sum is this, *viz.* —	23681	10	0

for three Years Time to complain of? Says he, Sir, this is but a Flea-bite to what I ſhall demonſtrate to you.

You cannot forget, Sir, that a Lord C——was impeached, not long ſince, for a conſiderable Sum of Money he had; yet he was not contented with his Place that brought him 4000 *l. per Ann.* but the late K. *William* allowed him beſides, a Penſion of 4000 *l. per Ann.* more: And yet he procured to himſelf the Grants of ſeveral Manors, Free-Farm-Rents, Quit-Rents, *&c.* to the Value of —— —— | 33600 | 0 | 0 |

So

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
So that this Perſon has exceeded all their Imbezzlements, *viz.*	23681	10	0
By the Sum of	9918	10	0

But give me Leave to ſum up their L—ps whole Charge, as well as the Imbezzlements, *&c.* againſt thoſe Perſons, and you will find they appear not ſo great a Charge as made.

Firſt then, as for the Debt of the Navy of	2266864	17	2

I will leave it as I found it, to be made good by Parliament.

Secandly, As for what the Navy has exceeded its Charge by Act of Parliament, *viz.*	366032	17	2

I will make it a Charge as Money over-paid for the Uſe of the Navy above the Sum allowed by Parliament.

Thirdly, As for what the Navy has iſſued ſhort of the Sum allotted by Parliament, I have ſufficient Warrant to charge it.	672394	3	11
Fourthly, The unneceſſary Pay of three Flag-Officers I'll charge; which comes to	14781	10	0
Fifthly, A ſuppoſed Miſapplication of the Penſions for three Years, which come to	3000	0	0
And *laſtly*, An Imbezzlement of three Years Money for the Prince's Council comes to	6000	0	0
So that the whole Caſh in Hands, the Miſapplications and Imbezzlements for three Years Time, comes to but	1062211	11	1

To which may be anſwered; firſt, as their L——ps do find by the Navy Accounts, the Money exceeded did amount in three Years Time to a conſiderable Sum, yet they don't ſay it was not applied to that Uſe; therefore I preſume, I have good Warrant to diſcharge the Navy of that Sum as paid; which is

	366032	17	2
Secondly, The three Flag-Officers are paid the Sum of	14701	10	0
And *laſtly*, The Penſions are paid, *viz.*	3000	0	0
Tot.	383814	7	2

Therefore all as can be pretended to be in Hands, miſapplied or imbezzled, for three Years Time, is but	678397	3	11

And whether this mighty Sum be not iſſued to the Yards and Victuallers, is the Queſtion; and thoſe Miniſters beſt know whether it be ſo or no, for I ſhan't juſtify them in it: But what I have to offer may mollify this great Offence.

Sir, I can't but remind you; and give me leave to ſhew what conſiderable Charges and Imbezzlements there was brought on the Nation in ſo ſmall a Time as five Years.

The

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
The Lord *R*—— hath actually received out of the Exchequer, for the Army from *Michaelmas* 1691, to *Michaelmas* 1696, (not computing the Pay for the Army in *Ireland*) the Sum of	9256911	13	4¾
The Eſtimate allowed by Parliament for the Army, came at the ſame Time but to	6500000	0	0
So that the Army has been over-paid by	2756911	13	4¾
E—— *R*—— Eſq; (now L—— *O*——) hath received out of the Exchequer, for the Pay of the Navy for the ſame Time,	9108833	10	2
The Treaſurer of the Ordinance for Sea and Land Service, hath received for the ſaid Time the Sum of	1543826	5	9¾
Tot. of both	10652659	15	11¼
Now the Eſtimate of the Navy, Yards, Ordinance, and Victuallers, for the ſame Time, come to but	9000000	0	0
So that the Navy and Ordinance, *&c.* have been over-paid	1652659	15	11
There has been actually received out of the Exchequer, for the Civil Liſt, for the ſame Time, the Sum of	3455302	8	0
The Eſtimate of the Civil Liſt comes for the ſaid Time but to	3000000	0	0
So that the Civil Liſt has been over-paid by	455302	8	0

Upon theſe Heads there has been over-paid, as follows.

To they Army	2756911	13	4¾
Navy and Ordinance, *&c.*	1652659	15	11¼
To the Civil Liſt	455302	8	0
Tot.	4864873	17	4½
And yet the Debt of the Army, Navy, Ordinances, *&c.* and the Civil Liſt, amounted to that Time to the Sum of	6000000	0	0
So that in five Years, there was actually embezzled, or miſapplied	10864873	17	4½

Now, Sir, how much was paid to the Army, Navy, *&c.* ſhort of theſe Proportions allowed by Parliament, will alſo be worth the Enquiry of your honourable Houſe.

But to their L——ps laſt Obſervation: They ſay that 43 Cruiſers and Convoys are allowed by Parliament to protect our Merchants from the Enemy (do

do they mean Abroad, or at Home?) and that not 22 have been employed at any Time; nor have they done the Duty of three cruiſing Ships, which they think is a great Hardſhip on the Subject; and endangers their Trade; and beſeeches her Majeſty, that all poſſible Methods may be taken for the Encouragement of Seamen, the guarding of the Coaſt, and the Protection of Trade.

Certainly their L——ps think this Nation has a very treacherous Memory, to forget ſo ſoon the Complaint your H—— H—— of C—— made to their L——ps upon this very Subject.

Let them remember, that one Article of their Impeachment againſt A—— *R*—— was this: That when ſeveral Complaints were made by the old *Eaſt-India* Company to the Lords of the Admiralty (his Lordſhip being chief C——) of divers Pyracies in the *South-Seas*, to the Deſtruction of their Trade, that he rejected their Requeſt, and procured a C——— for Captain *K——d*, who went a P———; and that the ſaid C—— commanded Capt. *S*—— to deliver ſeveral able Seamen out of the *D*—— (when the Nation was threatned with an Invaſion from *France*) to Capt. *K—d*, and they went a P——ing.

Secondly, That the L——ds *S*—— and *B——nt*, *&c.* got a Grant under the G—— S—— in 97, to have all the Ships, *&c.* Goods, Treaſures, *&c.* taken ſince *April* 30, 1696, by P——cy, without Account.

And that ſaid L—— *S*—— put the Great S—— unto a Treaty with *F*——, whereby great Dominions were given that King, to the Prejudice of the Merchants Trade in general.

But I am very glad their L——ps begin to be ſo vigilant in national Miſcarriages; for, with humble Submiſſion, I think it is high Time they were all redreſſed. I am ſure, your honourable Houſe has been many Years labouring hard to bring it to paſs, and have been as often prevented therein by their L——ps not being at leiſure, or, at leaſt, not in a Humour to do it; which Refuſal your honourable Houſe not long ſince voted to be a Denial of J—— (in their Lordſhips) to the common Cauſe, and an Hindrance to the publick Benefit of this Kingdom in general. And ſince they have publickly begun to addreſs her Majeſty, that this publick Grievance may be redreſſed, though very inconſiderable, yet if not nipped in the Bloſſom, who knows what an Height it may at laſt come to? I think now Time offers to redreſs them all; and once your H—— H—— deſired ſuch an Opportunity; and you can't do leſs for your Country's Service, than vigorouſly, and with all Diligence, to proſecute this Affair, and to go Hand in Hand with their L——ps, to accompliſh it. For, as I am an High-Church Man, Sir, I am not for having the Government impoſed on, nor the Nation's Treaſure embezzled, or profuſely ſpent, in needleſs Penſions, *&c.* by any Manner of Perſons, either High-Church, Low, or No-Church. And whoever is catch'd in the Tranſgreſſion, and ſpared by one Side or t'other, can be no good Subject, nor an hearty Lover of her Majeſty's Government.

It mightily rejoices me to ſee their L——ps Eyes begin to be opened, and that they can ſpy Faults and Miſmanagements in Government, as well as other Perſons; though I muſt confeſs there is no Government ſo infallible,

but may err in ſome Matters; which Errors are very viſible in the late Reign as well as in this: And ſince it ſo often happens, it may be convenient to remind their L——ps of your late Impeachments, that all Offenders and Embezzlers of the publick Treaſure may be brought to a ſtrict Account. This is what you always aimed at for the Nation's Service, and have always continued ſo to do by your conſtant addreſſing her Majeſty; and ſince I have made it ſo viſible in four Heads, that upwards of ten Millions of Money have been embezzled in five Years Time, it is to be hoped their L——ps will be pleaſed to condeſcend, that the late Miniſters of State be brought to an Account as well as the preſent.

I hope, by this Time, their L——ps are thoroughly convinced in their Judgments, that it is high Time they were brought to an Account; which, if done, I am ſure would be of great Service to the Nation, and would deſerve the publick Thanks of the Kingdom. This would encourage the Nation and Seamen chearfully to go on in the common Cauſe; the one with their Purſes, and the other with their Lives: But if their L——ps will contentedly ſit down only with the Accuſation of the Navy, of a *Churchill*, a *Greydon*, or a *Munden*, for ſo inconſiderable a Sum (which all their Lordſhips can pretend to charge is not an Imbezzlement) of 678,397 *l.* 3 *s.* 11 *d.* will look only like a Party-Quarrel, and ſhew they take Delight in expoſing their ſmall Miſmanagement, when they meekly ſuffer an *O*——, a *R*——, a *S*——, *&c.* to go away unpuniſhed with upwards of Thirty Millions of the Kingdom's Money unaccounted for. This I hope their L——ps will take care to avoid like *Engliſh* Patriots, and not ſuffer the Government and Nation to be miſerably oppreſſed and beggared.

It cannot enter into my Thoughts but their L——ps will do all Things for the Good of the Nation in general: Yet I am ſomewhat ſurprized to ſee their A——ſs to the Q——, printed by their Authority; I cannot tell what to make of it, it looks ſo much like the Obſervator's appealing to the People, deſigning to expoſe the ſmalleſt Miſcarriages in Government on one Side, and let the greateſt Embezzlements on the other go free. But their Lordſhips have mightily miſſed their Ends in it, if they intend ſo; for the Addreſs is ſo ſeaſonably come out, that it will very much open the Eyes of the Nation; and if the Grievances be not redreſſed on all Sides, it will look like Party Addreſs, diſſenting from the Kingdom's true Intereſt, and ſo they may become the Odium of the Nation; but let us hope for better Things from their H——rs.

Another Thing to me ſeems very odd, and looks juſt like the Stranger and Satyr in the Fable, that blew both hot and cold in a Breath; or what can be the Meaning of ſettling a grateful Reward on his Grace the Duke of *Marlborough* for his eminent Service done to the Publick in general; and yet at the ſame Time, to repine at his Brother *Churchill*'s inconſiderable *per An.* of 3142 *l.* 10 *s.* which their L——ps have cauſed to be printed at large in their late A——ſs to her Majeſty? One would think, that what his Grace had done might have eaſily ſwallowed up ſo ſmall a Trifle as his ſtaying at Home,

Home, without their L———ps publick Notice thereof. If the Nation's Grievances are heartily deſigned to be redreſſed, I think 'twould be very convenient their L——ps ſhould join with your honourable Houſe, to call all evil Miniſters of State to a ſpeedy Account.

Secondly, In the next Place, to ſecure the Government, and the Church of *England*, as by Law eſtabliſhed; and not ſuffer them to be inſulted and bullied by the Whiggiſh Enemies of State, both at Home and Abroad. And,

Laſtly, To ſecure to our Merchants their Trade: And this, in ſome Meaſure, will enable you to ſecure the whole State.

But, if we muſt tumble into Faction, and only accuſe one Party, becauſe the leaſt Tranſgreſſors, and let the other go free, becauſe the greateſt Offenders; 'tis juſt like *Alexander*'s Pyrate, that was condemned to be hanged for robbing in a ſmall Veſſel, whilſt he himſelf, with his great Fleets, triumphed in ſpoiling and ruining of the greateſt Kingdoms.

To conclude, I muſt be bold to ſay, had the firſt Tranſgreſſors been ſeverely puniſhed, when catched in the Offence, it would have deterred others from doing the like Miſchiefs; and all Miſmanagements and Loſſes that have ſince happened to this Kingdom, are owing to that H—— of P——, that refuſed, upon your Complaint, to do the Nation common J——, when ſo often importuned thereto by your honourable Houſe.

I am,

Braintree, Feb. 19, 1705.

Sir,

Your moſt devoted Servant,

W. L.

And thus I have led you, Step by Step, through all this Commoner of *England*'s Obſervations thereon; and I think he has handled the Miniſtry to Purpoſe.

But, perchance, you may deſire to know what Effect theſe Obſervations wrought on their L——ps at that Time? Even none at all; for the Deſign, it ſeems, lay here: *As ſoon as this Addreſs had brought over the Court Intereſt to their Party, all Matters of Complaint were laid aſide, and the Miniſtry were as briſk at their Sport of Embezzlements and Miſapplications as ever, and ſo would have gone on to the End of the Chapter.* Had not ſome true old *Engliſh* Heroes opened the Eyes of her Majeſty, the whole Kingdom had been ſunk into an eternal Ruin, without Redemption; and that occaſioned the Queen to change the Low-Church Miniſtry: And this brought to our Aſſiſtance our Deliverers from this Slavery, our preſent New Parliament, and occaſioned that excellent Speech from the Throne at the opening of this Seſſions; where her Majeſty (though ſenſibly) complains of the heavy Debts of the Navy, and other Offices.

And now, Sir, what if I ſhould let you into ſome other new Embezzlements and Miſapplications, which I may truly ſay were occaſioned by their L——ps, for want of their ſeaſonable and annual addreſſing of the Queen.

For, if Fame ſpeaks Truth, it is reported, that Sir *T*—— *L*——*n*, T——r of the N—y, has died indebted to the Sailors three Years Wages: If ſo, according to the Eſtimate of the Navy, it amounts to about 5400000 o o
Which is one Article, without Doubt, your honourable Houſe is to make good.

And a certain late L.— T——r, they ſay, has embezzled or miſapplied the Sum of — — } 2500000 o o
Which Embezzlements are grown a new Debt on the ſeveral Offices complained of.

The Total of both come to — — 7900000 o o
And for the Year enſuing you are to provide no leſs than 6000000 o o
To carry on the War againſt *France* and *Spain*, in all 13900000 o o

A pretty little inconſiderable Sum. Theſe you are to raiſe, and make good as deſired. And whether with theſe Spunges, as *De Foe* ſays, you will be pleaſed to wipe out the Scores and Debts of the Nation the Low-Church Miniſtry have contracted, I think will be very much worth your while to try the Experiment of.

It would not be amiſs to ſqueeze theſe Low-Church Spunges heartily, till they drop again to purpoſe; and who knows but you may get out of them ten Years Embezzlements (rather than part with the whole ill-gotten Sum for twenty Years laſt paſt) which comes to about 1587593 17 4½

So that you will clear the Nation from the Debt of the late L——d T——r, and Sir *T*——*s L*——*n*, the T——r of the N——y, and have in their Pockets clear, to begin the next Year's Wars with, the Sum of 1975893 17 4

But here lies the greateſt Difficulty. In whoſe Hands will your honourable Houſe entruſt the remaining Money, and all that you ſhall raiſe for the future, ſince 'tis ſo apparent how difficult it is to bring ſuch Miniſters of State to account for their Embezzlements and Miſmanagements of the Kingdom's publick Treaſure? This is a Matter will require your whole Thoughts. For if that can be but effected to your Liking, Content and Satisfaction, it will for ever make the Queen eaſy, the Funds well looked after, the Seamen and the Army well paid. And this will be the Means to reſtore the loſt Credit, which evil Miniſters of State have been long hammering at, to ruin, or at leaſt to bring it to ſuch a low Ebb on the Government's Side, that the ſaid Miniſtry might have new modelled any Scheme of Government they had moſt Inclination to, having ſo often all the publick Caſh of the Nation in their Hands, and that they ſet up the Bank with moſt feloniouſly, for that End and Purpoſe.

In my humble Opinion (not that I am going to direct) it were not amiſs, if your honourable Houſe would not ſuffer one ſingle Miniſter, or Officer of State, to have of the publick Money ſo raiſed to carry on the War againſt *France* and *Spain*, above 50000 *l.* a Man, and good Security given, that he ſhould no Ways embezzle or miſ-employ the ſaid Money, but ſolely pay it to that publick End it was raiſed for: But to truſt one Man with one, two,

two, or three Millions at a Time, is a Temptation to cheat the Publick, at leaſt one Quarter Part of it, if not of the whole Sum: And when you come to look into the Man's Eſtate, he has none; or otherwiſe made it away, on purpoſe to become a Cheat to the Nation.

But you may, perchance, object, and ſay that you cannot find any Miniſter that can give ſuch Security; or, if he could, he ought not to do it, for it is an Infringement of her Majeſty's Prerogative; for it is fit and convenient, that as ſhe is entruſted with all the Monies ſo raiſed, it is her ſole Right to appoint ſuch Miniſters or Officers as ſhe can confide in with the ſaid Money.

To which I anſwer, it cuſtomarily has been ſo; but it is alſo too viſible, for upwards of twenty Years laſt paſt, that all that have been entruſted with the publick Treaſure, have made it their Buſineſs to fleece the Government of the publick Treaſure, to embezzle and miſapply the ſame; and how hard and difficult it has been to bring ſuch Miniſters to account, the whole Kingdom is very ſenſible of; and ſure it is but reaſonable to ſecure the publick Treaſure at all Times: And if the Houſe of Commons don't put a Stop to this great Evil, the Nation will be utterly beggar'd at laſt. And there can be no other Expedient found out as can preſerve the Credit of the Kingdom, but by appointing Commiſſioners of their own, *viz.* Gentlemen of known Eſtates; and to entruſt them with 50000 *l.* a Man, and no more, they giving Security not to embezzle or miſapply the ſame; if they do, their Eſtates and Security to make it good. And certainly, it is impoſſible that any one of theſe Perſons ſhould miſcarry in their Diſcharge of the Truſt repoſed in them by the honourable the Houſe of Commons.

But I very much wonder, at this Time a-day, why the Low-Church Party ſhould ſtand ſo tightly for the Queen's Prerogative, by ſaying, that ſuch an Expedient, if found out, will be an Infringement of the ſame. Time was, that none were more violent againſt the Prerogative of the Crown than theſe very People; and now, in a Trice, they are highly defending the Prerogative. This, at firſt Sight, looks myſterious; but I will unriddle this Matter in a Trice.

It ſeems, the Prerogative they ſtand ſo tightly for, is to ſcreen themſelves, and that they might not be put out of that ſweet and old arbitrary Way of cheating the Soldiers and the Navy, and fleecing the Kingdom of thoſe few trifling Millions, not worth the Parliament's taking Notice, which they had only gotten by Cunning, Overſights and Negligences in Accounts, by ſuch as, perchance, at firſt were not able to check them. This makes them ſtand ſo violently for the Prerogative of the Crown, which, by no Means, they ſay, ought to be leſſened; and it is what her Majeſty will never conſent to.

Now give me Leave a little. I think they talk for the Queen, but would act for themſelves: Their Buſineſs is only to dive dexterouſly, and to take Care that no other Sharpers ſhould come at the Pocket of the Nation but themſelves: They have often found it full, and have as often left it empty; yet ſtill they are ſtruggling to continue in their old Game, and are now curſed

mad

mad that any but themſelves ſhould be in the Government, and are preparing Gibbets for *Mordecais*. And what do not ſuch Miniſters deſerve, that deprive the Queen of the Service of the Pick-pockets and Sharpers of the Nation?

Theſe pretended Friends to the Government have indeed ſtuck faſt to it, but it was like Leeches, ſucking almoſt the very Heart's Blood of the Nation; but a little Salt from the Hands of the Parliament will ſoon ſhew what it was they adhered ſo cloſe to the Government for.

Are we not almoſt driven to the very Brink of Deſtruction? Our Treaſures are riotouſly waſted; our Conſtitution in Danger of being ſubverted; and the Nation almoſt in general corrupted. And all this under a Colour of a falſe pretended Zeal for her Majeſty's Perſon and Government; when ſome Men have arrived to ſuch a Height of Favour in Court, and ſuch a Degree of Popularity in the City, that they have at laſt took upon them, with an audacious Front, to direct the very Monarchy.

They have been able, for many Years paſt, to brand all thoſe who took any Care of our Conſtitution, or offered to require any good Huſbandry in the Diſpoſition of the publick Treaſures, with odious unpopular Names, and almoſt to ſtir up the Mob againſt them: Thus, had they ſucceeded, the old *Engliſh* Conſtitution had expired. And ſince the Majority of the Nation have, by their Choice, ſent us up ſuch worthy Patriots, it is to be hoped they will effectually take care of the Monarchy, the Church and State, and ſet the Kingdom out of Debt, and ſee that the Army and the Navy are well paid; and keep out, for the future, ſuch ravening and devouring Wolves, that have brought the Credit of the Nation to ſo low an Ebb by their Miſapplications and Embezzlements of the Kingdom's Treaſure.

Is it not a ſtrange and wonderful Thing, that while the Nation is almoſt Bankrupt, wealthy Men ſhould ſhoot up in ſeveral Offices like Muſhrooms; and while the Government was endangered to be beggared, that all its Servants ſhould riot in ſuch Wealth and Plenty, that the bare handling of a Bruſh in any Office was the ready Way to a plentiful Fortune; as if the publick Treaſure had been thrown in there only for the Officers to bruſh it into their Pockets? Theſe Abuſes call loudly for Reformation; and our Repreſentatives, no doubt, will do their utmoſt Endeavour to amend the ſame.

And ſince ſome People may queſtion to what Ends and Purpoſes Members of Parliament are elected by the People to repreſent them, I ſhall preſume to give them theſe following Inſtructions.

The Buſineſs therefore of a Houſe of Commons, is, to repreſent the whole Commonalty of *England*; that is, they are to do all ſuch Things, and exerciſe all ſuch Powers, for the Welfare and Safety of the Publick, which the whole common People would be ſupppoſed to do and exerciſe, could they meet together, to counſel and debate orderly and quietly, and deliberate maturely, for their own common Good and Safety.

They

They are to appoint all publick Disburſements, the Quantity, Time, and Manner of their Payments; the Uſes to which they are to be diſpoſed; and, if they pleaſe, the Officers through whoſe Hands it ſhall paſs. If ſo, now is the Time then to appoint ſuch Officers of your own, and not ſuffer the Nation any more to be cheated by Upſtarts, and ſuch as have no viſible Eſtates to come at, when they embezzle the Kingdom's Treaſure, as ſuch have done for twenty Years laſt paſt, without any publick Remedy. This requires your publick Amendment; for the War has left us very low in Purſe, the Credit of the Nation almoſt eclipſed by the late Miniſtry, our Funds anticipated and deficient; and, to compleat all, has left us a new Debt of ſeveral Millions. Theſe Conſiderations will oblige you certainly to prevent the like grand Miſcarriages for the future, by appointing, as we hope you will, ſuch Gentlemen of Eſtates as may give ſufficient Security to perform that Truſt, which will be ſo very neceſſary for the Kingdom's Preſervation and Benefit in general.

2*dly*, They are to enquire how ſuch Sums have been applied; and if they find any Miſapplication, to bring the Offenders to Puniſhment: And this is a ſecond Reaſon why you ought to appoint Officers of your own. For have not your honourable Houſe endeavoured, for twenty Years laſt paſt, to bring ſuch evil Miniſters to Account, and how often have you been prevented by cunning Stratagems, and Delays of ſome great Perſons, whoſe Intereſt appeared too great for you to cope with in another Place.

3*dly*, They are to adviſe with, and aſſiſt the other two Sovereign Eſtates in all arduous Affairs, eſpecially in making and contriving good Laws, for the Security of our Religion, Liberties and Properties, of which, at this Time, we ſtand in great Need; for our occaſional Conformiſts, if not well looked after, will ſwallow up our Government by this cunning Hypocriſy; which is a villainous Artifice, on purpoſe to bring in Ruin to the Church and State.

4*thly*, They are to revive ſuch good Laws as are antiquated, and to repeal them, if the Reaſon be ceaſed, and the Laws themſelves of no longer Uſe and Benefit to the Publick. And,

Laſtly, They are to protect and preſerve entire, the Rights and Privileges of the whole People, whom they repreſent as a third Eſtate of the Kingdom. And this loudly calls to you for Amendment; what Inſolencies and Affronts have been offered our Church and State, by thoſe very tender-conſcienced People, our moderate Diſſenters? How often have they been for Roaſting, Gutting, Dewitting, Mobbing, Hanging, Drawing and Quartering, one poor Prieſt of the Church of *England*, becauſe he preached up Paſſive Obedience, a Doctrine of the Church; which, it ſeems, did a little too much grate upon the ſcrupulous Conſciences of our tender Brethren, the moſt religious Diſſenters?

I ſay, this brought on all thoſe Affronts and Inſolencies which our Holy Church and Conſtitution met with in a late famous Trial, of ever glorious Memory, in which her Majeſty did not eſcape their vile Tongues in their

Imperious

Imperious and Rebellious Language. This alſo highly calls for your Amendment, that it may never more be in the Power of ſuch Perſons to be ſo monſtrouſly rude and uncivil as heretofore.

Now, if ſuch Offenders are not corrected according to their Merits, the Lord have Mercy on the Nation; for the Government, both in Church and State, are in a very dangerous Condition, and won't be long before they are brought to Deſtruction; which God of his infinite Mercy prevent.

A Parallel Account of the National Expences, from November 3, 1640, *to* November 1659; *and from* November 5, 1688, *to* Michaelmas 1700.

The Long-Parliament's Account.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Subſidies, ſix, comes to	600000	0	0
Aſſeſſments to disband the *Scots* and *Engliſh* Armies	800000	0	0
Tonnage and Poundage, 19 Years	5700000	0	0
Captives, 9 Years	27000	0	0
Ditto, 5 Years	75000	0	0
Sale of *Iriſh* Lands	1200000	0	0
Second Sale	92500	0	0
Third Sale	30000	0	0
Contribution for *Iriſh* Proteſtants	100000	0	0
Second Contribution	50000	0	0
Third Contribution	30000	0	0
Aſſeſſment through *England* for the *Britiſh* Army in *Ireland* for 5 Years	1200000	0	0
Twentieth Parts of Goods, *&c.* to raiſe an Army for the Earl of *Eſſex*, for the Defence of *England*	2745055	0	0
Ditto Second Time	2745055	0	0
Weekly Aſſeſſments towards Payment of the ſaid Army, three Years	5617583	8	0
Weekly Meal to raiſe Auxiliaries, ſix Years	608400	0	0
Monthly Aſſeſſments towards Payment of the ſaid Army, two Years	488064	0	0
Sir *William Waller*'s Army's Weekly Aſſeſſment, 1 Year	84258	5	0
The *Scots* Army's Weekly Aſſeſſment, 2 Years	168000	0	0
Brown's Army's Weekly Aſſeſſment, 1 Year	38400	0	0
Car. over	22399315	13	0

Brought

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Brought over	21399315	13	0
Fairfax's Army's Mo. Aſſeſſment at 36366 *l.* three Years	1127526	4	0
Ditto, at 60000 *l. per* Mo. for two Years	1620000	0	0
Ditto, at 90000 *l. per* Mo. for 1 Year, *&c.*	1890000	0	0

Forces raiſed on particular Counties, &c.

Exon, for five Years, comes to	12000	0	0
Hertford, 1 Year, then aſſociated	4800	0	0
Iſle of Wight, 4 Years	1900	0	0
Warwick, &c. aſſociated 5 Years	133650	0	0
Plymouth, 4 Years	28800	0	0
Yarmouth, 4 Years	19200	0	0
Ailsbury, 5 Years	1000	0	0
Buckingham, 4 Years	76800	0	0
Eaſtern Aſſociation, 5 Years	1234962	10	0
Dorſet and *Pool*, 2 Years, and then aſſociated	24780	0	0
Kent, &c. aſſociated 5 Years	270000	0	0
North Wales, &c. 5 Years	38652	0	0
Northampton, 5 Years	119200	0	0
Huntington, 2 Years, and then aſſociated	13200	0	0
Southampton, 4 Years	115200	0	0
Newport-Pagnel, 1 Year, then aſſociated	49000	0	0
London, &c. 5 Years	5600	0	0
Hull, 5 Years	46600	0	0
Cheſter County and City, 1 Year, then aſſociated	6944	0	0
Glouceſter County and City, 3 Years	163400	0	0
Pembroke, &c. aſſociated 3 Years	20090	0	0
Salop, 3 Years	57000	0	0
Leiceſter, 3 Years	86400	0	0
Wilts and *Malmsbury*, 1 Year, then aſſociated	2900	0	0
Weſtern, aſſociated 4 Years	509160	0	0
Worceſter, &c. 3 Years	51597	0	0
Middleſex, 3 Years	108000	0	0
London, to ſet up Poſts and Chains	96000	0	0
Lincoln, 3 Years,	117600	0	0
Derby, 3 Years	48000	0	0
Northern Aſſociation, 3 Years	433831	14	0
Rutland, 3 Years	29000	0	0
Surry, 3 Years	44000	0	0
Newark to be reduced, coſt	9916	12	0
	30015025	13	0

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Brought over	30015025	13	0
Lancaſter, 2 Years	72000	0	0
Newport, 2 Years	89904	0	0
Comte *London* to Aſſes for Horſes and Arms	10000	0	0
Proviſion for maim'd Soldiers, *&c.*	18180	0	0
Exciſe for 17 Years	10200000	0	0
Duty on Coals, 17 Years	850000	0	0
Duty on Currans, 17 Years	51000	0	0

Sequeſtration of Delinquents Eſtates, viz.

Biſhops Lands, 4 Years	884089	16	7
Dean and Chapters Lands, 4 Years	564740	18	6
Inferior Clergy's Lands, 4 Years	2077802	1	3
Temporal Eſtates, 4 Years	280000	0	0
Crown Lands, 4 Years	280000	0	0
Compoſition for Court of Wards, 4 Years	400000	0	0
Dean's Forreſt, 4 Years	16000	0	0
Fee-Farm-Rents, 4 Years	1054392	0	0
Tenths of the Clergy, 4 Years	400080	0	8
Prince of *Wales*'s Income	80000	0	0
Timber for the Navy out of Delinquents Woods	7760	0	0
Poſtage of Letters, 14 Years	301000	0	0
Wine Licence, 14 Years	312200	0	0
Compoſitions for Court of Wards, 10 Years	1000000	0	0
Income of Offices for publick Service, 15 Years	850000	0	0
Vintners Delinquency	4000	0	0
Compounding with Delinquents for their Eſtates	1277226	0	0
Diſbanding the Army	900000	0	0
Militia of *England* kept up 13 Years	3120000	0	0
Oliver's Expedition to *Ireland*	150000	0	0

Sale of Lands, viz.

Biſhops Lands, at 10 Years	2420224	11	6½
Dean and Chapters Lands, 10 Years	1411852	6	8
Rectory and Glebe Lands, 12 Years	6203586	3	9
Crown Lands, 13 Years	9152000	0	0
Prince of *Wales*'s Lands, 13 Years	260000	0	0
Fee-Farm-Rents, 8 Years	1908784	0	0
Car. over	67568747	11	11½

Brought

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Brought over	67568747	11	11½
New-River Water, 8 Years	8000	0	0
Tenths of the Clergy, 8 Years	1200240	2	0
Lord *Craven* and others Eſtates, at 13 Years	700000	0	0
Gifford and others Eſtates, at 13 Years	900000	0	0
Sir *John Stawell* and others, 5 Years	560000	0	0
Foreſt-Lands, 13 Years	56000	0	0
Houſes and Caſtles of the King's	600000	0	0
John and *William*, *Peter*, and divers others, *viz.* 171 Perſons, their Eſtates to pay Prince Palatine of the *Rhine* 5000 *l.* in Arrear, and 8000 *l. per Ann.*	85000	0	0
Oliver made Capt. Gen. of *Fairfax*'s Forces, and the Aſſeſſments for the Armies of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, 90000 *l. per* Mo. for 2 Years	2160000	0	0
Aſſeſſments of 120000 *l. per* Mo. for the ſaid Army and Navy, 1 Year	1440000	0	0
Drums and Colours 90000 *l. per Ann.* for 10 Years	900000	0	0
Iriſh Delinquents to compound for 2 Years Rents	1000000	0	0
Oliver voted Protector, and he aſſeſſed for the Army 120000 *l.* and 90000 *l.* for 3 Mo.	630000	0	0
Agreed 60000 *l. per* Mo. be the Pay of the Arms for 6 Years	4320000	0	0
To defray the Charges of Juſtice 200000 *l. per Ann.* 6 Years	1200000	0	0
Free Gifts to the Saints in Money	679800	0	0
In Places (excluding the Army and Navy) *per Ann.* 7 Years	306110	0	0
In Eſtates *per Ann.* for 11 Years	189365	0	0
Beſides, the Houſe of Commons voted each of their Members 4 *l. per* Week, and count but 256 Members, and no more, for 14 Years	745472	0	0
Total	95303095	1	11½

A general Abſtract of Money raiſed in England *by the Long Parliament, from* November 3, 1640, *to* November 1659.

Subſidies	600000	0	0
The Armies	32780721	13	0
Tonnage and Poundage	5700000	0	0
Car. over	39080721	13	11

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
Brought over	39080721	13	0
Captives	102000	0	0
Sale of *Iriſh* Lands	1322500	0	0
Contributions for *Iriſh* Proteſtants	180000	0	0
Forces for Defence of particular Counties	4141088	8	0
Exciſes	10200000	0	0
Duty on Coals	850000	0	0
Ditto on Currans	51000	0	0
Sequeſtrations of Eſtates	6044924	17	0
Poſtage of Letters	301000	0	0
Wine Licences	312200	0	0
Compoſition for Court of Wards	1000000	0	0
Offices to Publick Service	850000	0	0
Vintners Delinquency	4000	0	0
Compoſitions for Eſtates	1277226	0	0
Sale of *Engliſh* Lands	25380687	3	11½
Settled out of Gentlemen's Eſtates to pay P. *Palatine*	85000	0	0
Compound with *Iriſh* Delinquents	1000000	0	0
Charge of Juſtice, 6 Years	1200000	0	0
To the Houſe of Commons, 14 Years, comes to	745472	0	0
Free Gifts to the Saints, *viz.* in Money	679800	0	0
in Offices	306110	0	0
in Eſtates, *per Ann.*	189365	0	0
Total	95303095	1	11½

A general Abſtract of the Receipts and Iſſues of the publick Revenues, Taxes and Loans, that has been granted to the late King William, *from* November 5, 1688, *to* Michaelmas 1700.

The Receipts.

		l.	*s.*	*d.*
Received on	Cuſtoms	10997955	6	3½
	Exciſe	12105151	19	7
	Hearth and Letter Money, *&c.*	1769653	1	4⅔
	Land-Tax	17520100	14	5
	Poll-Tax	2527983	12	9
	Promiſcuous Taxes	7170903	17	9½
	Divers Receipts	466999	1	4
	State of Loans	13348680	5	10¼
	Remained *Nov.* 5, 88. with which the Treaſ. beg.	80138	18	3
	Total	65987566	17	8

The

The Iſſues.

		l.	*s.*	*d.*
Iſſued	To the Treaſurer of the Navy, *viz.* Ld. *Faukland*, in K. *James*'s Time ——	198068	0	1
	To Ad. *R*— in K. *W*—'s Time, Tr. of the Navy	16940497	1	10½
	To Sir *Tho. L*——*n*, Treaſurer of the Navy	818659	5	10½
	Total to the Navy	17957224	7	9½
	To the Army, Ld. *Ranelagh* ——	21239723	6	11½
	To the Ordinance —— ——	2889001	1	6⅔
	To the Civil Liſt —— ——	7882391	10	2⅔
	Divers Services —— ——	15693555	11	●
	Remained at *Michaelmas* 1700 —— ——	325671	0	2
	Total	65987566	17	8½

Memorandum. There was iſſued more than received the Sum of Two Farthings; a very nice Account I'll aſſure you.

The Total of the Long-Parliament 95303095 *l.* 1 *s.* 11½. Of K. *W.* 65987566 *l.* 17 *s.* 8 *d.* Of both, 161290661 19 *s.* 7½. An inconſiderable Sum, conſidering our great Deliverance from Popery and Slavery, and Arbitrary Government; and yet the Saints want to deliver us of as much more, if we pleaſe but to be ſo good natured as to let them ſet up a Commonwealth.

The

The Declaration of the Moſt Chriſtian King of France *and* Navarre, *againſt the moſt horrid Proceedings of a rebellious Party of Parliament-Men and Soldiers, in* England, *againſt their King and Country. Tranſlated out of* French *by* P. B.

Lewis XIV. *by the Grace of God, the Moſt Chriſtian King of* France *and* Navarre, *to all Chriſtian Kings, Princes, States and People, ſendeth Greeting.*

WHereas we are informed, by our dear Aunt, the Queen of *England*, of the diſtreſſed Eſtate of the King her Huſband, forced upon him by a rebellious Party of his meaneſt Subjects, under the Command of the Baron of *Fairfax*, who is likewiſe countenanced by a ſmall Handful of the baſeſt of the People, crept into the Lower Houſe of Parliament, but not being a tenth Part thereof, the worthieſt being either impriſoned, or baniſhed by the Tyranny of the Army, have a Deſign to proceed againſt the Perſon and Life of their King; which is an Action ſo deteſtable, and ſo deſtructive to the National Rights of Princes and People, who are like to be enſlaved thereby, and to know no Law but that of the Sword, that we conceive ourſelf obliged, by the Laws of God and Man, in the Duty of a Chriſtian, as well as the Rights of a King, either to redeem from Bondage the injured Perſon of our Neighbour King and Uncle, or to revenge all Outrages already done, or hereafter which may happen to be done thereupon.

Therefore, with the Advice of our dear Mother the Queen Regent, and Council, we do publiſh and declare our Deteſtation of all ſuch Proccedings, and vow, in the Preſence of God, and his holy Angels, a full Revenge upon all Actors or Abettors of this odious Deſign, to the utter Extirpation of them, their Wives, and Children, out of all Parts of *Chriſtendom*, wherein our Power, or Intereſt, can prevail, if they proceed to this damnable Fact; we conceiving it fit to root out from human Society ſuch a ſpurious and viperous Generation of Men: And we do therefore prohibit all ſuch Perſons, their Wives, and Children, to come into any of our Dominions, unleſs they will be proceeded againſt as Traitors to God and Nations.

And we do likewiſe invite all our Neighbour Kings, Princes, and States in Amity with us, or with whom we have any Difference, to an honourable Peace, that we may all join, in God's Cauſe and our own, to revenge theſe hypo-

hypocritical Proccedings of enraged Villains, who, we hear, take the Cauſe of God for their Pretence to deſtroy his Ordinance.

And we deſire all our Neighbour Kings, Princes, and States, to make the ſame Proclamation we have done, againſt any of theſe, or their Adherents, from coming into their Territories; that, when, by God's Juſtice, and ours and others Endeavours, they ſhall be chaſed out of their native Country, they may wander like Vagabonds in Heatheniſh Places, with the odious Brands of *Regicides* upon them: And further to conſider, whether that, if the like Madneſs took any of their Armies, they would not implore our Helps, as now this afflicted Queen and Aunt of ours hath Occaſion to do theirs, againſt Perſons who are now twice Rebels; *firſt*, againſt their lawful Sovereign, upon Pretence of Reformation of Government; and *now* againſt the very Men and Authority which raiſed them for that pretended Occaſion: Wherein God's Juſtice is ſo apparent, that we are confident he will bleſs this Work intended by us, and which, we hope, will be ſeconded by all Perſons of Honour and Juſtice, both at Home and Abroad, to help to ſuppreſs theſe Rebels againſt their Raiſers; who yet preſume, upon the Succeſs of their Arms, to erect their own baſe Thoughts and Fortunes above the Limits of Religion or Reaſon, to ſuppreſs that Authority which God hath ſet over them.

Signed *LEWIS.*

And below, *Bryan*, Secretary of State.

Publiſhed at Paris, *the ſecond Day of* January, Stylo novo, 1649.

The Earl of Strafford's *Letter to the King, to paſs the Bill occaſioned by the Tumult of the Apprentices. Taken from the Original Copy. Printed* 1680.

May it pleaſe your Majeſty,

IT hath been my greateſt Grief, in all theſe Troubles, to be taken as a Perſon which ſhould endeavour to repreſent and ſet Things amiſs between your Majeſty and your People; and to give Counſels tending to the Diſquiet of your three Kingdoms.

Moſt true it is, that, this mine own private Condition conſidered, it had been a great Madneſs, ſince, through your gracious Favour I was ſo provided, as not to expect, in any Kind, to mind my Fortune, or pleaſe my Mind more, than by reſting where your bounteous Hand had placed me.

Nay, it is moſt mightily miſtaken: For, unto your Majeſty it is well known, my poor and humble Advices concluded ſtill in this, That your Majeſty and your People could never be happy till there were a right Unſtanding betwixt you and them; no other Means to effect and ſettle this Happineſs, but by the Counſel, and Aſſent of the Parliament; or, to prevent the growing Evils upon this State, but by entirely putting yourſelf in your

your laſt Reſort upon the Loyalty and good Affections of your *Engliſh* Subjects.

Yet, ſuch is my Misfortune, this Truth findeth little Credit, the contrary ſeemeth generally to be believed, and myſelf reputed as ſomething of Separation between you and your People, under a heavier Cenſure than which, I am perſuaded, no Gentleman can ſuffer.

Now, I underſtand the Minds of Men are more incenſed againſt me, notwithſtanding your Majeſty hath declared, that, in your Princely Opinion, I am not guilty of Treaſon, nor are you ſatisfied in your Conſcience to paſs the Bill.

This bringeth me into a very great Streight; there is before me the Ruin of my Children and Family, hitherto untouched, in all the Branches of it, with any foul Crimes. Here is before me the many Ills which may befal your ſacred Perſon, and the whole Kingdom, ſhould yourſelf and the Parliament part leſs ſatisfied one with the other than is neceſſary for the Preſervation of King and People. Here are before me the Things moſt valued, moſt feared by mortal Men, Life or Death.

To ſay, Sir, that there hath not been a Strife in me, were to make me leſs than, God knoweth, mine Infirmities give me.

And to call Deſtruction upon myſelf and young Children, where the Intentions of my Heart, at leaſt have been innocent of this great Offence, may be believed will find no eaſy Content to Fleſh and Blood.

But, with much Sadneſs, I am come to a Reſolution of that which I take to be the beſt becoming me, to look upon that which is moſt principal in itſelf, which, doubtleſs, is the Proſperity of your ſacred Perſon and the Common-wealth, infinitely before any Man's private Intereſt.

And, therefore, in few Words, as I put myſelf wholly upon the Honour and Juſtice of my Peers ſo clearly, as to beſeech your Majeſty might pleaſe to have ſpared that Declaration of yours on *Saturday* laſt, and intirely to have left me to their Lordſhips; ſo now, to ſet your Majeſty's Conſcience, *&c.* at Liberty, I do moſt humbly beſeech you, for the Prevention of ſuch Miſchief as may happen by your Refuſal to paſs the Bill, by this Means to remove, praiſed be God, I cannnot ſay this accurſed, but, I confeſs, this unfortunate Thing forth of the Way, towards that bleſſed Agreement, which God, I truſt, ſhall for ever eſtabliſh betwixt you and your Subjects.

Sir, my Conſent herein ſhall more aquit you to God, than all the World can do beſides: To a willing Mind there is no Injury done; and as, by God's Grace, I forgive all the World, ſo, Sir, I can give up the Life of this World with all Chearfulneſs imaginable, in the juſt Acknowledgment of your exceeding Favour; and only beg that, in your Goodneſs, you would vouchſafe to caſt your gracious Regard upon my poor Son and his Siſters, leſs or more, and no otherwiſe than their unfortunate Father ſhall appear more or leſs guilty of his Death. God long preſerve your Majeſty.

Tower, May 4, 1641. *Your Majeſty's moſt humble, moſt faithful Subject and Servant,* Strafford.

A brief

A brief VIEW of the late *Scots* Miniſtry; and of the REASONS the *Scots* had to wiſh for a Deliverance from them by the UNION. 1709.

IN order to give you a better View of our preſent State, I muſt beg Leave to put you in Mind, that ever ſince the Union of the Crowns in 1602, we have had a continued Struggle with our Miniſtry, who were for moſt part either Tools to yours, or (if not mean enough to ſtoop ſo low) entirely at the Devotion of ſuch of our Princes, as aim'd at an abſolute Authority over us both. 'Tis well enough known, that the Invaſion of our Conſtitution by thoſe Miniſters which led the Way for the like Attempts upon yours, laid the Foundation of the civil War, and of all the miſchievous Conſequences that attended it, till we and you were both ſwallowed up by a ſtanding Army.

'Tis not unknown to you, that we made the firſt publick Step towards recovering ourſelves and you both, from the Anarchy which enſued; and tho' we paid dear for it, were alſo the firſt who contributed to the Reſtoration.

'Tis needleſs to recount how ungratefully we were rewarded, and that we were ſo much diſappointed of our Expectations, in recovering our Liberty under King *Charles* II. that we were more oppreſs'd than ever.

Being full freighted however with Loyalty, and bearing an inviolable Affection to the Royal Line, we ſettled the Duke of *York*'s Succeſſion, when you were for excluding him. Notwithſtanding which, inſtead of our being more favour'd on that Account, he ſubverted our Conſtitution at once, and by Deſpotical Proclamations, ſuch as none of his Predeceſſors durſt ever iſſue, he pretended to annull all the Laws that eſtabliſh'd our Reformation. This, with the heavy Oppreſſion we lay under in other Reſpects, made us chearfully concur with you in the late happy Revolution; when, having found by Experience, that we could promiſe ourſelves no Security in any thing, while we were in a ſeparate State, our Convention did then make the firſt Motion for an Union of the Nations as well as of the Crowns.

But inſtead of that, you know what Hardſhips we ſuffered in King *William*'s Reign by the Influence of our Miniſtry, in the Matter of our *African* Company, *Darien Colony*, &c. which put us upon Endeavours to ſecure ourſelves in a ſeparate State, by obtaining Limitations upon the next Succeſſor after the Determination of the Entail, as 'twas ſettled by our Declaration of Rights at the Revolution.

I muſt beg leave to inſiſt a little upon this, becauſe it will ſet what follows in a clearer Light, and help to diſcover the Temper of the then *Scots* Miniſtry; as alſo with what View they ſince fell in with the Union, and at the ſame Time will juſtify the honeſt Part of our Nation, for endeavouring to be delivered from ſuch a Set of Men, which was one of the main Reaſons that brought many of them into the Union, tho' hitherto they have been diſappointed of their Expectations.

Thoſe of our Parliament-men, and others, who were true Friends to the Proteſtant Succeſſion, being ſenſible of what we muſt ſuffer under a Popiſh Prince, and knowing very well that ſuch Limitations, as were neceſſary for ſecuring our Religion and Liberty, would meet with great Oppoſition from our Courtiers, they thought it neceſſary in the firſt Place to ſecure themſelves againſt a Popiſh Succeſſor; therefore, in the Seſſion of Parliament, after King *William*'s Death in 1703. they propoſed a Bill for an Oath to abjure the Pretender, which carried a firſt Reading; but how it came to be quaſh'd, and not to paſs into a Law, the D. of Q——, then her Majeſty's high Commiſſioner, and his Friends, are ſuppoſed to be capable of giving the beſt Account. Beſides other Reaſons which our honeſt Patriots had to preſs that Bill, 'tis too well known to be deny'd, that by the Change then made in the *Scots* Miniſtry, and other Proceedings, Things look'd with a very bad Aſpect for the Revolution Intereſt in *Scotland*; inſomuch that a Letter was procured from her Majeſty in Favour of the Nonjurant Clergy, which embolden'd them to propoſe a Toleration in Parliament, to be eſtabliſh'd by a Law, without obliging them to own her Majeſty's Title; and one of the principal Arguments they inſiſted upon for obtaining this Liberty, was, *That they were her Father's Friends.* At the ſame Time 'tis obſervable, that there was no Mention made of the Proteſtant Succeſſion during that Seſſion of Parliament, in the Speeches of our Miniſters, or otherwiſe, which added to our Jealouſies, that they were not very fond of it. I doubt not but you will be ſatisfied that our Suſpicion was not ill founded, when you conſider, that before the Meeting of the Seſſion in 1703, ſuch a general Indemnity was ſent down by our *Scots* Miniſtry, and counterſign'd by the D. of Q——l——, as many People from *St. Germains* came over upon it, to the great Terror of all the true Friends of the Revolution Intereſt; and 'tis to be obſerved, that this Indemnity pardon'd all Crimes paſt to thoſe at *St. Germains*, without ſo much as a Condition in it, requiring them to leave the Place if they would reap the Benefit of it. This gave them an Opportunity to promote that Intereſt, as appear'd ſoon after by the *Scots* Plot. Nor is it to be denied that Captain *Frazer*, and others, who acted the Part of Plotters inſtead of Diſcoverers, as was pretended, were furniſhed with Paſſes, and protected in going and coming betwixt *Scotland* and *France* by Means of the D. of Q——, E. of *L*——*n*, and others then in Truſt with the Affairs of our Nation.

And as a Proof that the Conduct of our Miniſtry was all of a Piece, when the Earl of *Marchmont*, who was our Lord High Chancellor in King *William*'s Time, but laid aſide at his Death, had form'd a ſtrong Party in that Parliament for ſettling the Proteſtant Succeſſion, on Promiſe of the D. of Q——'s Concurrence, the D—— diſcovered the Concert which defeated the Deſign, and the Earl's Draught of an Act, which he offer'd for ſettling the Succeſſion on Limitations, was ſcandalouſly treated and thrown out for Want of the Concurrence of our Courtiers.

Yet in this very Parliament our Miniſters ſuffer'd an Act of Peace and War to paſs, by which 'No Perſon, being King or Queen of *Scotland* and *England*, 'ſhould have Power to engage the *Scots* in War with any Prince or State, 'without Conſent of our Parliament; and that no Declaration of War without

'ſuch

'such Conſent, ſhould be binding on this Kingdom;' which, though ſome honeſt Patriots were drawn in to concur with, out of very good Intentions, yet it will appear by what follows, that the D. of Q——— and his Friends had other Views in ſuffering it to paſs, and therefore that 'tis no uncharitable Conjecture to ſuppoſe that ſome of the then *Scots* Miniſtry were rather for embroiling the Nations, to ſerve ſome Arbitrary Deſign, than for ſettling them under one and the ſame Proteſtant Allegiance.

It is very well known to you, that in the Parliament of *England*, this Act was taken Notice of as a Thing of the greateſt Danger imaginable to your Nation; inſomuch that if I be not miſinform'd, a noted Gentleman of the Long Robe ſaid in your Houſe of Commons, 'That if any *Engliſhman* adviſed or conſented 'to that Act, he was guilty of little leſs than Treaſon;' and ſome of your great Lords and Miniſters were ſo apprehenſive of this, that they declared in the Houſe of Peers they gave no Advice about it, or Conſent to it.

The Deſigns of our Miniſtry will appear yet more plain, if we conſider that in the ſame Parliament an Act was paſs'd by their Influence, *Allowing the Importation of all Sorts of Wines, and other Foreign Liquors*, tho' the Duke of *Hamilton* and the Squadrone proteſted 'Againſt allowing the Importation of '*French* Wines and Brandy, as diſhonourable to her Majeſty, inconſiſtent with 'the Grand Alliance, and prejudicial to the Honour, Safety, Intereſt, and Trade 'of the Kingdom;' and tho' the Marquis of *Twedale*, in the Name of the Country Party, *offered an Equivalent*, if our Courtiers would drop the Bill.

A worthy Member charged this home upon our Miniſtry, in a Speech upon that Occaſion, wherein he had thoſe remarkable Expreſſions: 'To repeal ſuch 'a Law in Time of War, will ſound admirably well in *England* and *Holland*, 'ſince it is no leſs than a direct Breach of our Alliance with thoſe Nations, and 'exactly calculated to inform the World *of the Inclinations of our Miniſters*. No 'Man in this Houſe can be ignorant, that this Act will not only open a Trade 'and Correſpondence with *France*, contrary to the Declaration of War, and our 'own ſtanding Laws, but that the Deſign of thoſe who promote the paſſing 'this Act, is to have a Trade directly with *France*, and bribe Men to betray 'our Liberty. If any Juſtice were to be found in this Nation, *the Adviſers of theſe 'Things had been long ſince brought to the Scaffold.*'

And that our Miniſtry had as little Inclination at that Time to *an Union*, as as they had to the Proteſtant Succeſſion, I think will appear plain from this, that in that ſame Parliament, they ſuffered a Reſolve to paſs 'To make void the 'Commiſſion for treating of an Union with *England*, and diſcharging any other 'Commiſſion for that End, without the Conſent of our Parliament;' but here again it is neceſſary to obſerve, that our honeſt Members fell in with this Reſolve, becauſe they were unwilling to truſt a Thing of that Conſequence in the Hands of the then Miniſtry, which our Miniſters knew well enough, and therefore muſt have had ſome other End in ſuffering it to paſs, as will appear by what follows.

The Proteſtant Succeſſion met with another very remarkable Defeat in the Parliament of 1704, when the Marquis of *Twedale* was her Majeſty's Commiſſioner, tho' her Majeſty recommended the ſame in her Letter thus:

'The main thing we recommend to you, and which we recommend with all 'the Earneſtneſs we are capable of, is the Settling the Succeſſion in the Pro-'teſtant Line, as that which is abſolutely neceſſary for your own Peace and 'Quietneſs, as well as our Quiet and Security in all our Dominions, for the Re-'putation of our Affairs abroad, and conſequently for ſtrengthening the Prote-'ſtant Intereſt every-where; this has been our fix'd Judgment ever ſince we 'came to the Crown, and tho' hitherto Opportunities have not anſwered our 'Intention, Matters are now come to that paſs, by the undoubted Evidences of 'the Deſigns of our Enemies, that a longer Delay of Settling the Succeſſion in 'the Proteſtant Line may have very dangerous Conſequences, and a Diſap-'pointment of it would infallibly make that our Kingdom the Seat of War, and 'expoſe it to Devaſtation and Ruin.'

The better to induce the Parliament to comply with this Deſire, her Majeſty added afterwards, 'We have impowered our Commiſſioner to give the Royal 'Aſſent to what in Reaſon can be demanded, and is in our Power to grant, for 'ſecuring the Sovereignty and Liberties of that our ancient Kingdom.'

The Lord Commiſſioner, and the Earl of *Seafield*, then Lord Chancellor, in their Speeches to the Parliament, recommended the Succeſſion with the ſame Earneſtneſs; and the Earl of *Cromarty*, then Secretary of State, to obviate an Aſperſion, as if the Queen had a ſecret Will contrary to her expreſs Will which ſhe had declared in her Royal Letter, acquainted the Parliament, 'That he was 'certain of the contrary, becauſe her Majeſty commanded him, and her other 'Servants, expreſsly to aſſure the Houſe, That nothing in her Service could 'pleaſe her better than to believe and *obey* her in what ſhe propoſed in her Let-'ter, and nothing could diſpleaſe her more than to do otherwiſe.'

I doubt not but you will grant, that it was impoſſible to make uſe of more forcible and preſſing Arguments to ſhew the abſolute Neceſſity of Settling the Proteſtant Succeſſion, than thoſe inſiſted on by her Majeſty, and that the danger of doing otherwiſe could not be better demonſtrated than it was by that Letter.

And we muſt likewiſe do Juſtice to your Houſe of Lords, that they declared to the World they were of the ſame Opinion as to the Danger of delaying it, and concurred with her Majeſty's Sentiments, 'That the Settling of the Succeſſion 'was the readieſt Way to an intire Union between the two Kingdoms, for their 'mutual Security and Advantage,' as appears by their Lordſhips Addreſs of the 29th of *March*, 1704, and her Majeſty's Anſwer to it before the Meeting of our Parliament, which was in *July* after.

Yet notwithſtanding all this, when the Succeſſion came to be propoſed there, it was ſhamefully baffled and poſtponed by a Reſolve 'For putting it off till the 'Scots had a previous Treaty with *England*, in relation to Commerce and other 'Concerns.' And tho' her Majeſty had preſs'd her Servants with ſo much Earneſtneſs to promote the Succeſſion, yet 'tis very well known here, That two Officers of State, a Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, a great many of the Council and Exchequer, with Colonels, Lieutenant-Colonels, Majors, Captains, Farmers and Collectors of the Revenue, and Penſioners, who had ſcarce any Bread to eat but what they received from her Majeſty, in all about thirty-three, not only fell in with the above-mentioned Reſolve, but ſolicited others to do the like. 'Tis

alſo

alſo to be obſerved, that ſome of thoſe who appeared againſt the Succeſſion had but a very little before got into conſiderable Poſts; and others of them had received Penſions by means of the D. of Q——, and could not conceal their Hopes of being further prefer'd and gratify'd *for defeating the Succeſſion* in the Hands of the Marquis of *Twedale*; upon which they aſſured themſelves the D. of Q—— would be reſtored, as he afterwards was; and this made all thoſe, who had any Expectations from him, concur in the Deſign of baffling the Succeſſion.

Some of their Friends did likewiſe boaſt of Aſſurances from *London*, that there would be mighty Conceſſions obtained in Favour of *Scotland*, in caſe the Matter were refer'd to a Treaty; and this gave the finiſhing Blow at once to the Succeſſion, tho' the Marquis of *Twedale* and his Friends reckoned themſelves ſure of carrying it, there being ninety-ſix whom they thought they might have depended upon, till the very Day it was put to the Vote, and the Number was much greater before; but many well-meaning Gentlemen were deluded by this ſpecious Pretext of great Conceſſions with relation to Trade, if the Matter were refer'd to a Treaty.

In order to ſatisfy you further, that the D. of Q—— and his Friends, by whoſe Means the Succeſſion was baffled, did it not out of Reſpect to *England*, but from other Views, it is to be obſerved, that in this very Parliament they ſuffered the Act of Security for arming our People to have the Royal Aſſent, tho' they had Influence enough to hinder it the Year before, when the D. of Q—— and his Friends ſuffer'd it to paſs the Houſe, with a Clauſe of their own inſerting, 'That 'a Communication of Trade ſhould be one of the Terms of their coming into 'the Succeſſion;' but this Clauſe was now left out. This, by the way, is another Proof of the Inſincerity of the D—— and his Friends in the Matter of the Succeſſion, ſince they knew *England* would never grant that Clauſe without an Union; but be that how it will, it was in the Power of the ſaid D—— and his Friends to have hinder'd that Act, as well as the Settlement of the Succeſſion, had their Affection for *England* been ſuch as they pretended.

You know very well how much your Houſe of Lords reſented this Act of Security, that in their Addreſs to her Majeſty upon it in *December* following, they ſet forth the Dangers which might ariſe from it to *England*, and adviſed her Majeſty to ſecure your Frontier Garriſons, to arm and diſcipline your Northern Subjects, and to quarter regular Troops upon the Borders of *England*, and in the North of *Ireland*: You remember likewiſe that a Law was made in your ſucceeding Parliament to hinder the Importation of our Cattle into *England*, and that your Lords reſolved your Ships ſhould be appointed to hinder our trading with your Enemies; for which the D. of Q—— and his Friends had procured an Act contrary to the Mind of the Squadrone, as they are now called, in the Parliament of 1703, as I have mentioned already.

This Seſſion being over, the Squadrone, who appear'd zealouſly for the Succeſſion, were laid aſide, and the D. of Q—— was again brought into the Adminiſtration; which proves that the Hopes of his Party, who, out of Reſpect to him, oppoſed the Succeſſion, were not ill founded. What follow'd was a Change in the Privy-Council; and Matters being thus prepared, the next Seſſion of Parliament was held in 1705 by the D. of *A—gyle*, but before it met,

the

the Miniſters had ſeveral Meetings to concert the Meaſures they were to follow; to which the Marquis of *Annandale*, then Secretary of State, and Mr. *Cockburn* of *Ormiſton*, then Lord Juſtice Clerk, who were zealous for the Succeſſion, were not at firſt call'd; which being taken Notice of, they were call'd at laſt; and together with Sir *James Stuart*, her Majeſty's Advocate, declared themſelves for the Succeſſion, for the ſame Reaſons upon which her Majeſty had ſo earneſtly recommended it the Year before; but the reſt of the Miniſters were againſt it, and gave this for their Reaſon, that they could not promiſe to get their Friends, meaning the D. of Q——'s Party, to come into it, *for they would not make ſo ſhort a Turn*, having joined in the Reſolve laſt Year to prefer the Treaty to the Succeſſion. But the other Gentlemen inſiſting on it, it was agreed that the Arguments ſhould be drawn up on both Sides, and given to the Commiſſioner to be ſent to Court; but whether he did ſo, and what the Return was, his Grace is beſt able to inform you.

Soon after this, a Cabinet Council was call'd of ſix of the D. of Q——'s Friends, and only the M. of *A*——and the Lord Chief Juſtice Clerk beſides, becauſe they were then Officers of State, and the only Members of that Cabinet, who were for giving the Preference to the Succeſſion. At this Meeting it was agreed to ſend two Draughts of a Letter, and Inſtructions conformable to the two ſeveral Opinions, that her Majeſty might ſign which ſhe thought beſt. And when her Majeſty's Letter return'd, it included both; but gave the Preference to the Succeſſion. Notwithſtanding which, it was afterwards thrown out by the Courtiers, as follows.

Soon after the Parliament was open'd, the Marquis of *Annandale*, then one of our Secretaries, gave in a Propoſal for the Succeſſion; and at the ſame Time the Earl of *Mar*, the other Secretary, gave in a Reſolve for poſtponing it, the Tendency of which was *to conſider the Act paſſed in* England, *prohibiting* Scots *Cattle*, &c. but they delay'd their open Proceedings againſt the Succeſſion, till all their Force was aſſembled, till they had certain Advice that the D. of Q—— was ſet out from *London*, and that all his Friends were come to *Edinburgh*. Then about the 17th of *July* they came to this Reſolve, 'That they would not name a Succeſſor, till they had a previous Treaty with *England*, with relation to Commerce and other Concerns;' which was follow'd by another Reſolve, 'That before they proceeded to name the Succeſſor, they would make ſuch Limitations and Conditions of Government for the Rectification of their Conſtitution, as might ſecure the Liberty, Religion, and Independency of the Kingdom.' This was defeating the Succeſſion with a Witneſs, yet none of the Courtiers ſpoke againſt this Reſolve, except the Marquis of *Annandale*, and Mr. *Cockburn*, the Juſtice Clerk, wherein they were ſeconded by the Earl of *Marchmont*, who ſaid he look'd upon the firſt Reſolve as an Excluſion; yet being put to the Vote, it was carried by about 37, of which 30 were the D. of Q——'s Friends; but all this was ſo managed by Concert, that to cover the D. of Q—— it was done before he arrived at *Edinburgh*.

Thus you may ſee how the Succeſſion was from Time to Time baffled by the D. of Q—— and his Party, and that at all Times they concur'd in ſuch other Things as were ill reſented by your Nation; but upon what Views, I muſt leave to

your

your own Judgment, after having given you this general Caution, that many honeſt Men, who were not intruſted with the Secrets of the Miniſtry, but acted as they thought beſt for the Good of their Country, did join in the Reſolves for ſecuring our Freedom and Trade, before they came into the Succeſſion, becauſe they thought if the Succeſſion was ſettled before thoſe Terms were granted, we ſhould ſtill continue under the Influence of ſuch a Miniſtry as would be Tools to any Body that had a Mind to oppreſs us, in order to arrive at an abſolute Power.

I now come to the Union, the Management of which was committed to the D. of Q— and his Friends; but ſince it did neceſſarily engage us in the Proteſtant Succeſſion, which I have ſufficiently proved the D. of Q— and his Friends did always oppoſe, ſince they had alſo made themſelves unacceptable to the Nation upon many Accounts, and ſince they had no Reaſon to expect the Squadrone, whom they had ſo much abuſed, would join with them; and that it is evident they could never have carried the Union without them, I leave it to your own Judgment, whether it was reaſonable to think that a Matter of this Conſequence could ſucceed in ſuch Hands. I need not tell you, that many People were Enemies to it, on the Account of the Managers, and perhaps if it were inquired into, the Tumults which were raiſed againſt it would be found to be fomented by others, than thoſe who did openly oppoſe it; but this is certain that the Squadrone's falling in with it, contrary to moſt People's Expectation, carried it through againſt all underhand Tricks, and publick Oppoſition, which left no Place of Retreat to the D. Q— and his Friends, had they been ever ſo much inclined to it, without expoſing themſelves openly to the View of the World, as profeſt Enemies both to the Succeſſion and Union. And I cannot omit informing you of what I have from a very good Hand, that their Enmity to the Succeſſion was ſo great to the very laſt, that had the Union been voted out, and the Succeſſion with Limitations carried, as a proper Expedient to lay the Diſcontents which at that Time roſe ſo high, and to prevent a Rupture betwixt the Nations, till the Union had been more fully conſider'd, our Parliament would have been broke up, rather than the Succeſſion agreed to.

I muſt leave it to your own Conjecture, whether ſome of thoſe who defeated the Succeſſion were reſtrain'd from doing the like with the Union, by Motives of Fear or Profit, or whether there was a Mixture of both; but it is certain the Squadrone, who have been ſo much reproached both before and ſince, could have no probable Hopes of Reward; for they were not employ'd in the Treaty, nor truſted with the Management of it in the Houſe, and that they endanger'd both their Safety and their Reputation with their Country, in whoſe Opinion they ſtood ſo fair, by acting as they did for the Union, is not to be deny'd; for as their Enemies were very induſtrious to give a wrong Turn to what they did in the Matter of the Succeſſion, they had the ſame hard Fate in their Conduct about the Union; and ſince every Body muſt allow them to be Men of more Penetration than not to forſee this, I think I may be allow'd to have ſo much Charity for them as to ſuppoſe they acted as they did, becauſe they found by Experience there was no carrying the Succeſſion with Limitations, to deliver their Country from an oppreſſive Miniſtry, and the Danger of a Popiſh Succeſſor, and therefore they reſolved to unite with *England*, on the Terms propoſed, as the only Way left us

to

to come under the ſame Proteſtant Succeſſor, and to have a Share in the ſame Trade and Liberty, for Want of which, by the Union of the Crowns, we were reduced to a Condition of Beggary and Slavery, and that of the worſt and moſt contemptible Sort, ſince we were become Slaves to thoſe who were always Tools to your Miniſtry, and by Conſequence no more than, the *Servants of Servants*, which was the Curſe inflicted upon *Cham* by his Father *Noah*.

Such of our Nation as had an honeſt Deſign in the Union intended the joint Security, Wealth and Liberty of both Kingdoms upon an equal Footing; but whether ſome of thoſe in both Parts of the Iſland who pretended a Zeal to puſh and carry it on, and to a great Share of the Merit for atchieving it, had not ſomething elſe in view, and particularly to keep us ſtill under Slavery, with a Deſign to ſerve old arbitrary Principles and Views, may perhaps appear by what *we are now to conſider*.

Nothing is a greater Proof of this than the great Effort made in Parliament to have the Privy-Council ſtill continued among us, which, if I be rightly informed, was as great as any that ever was known to be made by a Court Party; and I can aſſure you that our late Courtiers endeavour'd to render the Squadrone odious among us, becauſe of their ſtrenuous Appearance againſt the Council, which, with the unanſwerable Arguments they urged in Parliament for aboliſhing it, is none of the leaſt Cauſes of all that Malice and Falſhood which has ſince been vented againſt them and their Friends, as you may perceive by that ſilly Libel, intituled, *A Brief Account of the Elections in the North of* Britain, *with ſome Account of the Diviſions there*. To ſay nothing of the Unreaſonableneſs to keep up ſuch a Mark of Diſtinction with us, after the Sovereignty of the two Nations was conſolidated, it is known to every Man that ſince the Union of the Crowns, our Privy-Council has been as arbitrary as the *Turkiſh* Divan, that they aſſumed a Parliamentary Power, and concur'd with all Courts in oppreſſing us. Thus in King *James* and King *Charles* the Firſt's Time, they ſet up a high Commiſſion, which, contrary to ſtanding Law, made Innovations both in Church and State, and brought our Lives, Fortunes, and Liberties to a precarious Dependance upon the Court. In *Charles* the Second's Time, they brought down Armies of Savage Highlanders upon the Country in Time of Peace, garriſon'd Gentlemens Houſes without their Conſent, levy'd Money for their Subſiſtance contrary to Law, diſpenſed with Acts of Parliament, countenanced military Officers to try and execute Men without Jury or Record, diſarm'd the Subjects at Pleaſure; and in King *James* the Seventh's Time, concur'd in thoſe Proclamations which pretended to annull our Laws. In a Word, they were the Inſtruments of all thoſe Grievances complain'd of in the Claim of Right, and even ſince the Revolution they were ſo acuſtom'd to arbitrary Practices, that they acted many illegal Things, which was not in the Power of honeſt Men among them to prevent, as they themſelves have frequently complain'd. So that it is evident to a Demonſtration, that our late Miniſtry, who you ſee plain, by the Libel abovementioned, expected to have had their Power continued over us, were angry at the aboliſhing of the Council, becauſe it deprived them of a proper Handle, by which they might ſtill tyrannize over us and influence our Elections, the Return of which they had cunningly got veſted in themſelves by the Union, had the Parliament of

Great-

Great-Britain thought fit to continue the Council. I ſhall only add, that by the Proceedings of that Party both before and ſince, it is eaſy to perceive, that if they acted in ſuch an arbitrary Manner when we had a Parliament here to call them to an Account, they would have chaſtiſed us with Scorpions inſtead of Rods, and have made uſe of their Power to make us all Janiſaries and Spahis, to ſerve the Deſigns of any Arbitrary Prince againſt the whole Iſland, now that we have no Parliament here, eſpecially if their Power of returning our Members had been continued, for to be ſure they would have returned none but ſuch as ſhould either have palliated their illegal Practices, or concurred with them. But bleſſed be God the Parliament of *Great-Britain* has delivered us from this Yoke, though our own late Courtiers, and other People with you, would willingly have had it wreathed harder about our Necks than ever.

The Weakneſs of their Pretence, that they deſired the Continuance of the Council for ſecuring our Peace, is eaſily ſeen through; ſince every one knows that it might be better ſecured by the ſame Methods as yours in *England*, if honeſt Men were made Sheriffs, and put into the Commiſſions of the Lieutenancy and Peace; but their Sincerity in this Matter may pretty well be gueſſed at, ſince, by her Majeſty's late Proclamation, with reſpect to our Country, it is evident how bare-faced Popery and Jacobitiſm have appeared, and how much they increaſed under their Adminiſtration. Perhaps you would think it an uncharitable Suggeſtion, if any body ſhould offer to ſay that ſome of our late Miniſtry deſigned it ſhould be ſo; but this you may depend on as Fact, that in many Places they have recommended Perſons to be Juſtices of Peace, who are very unacceptable to the Country, and that there are not a few *Jacobites* and lewd Men among them; there is one Inſtance ſo notorious, that all the honeſt Men of the Kingdom are alarmed at it, *viz.* Sir *Robert Greerſon* of *Lagg*, who was a barbarous Perſecutor in the late Reigns, and ordered two Women to be tied to a Stake within the Sea-mark till they were drowned by the Tide, becauſe they would not hear the Epiſcopal Miniſters: He was alſo one of thoſe who murdered People in the Fields without any Form of Law, was lately cited to *Edinburgh* for Clipping and Coining, upon which his Servants that were ſuſpected fled the Country, and is proved to be guilty of notorious Adultery, which is Death by our Law; yet this Man is lately made a Juſtice of Peace, which I can aſſure you was not by the Recommendation of the Squadrone, for it was not thought fit to oblige them ſo much as to put their Friends into the Commiſſion. By this you may judge what Regard ſome of our late Courtiers have to the Country; they knew this Man's Character well enough, and that making him a Juſtice would occaſion Complaints, and raiſe Jealouſies, as it has actually done among all the Miniſters and ſober People of the *Stuartry* of *Kircubright*, for they can think no Good deſigned to them, when ſuch Men are advanced to Authority, as have always been their profeſſed Enemies.

I come now to the late Invaſion, and muſt deſire you to obſerve the following Circumſtances that preceded it, which perhaps may furniſh you with ſome new Thoughts about the Conduct of our late Miniſtry. The firſt Thing I would deſire you to obſerve, is their Oppoſition to the Oath for Abjuring the Pretender, which carried a firſt Reading in our Parliament, and might eaſily

then have paſſed into a Law, had they thought fit it ſhould. In the ſecond Place, be pleaſed to remember the Indemnity procured by thoſe Gentlemen, upon which ſo many People came over from *St. Germains*; and pray don't forget the *Scots* Plot that followed it, and who it was that gave ſuch Countenance and Protection to Captain *Frazer*, and others, who had forfeited their Lives by our Laws, to come and go from *France* at that Juncture of Time. I hope you will alſo conſider the Encouragement given to our Nonjurant Clergy, to petition for a Toleration, without being obliged to own her Majeſty's Government. I muſt deſire you, in the third Place, to remember that crafty and unaccountable Oppoſition made by them in our Parliament to the very laſt againſt the Proteſtant Succeſſion. Fourthly, Be pleaſed to conſider whether the Endeavours, after the Union was made, to continue a Miniſtry and Council over us, which were ſo ungrateful to the Nation, was a proper Method to allay our Diſcontents, and to leſſen the Number of the Pretender's Friends. In the Fifth Place, conſider how naked we were left as to Forces, and how ill our chief Garriſons were provided, when the Pretender came upon our Coaſts; and ſince it is very well known that our Adminiſtration had frequently ſtunned us with a Noiſe of *Jacobite* Plots and Fears of ſuch an Invaſion, to create a Suſpicion of ſuch as oppoſed their Meaſures, you may eaſily judge whether they could be excuſeable in not taking more Care to have us provided againſt a real Invaſion when it came. I ſhall not ſay any thing to leſſen the E. of *Leven*'s Conduct and Care to oppoſe that Deſcent, but I think it may be juſtly ſaid without Offence, that all his Lordſhip was capable to do againſt it in ſuch Circumſtances would have ſignified little, had not Providence taken more Care of us than our Adminiſtrators; ſo I ſuppoſe you are not ignorant, that had there not been a Spirit of Terror and Infatuation among the *French*, or ſomething elſe, which is not yet known to us, they might eaſily have landed before your Fleet arrived to give them Chaſe; and what Confuſion, Bloodſhed, and Danger, that might have occaſioned to the whole Iſland, if you conſider the above mentioned Circumſtances, is eaſier to be imagined than expreſſed.

The next Thing to be conſidered, is the Conduct of our late Miniſtry ſince the happy Diſappointment of the Invaſion; you know very well that a conſiderable Number of our Nobility and Gentry were taken up on Suſpicion of favouring it; and we have Reaſon to ſuppoſe, that the Liſt of them was given in to your Council by thoſe Gentlemen, ſo that whatever Partiality or Party Quarrel there might be in it, or whatever Neglect there was, in not taking up others, whom perhaps there was more Reaſon to ſuſpect, it muſt be charged upon them, ſince it is natural to think that few of your Miniſtry are ſufficiently acquainted with Perſons and Characters here; but it was a general Obſervation with us, that whoever adviſed to thoſe Proceedings, ſeem'd rather to deſign a Slur upon ſuch as oppoſed our late Courtiers in their Meaſures, and to influence our Elections, than really to ſecure the Kingdom: The taking up the late Ld. *Belhaven*, Mr. *Fletcher*, and others, who had concur'd in the Revolution, and were always firm to it, was a plain Proof of this. I muſt here take Notice of one Thing which raiſed a general Diſguſt in our Country, and that was the carrying up of all thoſe Priſoners to *London*. Whatever might have been ſaid for it at another Time, it

ſeem'd

ſeem'd to be impolitick ſo ſoon after the Union, for it called to Remembrance what is recorded in our Hiſtory of your *Edward* I. who, in order to eſtabliſh his Sovereignty over us, when *John Baliol*, who got our Crown by his Aſſiſtance, own'd himſelf to be his Vaſſal, he deſtroyed many of our cheif Families, which quite ruined his Deſign, and engaged *England* in a long and ruinous War. In ſhort, our People in general thought the carrying up of thoſe Lords and Gentlemen to *London*, looked too much like making them Trophies of a Conqueſt and Subjection; and I am very apt to believe, if any honeſt Men with you went into thoſe Meaſures, it was becauſe they thought there was no Juſtice to be expected from our Miniſtry againſt a *Jacobite* Plot, conſidering their Management of that formerly called the *Scots* Plot, and their conſtant Oppoſition to the Proteſtant Succeſſion; and upon this Account, the ſending for thoſe of our Nobility and Gentry up, whom our late Miniſtry are ſuppoſed to have informed yours were moſt like to be guilty of Treaſonable Practices, deſerves to be thought as great an Inſtance of Prudence and Integrity, as it would have been the contrary, if our late Miniſtry had been intruſted with taking their Examinations.

But after all, to us it ſeems unaccountable, that not one *Engliſhman* was taken up for this Plot and Invaſion, except what were taken at Sea. Certainly no Man can think that all the Diſloyalty of the Iſland lies by *North Tweed*, or that the *Pretender* would have attempted to come over without greater Aſſurance of Support than he could expect from the *Jacobites* with us. One would have thought that our late *Scots* Miniſtry had not ſo much Succeſs with their former Plot, as to make them fond of taking up People again for another, without good Evidence againſt them, or very ſtrong Reaſons to ſuſpect them. It is well for you, that your Miniſtry had ſo tender a Regard to the Liberties of the Subject, as to put none of your People to Diſgrace and Expence, upon that Account, ſince they had no Evidence againſt them: Nor is the Clemency leſs remarkable that is uſed with you towards thoſe that were taken in the *Salisbury* Man of War, eſpecially ſince one of the chief of them was under a former Condemnation. I am ſatisfied that nothing could have induced our late Miniſtry to treat them ſo civilly, had they belonged to their Province, except they could have purchaſed their Favour by giving or procuring them Proxies to vote down the Squadrone: But it is your peculiar Happineſs that your Miniſtry ſtands in need of no ſuch Meaſures, and that they abhor falling in with any thing that may ſo much endanger your Conſtitution, as the over-turning of the Freedom of Elections muſt neceſſarily do.

I doubt not but you take notice of the Libeller's Clamour againſt the Squadrone, as having from Time to Time joined with *Jacobites*. Now admitting it to be true, it is the moſt diſingenuous Thing in the World for our late Courtiers to have allowed their Tool to mention this, ſince they have been ſo frequently guilty of it themſelves, and that ſo lately too, as to ſolicit ſuch who were taken up as Favourers of the Invaſion to give them their Proxies.

Certainly they cannot charge the Squadrone to have made the D. of *Q*——'s Brother, the late E. of *March*, who lived and died a *Jacobite*, Governor of *Edinburgh-Caſtle*; and to have turn'd out the E. of *L—n*, who was always taken to

be a ſtaunch Revolutioner, to make way for him. It was not the Squadrone who brought the late Lord *Ballendin* into Council, though ſo rank a *Jacobite*, that he ſhot a poor Centinel for ſaying he belonged to King *William*, and told him that it was King *James*'s Paſs: It was not they who likewiſe brought in the E. of *D—re*, and the E. of *B——s*, who was a known and active *Jacobite*. It was not they who counter-ſigned the Indemnity formerly mentioned, which brought over ſo many People from *St. Germains*: It was not under their Adminiſtration that Popery and Jacobitiſm increaſed ſo much as to ſtand in need of Proclamations ſince, to put a Curb to them; but Malice knows no Bounds, and is incapable of Shame: Otherwiſe our late Courtiers would never have ſuffered their Libeller to charge their own Crimes upon the Squadrone, and particularly to tell us that they offered to come in with the *Jacobites* againſt the Succeſſion, when it is known to the whole Country, and appears by the Records of Parliament, that they did all they could to get it eſtabliſhed, and that it was the D. of *Q——*'s Party who joined with the *Jacobites* to oppoſe it.

We may ſay the like as to the Proxies, ſince the Libeller owns his Party had obtained ſome from thoſe that were taken up on Account of the Invaſion. And I would feign know whether it be moſt criminal to take the Aſſiſtance of ſuch Men, when it can be had, in order to reſcue our Country from an oppreſſive Miniſtry, or to endeavour to obtain it by Threats and Promiſes, in order to continue us under arbitrary Power, and to give any Court an Opportunity to have all our Sixty-one Members return'd as they pleaſe.

I come next to our late Elections, concerning which the Libeller charges the Squadrone with ſo many unfair Practices; but how juſtly, will appear when our controverted Elections come to be debated in Parliament. In the mean Time you may be ſatisfied, that none of the Squadrone could pretend to the Honour of being then her Majeſty's Servants; and therefore could not threaten any Body for oppoſing them as ſuch with the Loſs of Place, Commiſſion, or Penſion: Nor had they the Honour to be truſted with the Secret, or Power to give in Liſts of ſuch as were thought proper to be taken up on Account of the Invaſion or Plot; and therefore could not put Marks of Diſgrace upon any of the D. of *Q——*'s Friends, or ſend them Priſoners to another Country, that they might not be near enough to influence Elections; nor could they take them up at home, and threaten to ſend them after the reſt if they would not give their Proxies or Intereſt to them. It was not in the Power of the Squadrone to give a Commiſſion to any General Officer of the Army to ſend for ſuch People, and put them in Priſon as diſaffected Perſons, that were like to ſtand Candidates againſt any of their Friends; nor had the Squadrone any blank Commiſſions to fill up with ſuch as would ſell their Votes to be made Sheriffs, Juſtices of the Peace, or other Officers. I never heard that the Squadrone was charged with ſplitting Freeholds, and making fraudulent Sales of them, with Clauſes of Revocation, and that too after the Teſt of the Writs, in order to purchaſe Votes: Nor do I know that they teized and affronted Gentlemen Voters, that were known to be firm to the Revolution, by tendering the Oaths to them, in order to make their Loyalty ſuſpected, when they came to

vote

vote againſt any of their Friends. It was ſome other People than the Squadrone who brought Bailiffs, contrary to Law, into the Meetings of the Electors, to take up ſuch as voted againſt their Friends, on Pretence of Debt. It was not the Squadrone who had blank Warrants to fill up with the Names of ſuch as oppoſed the Election of their Friends, ſent them to *Edinburgh* from far diſtant Places, kept them under Confinement for ſome Weeks, and at laſt diſcharged them, without aſking them one Queſtion. It was not the Squadrone who brought People to vote at Elections, that could not tell where their Freeholds lay. It was not they who had arm'd men lodged near Places of Election to over-awe the Electors, nor who took upon them, at their Meetings for electing, to determine ſuch Caſes as are determinable only in Parliament. It was not the Squadrone who brought in a Sort of Peers of a double Capacity, who ſhall both have a Right to ſit in Perſon, and to chuſe others to ſit in the ſame Houſe with themſelves; a Sort of Peerage unknown to our Conſtitution, and which in Time may prove dangerous to it, ſince any Court that is ſo minded may give ſo many *Engliſhmen Scotch* Titles of Peerage, as will put it entirely in the Power of the Court, and of the South Part of *Britain*, to chuſe all the *Scots* 16. This, by the way, puts me in Mind of another Thing that may prove fatal to our Conſtitution, if it be not guarded againſt; and that is, leſt any Court ſhould take an Opportunity to bring ſuch a Number of the preſent *Scots* Peers into the Houſe by *Engliſh* Titles, as may break the Proportion ſettled by the Articles betwixt the Number of Parliament Peers in both Parts of the Iſland; againſt which I do not find any Proviſion made by the Treaty with reſpect to either of the united Kingdoms. For the Name of *Great-Britain* is not like to have Charm enough to make Men forget the particular Intereſt of that Part of the Iſland where their Property lies. I ſhall add, that it was not the Squadrone who countenanced the voting of any Peer in chuſing others, who by his Poſt muſt be a Judge of Points of Law relating to Elections, which looks too like making a Man both Judge and Party.

In ſhort, Sir, you may eaſily perceive by theſe Hints what Hardſhips we lie under, as to the Matter of our Elections, with reſpect to the Lords, and how dangerous it is to let any Court or Faction have an Opportunity of returning our 16, according to their own Humour.

I come now to the Elections of our Commons, as to which there are Abundance of Complaints; and no Doubt you will hear enough of it e're long at the Bar of the Houſe, to convince you that Care muſt be taken to prevent Bribery, Threats and Promiſes, and to ſecure the Elections of our Commoners againſt the Influence of our Lords and Courtiers. You may perceive by the Union Act, that our Boroughs are divided into fifteen Claſſes or Diſtricts, nine of which have five Electors each, and the other ſix but four; and in Caſe of an Equality of Votes, the Preſident of the Meeting is allow'd two; now it is plain, that when the Number of Electors are ſo few, it gives an eaſy Opportunity for Bribery; beſides the Handle it affords the Preſident of each Meeting to return himſelf or his Friend, which I humbly conceive is againſt the Equity of the Law, that does not allow a Sheriff to be a Member, becauſe of the Opportunity he has of playing Tricks in the Return.

As

As to the chuſing of our Barons or Knights of Shires, it is not indeed ſo liable to Bribery; yet, conſidering that the Electors are few in Compariſon of what they are with you, Corruptions of that Nature may be much more eaſily practiſed here than in *England:* All which together will convince you of the Neceſſity of making ſome good and effectual Laws, to ſecure the Freedom of our Elections againſt ſuch Practices as have been too frequent among our late Courtiers; otherwiſe, inſtead of having either our Liberty or yours ſecured by the Union, both of them may be endangered, and our ſixty-one Lords and Commons may be form'd into a Battalion, at any Time, to attack *Magna Charta*, and join with Courtiers to make any future Prince as abſolute as the *French King*. You ſee what Efforts the D. of *Q*— and his Friends have made to get the whole into their Power, and by their endeavouring to poſſeſs the Queen with an Opinion that our ancient Conſtitution was an Encroachment on the Prerogative (as appears by the D. of *Q*——'s Letter to the Queen, of *Auguſt* the 11th, 1703, printed in the Proceedings of the Houſe of *Lords* about the *Scots* Plot) you may be ſatisfied they had no Deſign to ſupport the common Liberty of the Iſland, by having that Power in their Hands.

By this Time I doubt not but you are very well ſatisfied that we had Reaſon to wiſh for a Deliverance from the Hands of ſuch Men; and that if we ſtill be continued under the Influence of their Miniſtry, or that of Men of the ſame Stamp, we loſe the chief Thing we aim'd at by coming into the Union; and inſtead of having more Liberty, are made greater Slaves, in which Caſe your Privileges can not be long lived. They have peel'd and poll'd us till we have nothing left to be a Bait for their Avarice; ſo that now they muſt think of preying upon you, if you do not take care to prevent it. The Truth of this would appear very plain, if the Parliament of *Great-Britain* ſhould think fit to appoint a Committee, to inquire how the Equivalent has been managed and ſhared; this is ſo late an Inſtance, and falls ſo naturally under the Inquiry of the United Parliament, that one would think there needs no more but to name it; and perhaps this might open ſuch a Scene of Tyranny and Oppreſſion, and of Tricks put both upon Court and Country, as few Ages have heard of the like: Reſumptions of Grants is a Thing very agreeable to our Conſtitution, as will appear to any Man that caſts an Eye upon our Statute Book; and if an Inquiry were appointed how the Lands and Rents of the Crown of *Scotland* have been diſpoſed of, ſince that Party had the Adminiſtration in their Hands, and ſuch Grants revoked as have been made to Perſons of no Merit, or for no valuable Conſideration, it might eaſe the Country of ſome of their Taxes, and afford the Crown a conſiderable Support out of what is properly its own, but now ſquandered away by laviſh Grants unfairly obtained: And as they made bold with her Majeſty's Revenues, they made as ill Uſe of her Honours, Conferred Patents of Peerage, and of being Knight Baronets, on Perſons who had neither Merit nor Eſtate to ſupport their Character. Thus have Suffrages been bought and ſold in our Parliament while we had one, and you may be ſure they will put the ſame Practices in uſe with you, if they be not prevented. I hope the United Parliament will conſider there is no arbitrary Deſign which Men preferred to Honour and Riches by ſuch undue Methods are not capable of, and

that

that the vaſt Expence which ſuch an indigent Nobility and Gentry, and Officers of the Army, that may be returned to ſerve in Parliament, muſt be put to, by coming from hence annually to *London*, lays them open to Temptations to ſell their Votes to any Court or Faction, that is able or willing to be at the Charge of the Purchaſe; and how fatal that may be to the *Britiſh* Liberties, you may eaſily judge. In ſhort, if the Trade of our Country be not encouraged, and ſuch Deſigns againſt it as above-mentioned prevented, it may reduce us to the like deſperate Attempt of making an entire Surrender of our Liberties to the Crown, as was done formerly by the *Danes* and *Swedes*, in hopes that the Court may treat us better than our late Miniſtry have done.

I ſhall conclude with this one Reflection, That if the Adminiſtration be not put into ſuch Hands as promoted the Union, not out of any ſelfiſh Deſign, but purely to ſecure the common Liberty of the Iſland, and into the Hands of thoſe who have now join'd them in that noble Deſign, you and we may both have Cauſe to repent that ever it was made. At the ſame time I am heartily glad to hear of a Change of that Sort already begun with you, and hope it will be univerſal through *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, and that we ſhall not have the hard Fate to be continued under any thing which looks like a ſeparate Adminiſtration, that may give any Man the ſame or a greater Influence over us than what our late Miniſtry had, though under different Names; for that is as much inconſiſtent with the Union, and will as effectually diſappoint the Expectations we had conceived from it, as to put the common Adminiſtration of the United Iſland into the Hands of ſuch as either with you or us have diſcovered their Averſion to a real Union, and taken all poſſible Methods to make it ineffectual, ſince they perceive by aboliſhing the Council of *Scotland*, and taking the Power of the *Scots* Returns out of their Hands, that they cannot now make uſe of it to carry on their arbitrary Deſigns, and to ſupport an Intereſt in the Court different from, or rather oppoſite to that of the Country, as they did of the ſeparate Parliament of *Scotland* ſo long as they had it in their Management.

I did not think it neceſſary to inſiſt upon the Vindication of any of the particular Perſons whom the Author of the Account of the Elections in *Scotland* has aſperſed in his Libel: For his Malice and Falſhood are ſo obvious, and the Perſons he reflects upon are ſo well known to the beſt Men of the Iſland, that inſtead of impairing the Credit of any Man he attacks, he has leſſen'd his own, if ever he had any; expoſed himſelf to be laugh'd at by every body here; and has diſcovered ſo much of his own Weakneſs, and that of his Party, as would ſooner raiſe a Man's Pity than his Reſentment.

I ſhall trouble you no further, than to aſſure you that I have been ſo far from taking his ſlandering Method, that I have advanced nothing againſt his Party, but what either appears upon our Records, or is ſo well known, that it can't be deny'd.

Nor have I ſaid all that I could, which perhaps his Patrons may know, if they will venture to employ him, or any other, to contradict what I have wrote here.

I am,

SIR,

Your moſt humble Servant.

November 15, 1708.

The

The MANAGERS *Pro* and *Con*; or an Account of what is ſaid at *Child*'s and *Tom*'s Coffee-Houſes for and againſt Dr. SACHEVERELL. By Sir *John St. Leger*. 1710.

Per Graiſum Populos, mediæque per Elidis Urbem
Ibat ovans, Divumque ſibi poſcebat Honores.

WHEN I ſaw Doctor *Sacheverell*, that *triumphant Criminal*, paſs by my Door in a flaming and open Chariot, now and then ſtopping, and then marching ſlowly in *State* to *Weſtminſter-hall*, impeach'd by the Commons of *Great-Britain*, 'for a wicked, malicious, and ſeditious Intention 'to undermine and ſubvert her Majeſty's Government, and the Proteſtant Succeſſion as by Law eſtabliſhed; to defame her Majeſty's Adminiſtration; to 'aſperſe the Memory of his late Majeſty; to traduce and condemn the late 'happy Revolution; to contradict and arraign the Reſolutions of both Houſes 'of Parliament; to excite Jealouſies and Diviſions amongſt her Majeſty's Subjects; 'and to incite them to Sedition and Rebellion:' (Which in my humble Opinion amounts to ſomewhat more than *high Crimes and Miſdemeanors*) I could not but think it an unparallel'd Preſumption in the Priſoner to go ſo rebelliouſly attended, when, as a publick Enemy to his Church and Country, he ought to have been drawn upon a Sledge.

The Doctor appear'd to me to be gay and inſolent, which made me ſerious: The Occaſion and Subject was the ſame, but by us differently conſider'd. I, who can never forget our *Deliverer*; he, who will never forgive him: I, who am ſo pleaſed and eaſy under her Majeſty's Adminiſtration; he, who is ſo reſtleſs and diſcontented: I, who am ſo ſolicitous to confirm the *Hanover* Succeſſion; he, who is ſo active to defeat it. Yet I could not but be of Opinion with him, that he was going to the *Hall* to make good upon the *Commons* the *Accuſation of Treaſon and Rebellion*, upon which he had lately *arraign'd* them in *St. Paul's Church*. *To him, and to me*, he and his Council ſeem'd to be the Managers for the Pretender; and the *Commons Managers* ſeem'd only to be of Council for the *Queen and the Nation*: He and I thought, that whilſt they pretended to proſecute him, they only *pleaded their own Cauſe*; and if he had been *acquitted* of high Crimes and Miſdemeanors, they muſt have been *convicted* of Rebellion and Perjury. This we both thought was the true State of the Caſe, which ſo differently affected us.

The Lords our Judges have agreed, that the Commons have made good the ſeveral Articles of Impeachment, and notwithſtanding the Doctor ſolemnly *forſwore* it, have found him guilty of the *criminal Intention*; but yet ſuch is their Humanity, ſuch their undeſerved Mercy, that if compared with the unexampled Cruelties, and unprecedented Puniſhments inflicted formerly by *Laud* and the *High-Church Party* in the *Star Chamber*, the World muſt own, that their Chaſtiſements are next to Impunity; the Crime only cenſured, the Criminal diſmiſs'd; and muſt confeſs too, that there is ſomething more than *Cant*, in that Divine and *Royal* Word, *Moderation*.

Since the Doctor has publiſhed his colourable Defence, by way of *Seditious Appeal* to the People, and it is impoſſible ſo ſoon to print off the excellent Arguments of the Managers for the Commons, I wiſh ſome better Pen, who had heard them, would have undertaken to have wiped out the Impreſſion, that the Doctor's evaſive and prevaricating Speech has made upon ſome People, whoſe Paſſions of every Kind are much eaſier moved, than their Judgments rightly informed; which is my Excuſe for this Paper.

ARTICLE I.

The Doctor in his Speech * is pleaſed to affirm, that the *Managers of the Commons* have ſupported their Charge by 'Intendments, unneceſſary Implica-'tions, and ſtrain'd Conſtructions; by piecing broken Sentences, conjoining 'diſtant and independent Paſſages, in order to make him ſpeak what he never 'thought of.'

The *Managers* methinks were very patient to hear this Language, and very indulgent to acquieſce in his printing it, before their Arguments were publiſhed, that the World might judge whether they were the *artful Knaves*, which, in my Opinion, the Doctor has here *repreſented* them, by applying to them the true Character of the *King's Council in a former Reign:* But I hope, that even *the Managers at* Tom's *Coffee-Houſe* are able to vindicate the *Managers* of the Commons from this Aſperſion, till they have an Opportunity to do it much better themſelves. The *Managers at* Tom's, to ſupport the firſt Article, read forty-four *continued* Lines of the Sermon, out of which entirely they maintain their Charge. 'And is this to piece broken Sentences, and to conjoin diſtant 'and independent Paſſages?' The Managers begin with the 11th Page. ‖ 'The 'grand Security of our Government, and the very Pillar upon which it ſtands, 'is founded upon the ſteady Beſief of the Subjects Obligation to an abſolute 'and unconditional Obedience to the ſupream Power, in all Things lawful; and 'the utter Illegality of Reſiſtance upon any Petence whatſoever.' Here the Managers go on *verbatim*, till they come to theſe Words, 'Our Adverſaries 'think they have us ſure and unanſwerable on this Point, when they urge the 'Revolution of this Day in their Defence. But certainly they are the greateſt 'Enemies of that, and his late Majeſty, and the moſt ungrateful for the Deli-'verance, who endeavour to caſt ſuch black and odious Colours upon both: 'How often muſt they be told, that the King himſelf ſolemnly diſclaim'd the 'leaſt Imputation of Reſiſtance, and the Parliament declared, that they ſet the 'Crown on his Head, upon no other Title but that of the Vacancy of the Throne.'

Upon this the *Managers at* Tom's charge you with *ſuggeſting and maintaining*, 'that the neceſſary Means uſed to bring about the late happy Revolution were 'odious and unjuſtifiable.' The Managers affirm and prove, that there was Reſiſtance at the Revolution, and that the Reſiſtance then made was the neceſſary Means to bring about the Revolution. You ſay in your Sermon, and confirm it in your Anſwer and Speech, that *all Reſiſtance, upon any Pretence whatſoever, is utterly illegal.* Do the *Managers* then make an unneceſſary *Implication*, when they

* Page 5. ‖ Sermon at *St. Paul's*, 2d Edit. p. 11, 12.

they infer, that if Reſiſtance be *utterly illegal*, that it is odious and unjuſtifiable? When you ſay that it is not juſtifiable *in any Caſe whatſoever*, is it a *ſtrained Conſtruction* to make you ſay that it is unjuſtifiable in the Caſe of the Revolution? And when you ſay that it is odious and unjuſtifiable, is it not a fair Collection to ſay that you *have caſt odious and black Colours upon it?*

The Managers at *Child*'s anſwer this, and ſay, that though Reſiſtance ſhould have been made, and though it were juſtifiable, yet the *Reſiſtance was not the neceſſary* Means, nor did it bring about the *Revolution*, but that the *Abdication was the Cauſe of the Revolution*, and the *Reſiſtance* was only the *Cauſa ſine qua non.*

This learned Diſtinction has ſtruck deep into the Noddles of thoſe who are lately come from the *Univerſity*, and many who have lived too long in it. But I muſt aſk them whether the *Reſiſtance* was the Cauſe of the *Abdication*, or the *Abdication* was the Cauſe of the *Reſiſtance?* If they think fit to allow that the Reſiſtance was the Cauſe of the *Abdication*, then the Reſiſtance muſt be the *Cauſa efficiens*, and the neceſſary Means; and the Abdication only the *Cauſa ſine qua non:* Nor was the *Abdication* (which was but one Inſtance of the late King's Male-Adminiſtration among many others enumerated in the *Act of Rights, Primo Gul. & Mar.)* the ſole Cauſe of the Vacancy of the Throne.

Here I muſt take Notice of a *general Plea* that ſome of your *Managers* have put in for you, which goes to the whole, that 'Whereas your Sermons be-'ing only a Bundle of inconſiſtent Nonſenſe, they know no Law in being, by 'which a Fool is puniſhable, and that the Conſequences would extend to too 'many, if a Precedent ſhould be made, to correct any body for preaching and 'ſpeaking fooliſhly.' I know that this pinches cloſe a Perſon of your Pride and Self-Sufficiency, to have ſuch an Aſperſion caſt upon your Parts, and do really believe that you would rather plead guilty, than own yourſelf to be an *Inſignificant*; and to oblige you I'll take upon me the *Defence* of your *Underſtanding*, and ſhew that you had a *Meaning*, and a *malicious* one, which (as it happens commonly to Men of your *Capacity)* is always *uppermoſt*, for if you were ſo weak as to *mean nothing* at all, you were certainly a very *inſignificant Tool of the Party.*

The firſt Article againſt your Underſtanding is grounded upon this *Poſition* of yours, 'That an abſolute and unconditional Obedience is due to the ſupream 'Power in all Things lawful; and that Reſiſtance is utterly illegal upon any 'Pretence whatſoever.' Here, they ſay, you are perfectly *abſurd*, and *contradictory* to yourſelf, by tacking a *Condition* to your *unconditional* Obedience, and thereby you aſſert nothing, and are very *clear* of any *Suſpicion* of a *Meaning* in this Place. But in this Point, Doctor, I own you are extreamly wrong'd, for I think that you write as good Senſe upon the Subject as moſt of the *Fathers* either *living* or *dead*, and you ſeem to think ſo too; and impatient of this Calumny, you point out your Finger, in the Margin of your Collections, to a certain Biſhop, as if you deſired him, in his own and your Juſtification to ſay, whether the Diſtinction of *active Obedience* in all Things *lawful*, and *paſſive Obedience* in all Things *poſſible*, will not make your Doctrine orthodox, and your Senſe unqueſtionable.

But your *Managers at* Child's, who have a better Opinion of your *Underſtanding*, ſay, that your Art was nice, and your Caution remarkable, to leave the

ſupream

ſupream Power indefinite and at large, to fix it where you pleaſe upon Occaſion; and that if, by any other Paſſages of your Sermon, it ſhould be demonſtrated, that by the *ſupream Power* you mean the Prince, yet ſtill you are at Liberty to explain that *unconditional Obedience*, as due to his *executive* Power. That you laid down the Doctrine of *Non-reſiſtance* only as a *general Rule*, to which you allow'd *Exceptions*, and that undoubtedly *Non-reſiſtance* was a *good* and *wholeſome* Doctrine, and proper to be preach'd with a *mental Reſervation:* That *Neceſſity* made *Reſiſtance* lawful. And they ſay, that your Council inſiſted much upon this as your beſt Defence. But your *Managers* differ among themſelves in this Point, and thoſe who aſperſe your Underſtanding ſay, that you were ſtark mad to depart from the Defence of your Council; and to avow in your Speech, that you preach'd that *Doctrine* in the full Latitude that the *Fathers Dead* and *Living* taught it, becauſe thoſe Fathers, who are the principal Teachers of *unconditional Obedience* (as Biſhop *Sanderſon*) do moſt undeniably in expreſs Words exclude *all Exceptions* to their *general Rule*, and it is evident that they lodge the *ſupream Power* in the Prince, that they make no Diſtinction of the *executive Power*. This *Juſtification*, they ſay, untwiſts all that your Council ſaid in your Defence, and from hence it follows, that the *Caſe* of the *Revolution* could not be even *mentally* excepted out of your *general Rule*, and I hope that I ſhall ſatisfy moſt People, that your Deſign was expreſly to *condemn* it.

The Doctor ſays, Page 11. 'That our Adverſaries think they effectually ſtop 'our Mouths, and have us ſure and unanſwerable on this Point, when they urge 'the Revolution of this Day in their Defence; but certainly they are the greateſt 'Enemies of that, and his late Majeſty, and the moſt ungrateful for the Deliver-'ance, who endeavour to caſt ſuch black and odious Colours upon both. How 'often muſt they be told, that the King himſelf ſolemnly diſclaim'd the leaſt 'Imputation of Reſiſtance in his Declaration, and that the Parliament declared, 'that they ſet the Crown on his Head upon no other Title but that of the Va-'cancy of the Throne, *&c.*' And then a little further he ſays, 'Thus do they 'endeavour to draw Compariſons, and to juſtify the horrid Actions and Principles 'of Forty-one.'

The Doctor having laid down the general Rule of Non-Reſiſtance, now undertakes to defend the Generality of it, and being aware that the late Revolution would be objected againſt it, and leſt his *Adverſaries* (*viz.* the Friends to the *Revolution*) ſhould offer the Reſiſtance of that Day, as an Exception to his general Rule, he anſwers them before-hand, that there was no Reſiſtance at that Time, that the King himſelf has denied the leaſt Reſiſtance, and that they who endeavour to prove there was any Reſiſtance, caſt odious and black Colours upon his Majeſty and the Deliverance.

To what Purpoſe was the Caſe of the Revolution mention'd juſt after the Doctor's general Rule of the Illegality of Reſiſtance? It muſt be, either to except it out, or condemn it by that general Rule. If then he excepts it out of the Rule, it is becauſe there was no Reſiſtance made: But if it happens, that there was Reſiſtance at the Revolution, the Doctor has caſt *odious* and *black Colours* upon both the *Deliverer* and *Deliverance*. And to *blacken* them yet more, he ſays, that *thus* (i.e. by maintaining that Reſiſtance) *they* (i.e. *his Adverſaries*, who de-

ſend the Revolution) *juſtify the Actions and Principles of Forty-one*, by a Compariſon drawn between them. By which it's plain that the Doctor makes the Revolution as ſcandalous as the Tranſactions about *Forty-one*, if founded on Reſiſtance.

The Doctor perſiſts to the laſt in his Speech, *p.* 7. That there was no Reſiſtance made at the Revolution: What will not this Man dare to affirm or deny? Did not the Biſhop of *London* himſelf re-aſſume the Sword? And had he not the Honour to have the Princeſs *ANNE* under his Guard? Did he not diſplay his Co'ours with that remarkable *Motto*, that ſuccinctly comprehended the Reaſon of the general Reſiſtance, *viz. Quia nolumus mutare leges Angliæ?* Did not Archbiſhop *Sancroft* take up Offenſive and Defenſive Arms, when he forced the *Tower* from the King's Governor? But tell me, Doctor, how could you affirm to the Queen's Face, that there was no Reſiſtance? when you knew that her Majeſty herſelf was in Arms, and acted ſo great a Part in the *glorious Revolution*; and that many Hundreds of your Audience had been in *Arms*. How many Lords have ſince boaſted of the Reſiſtance they then made, notwithſtanding you were capable of aſſerting the contrary to their Faces?

I am not ſurpriſed to ſee the Prince of *Orange*'s Declaration wreſted by the Doctor, who is as free with the Scriptures; the Prince never diſclaim'd Reſiſtance, but the Title of Conqueſt: But *Sacheverell* either underſtands nothing, or is reſolved to pervert every Thing.

It appears by the Letter left by King *James*, That he himſelf apprehended he was reſiſted, when he complains of an 'Order ſent him at Midnight, to remove 'next Morning from his Palace, and that the Prince of *Orange*'s Guards had ta-'ken Poſſeſſion of the Poſts about *Whitehall, without his being* advertiſed *of it*; 'afterwards *he ſays*, he was born free, and deſires to continue ſo; *therefore he* 'thinks it not convenient to expoſe himſelf to be ſecured, and not to be at Li-'berty.'* 'Tis plain by this Letter, that the King apprehended, that when he was ordered to go to *Ham*, that he was made a Priſoner, or at leaſt that he was likely to be made one ſoon; and to impriſon the King, is as high Reſiſtance as can be made. Therefore as many Gentlemen as believe, there was actual Force and Reſiſtance made at the Revolution, muſt ſay that *Sacheverell* has *caſt odious and black Colours* (which I hope won't ſtick) upon the Revolution; and that he is the 'greateſt Enemy of that, and his late Majeſty, and the moſt ungrateful 'for the Deliverance.'

The Doctor defends the Doctrine of Paſſive Obedience and Non-Reſiſtance, as taught by the Sermons or *Homilies* put out in *Edward* the Sixth's Time, and ſays, 'That thoſe *Homilies* were *eſtabliſh'd* by the Thirty-nine *Articles*, and 'that thoſe Thirty-nine *Articles* were confirm'd by the Thirteenth of *Elizabeth*, 'and that they are now made *perpetual* and *fundamental* by the Act of *Union*.'

The *Managers* againſt the Doctor attack the very Foundation of the Doctor's Defence, and if the Reader judges the Argument to be good, it's a full Anſwer to all the Speeches that have been made for him; they ſay, that the Article, which contains the *Homilies*, and a great many more of the *Nine* and *Thirty Articles*, were not confirm'd by the Thirteenth of *Elizabeth*, nor any other Act of Parliament;

Vide State Tracts, *Vol.* I.

Parliament; and conſequently the Doctrine of Non-Reſiſtance is not depoſited in ſuch a Place of Security as in the irrepealable Act of *Union*.

The Statute of the Thirteenth of *Elizabeth* confirms 'all the Articles of Religion, which *ONLY* concern the Confeſſion of the true Chriſtian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments;' but neither that Article about the *Homilies*, nor ſeveral other Articles which *ONLY concern Matters* of Diſcipline, were ever confirm'd by Parliament to this Day. I refer the Reader to the Argument at large annexed to this Paper, which I don't doubt but will convince him of the Truth of this Aſſertion.

We muſt then conſider the *Homilies* as ſo many Sermons wrote by the Clergy in *Edward* the Sixth's Time, when few of them were of tolerable Learning or Abilities: Does it appear that they had our Conſtitution under Conſideration? Does it not appear that they underſtood nothing of it? The Reſiſtance that was made againſt *Richard* the Third was then freſh in their Memory; who, bad as he was, even ſuch an *Anointed* was not to be *touched* by their Rules, if ſtretch'd to an unlimited Senſe. They might have heard of many Precedents of depoſing our former *Tyrants*, and eaſily collected that it was the Practice of the Church, and Law of *England*, in ſuch unfortunate Caſes. Let us conſider their Argument thus.

A *Convocation* of the Clergy confirm a Doctrine utterly inconſiſtent with the Conſtitution of the State, and therefore 'tis an high Preſumption in the Laity, againſt the Authority of the Church, to refuſe to be bound down by it. Some modern Doctors miſapply and miſconſtrue thoſe Doctrines, and then it is Irreligion and Atheiſm to examine or inquire into their Miſtakes. May we not be permitted to oppoſe the Sentiments and Practices of thoſe *Convocations*, againſt the Opinions and Comments of the Expoſitors of their Doctrine? It's very probable that the Members of thoſe Convocations beſt underſtood their own Meanings, and ſurely they would never have aſſiſted ſo freely and largely in reſiſting the *French* and *Spaniſh* Tyrants, and defended their oppreſs'd Subjects, if they had ever thought that Reſiſtance was, *de toto genere*, unlawful, and that a Tyrant was upon no Pretence to be reſiſted. And I think it a fatal Stroke to the Kingdom, if the *Sevenois* were denied Aſſiſtance thro' this modern Principle, whoſe Support was both lawful, and of infinite Advantage to the Allies.

To ſupport that unſupportable Senſe of the *Homilies*, the Doctor produces the concurrent Opinions of many learned Fathers, down from the Reformation to this Day, who have preach'd the ſame Doctrine, and thinks his Caſe *extream hard that he ſhould be accuſed for what others have received Thanks*; he might very truly have added, *and been made Biſhops for it*, and then he would have explain'd the Reaſon why they preach'd it, and what he himſelf expected for having done it.

It is allowed by all Sides that the *Manwarings* and *Sibthorps* were the firſt Authors of King *Charles*'s Misfortunes, by miſguiding his *Conſcience* in the very ſame Point, in Effect, that you endeavour to deceive the Queen: It was ſome as wicked as you who perſuaded her Father, that the Church of *England* would not, nay, could not reſiſt; and you think it your *ſingular Misfortune* that for this fatal Doctrine you have not received Thanks, or Preferment, from her Majeſty.

Notwithſtanding

Notwithſtanding that ſome Fathers have ſtrain'd ſuch *Homilies* as regard this Point, which was always the high Way to Preferment, yet they have rejected others; which is a ſtrong Argument to me, that the Article which contains the *Homilies* was never confirm'd by Parliament, and that the Clergy thought themſelves at Liberty to amend, alter, or reject, wholly, or in Part, any Article that did not 'concern the Confeſſion of the true *Chriſtian* Faith, or Doctrine of 'the Sacraments;' and therefore the *Homily* about the Idolatry of Pictures and Organs is now exploded as erroneous, and the Uſe of them now *allowed*; which could not have been done by the Clergy alone, if that Article about the *Homilies* had been confirm'd by the 13*th of Elizabeth*, as it is pretended.

The Doctor's *Managers* inſiſt, that their Doctrine of *Non-Reſiſtance* is *warranted* by Law, and to prove this they read a Clauſe in the Militia Act of the 13th of *Charles* II. viz. 'That both, *or* either of the Houſes of Parliament, may 'not lawfully raiſe or levy *War*, Offenſive or Defenſive, againſt his Majeſty;' and the ſame Parliament in the next Seſſions had framed a Poſition in the *Corporation Act* in the ſame Senſe, and almoſt in the ſame Words, viz. 'That it 'is not lawful, upon any Pretence whatſoever, to take Arms againſt the King,' and obliged People to ſwear to this Declaration. The Oath in the *Corporation* Act, and the Clauſe in the *Militia* Act, being convertible Poſitions, both only declaring the Illegality of reſiſting the King, if the Clauſe were made the *Oath*, or the *Oath* turn'd into the *Clauſe*, it would make no Difference: Since therefore the *Corporation Oath ſtands* repealed by the 1*ſt* of *W.* and *M.* the Militia *Clauſe* being one and the ſame Thing with the *Oath*, is not only virtually, but expreſly repealed too; and thoſe Acts being made upon the Reſtoration, only to condemn the *Antimonarchical* Principles, and to ſettle the Power of the Militia in the King, it would aſtoniſh the Makers, who deſign'd only to preſerve *one Part* of the Conſtitution, *viz. The Monarchy*, to ſee that very Act ſtretch'd to the Subverſion of the *Whole*.

They who are not ſatisfy'd with this may obſerve, that by the ſeveral Acts mention'd in the Preamble of the Impeachment, the very Subſtance and Intention (if it had any ſuch Intention) of the *Militia* Act is *damn'd*, and the *Arms* of Reſiſtance avowed to have been *juſtifiable* and *neceſſary*; and to confirm the *Legality* of *Reſiſtance* in ſome Caſes, the Act of *Rights* and *Liberties*, 1*ſt* of *G. & M. Sect.* 9. ſays, That upon ſuch and ſuch Miſdemeanors of the King and Queen, the Subjects ſhall thereby be *abſolved* from their *Allegiance*, which Act will and ought to protect them againſt the Statute of Treaſons of *E.* III. if they in ſuch Caſes do reſiſt: And this Act will juſtify, that there is an *indiſpenſible Duty of Reſiſtance* in ſome Caſes, and that they are *Traitors to Poſterity*, who refuſe to perform the Truſt repoſed in them by this Act; that to encourage them to *reſiſt*, has *abſolved* them from their *Allegiance*; that to *protect* them in *Reſiſtance*, has granted them an *Indemnity*

But ſince ſome learned Gentlemen would prove the Law *felo de ſe*, and make a Clauſe of one Act, to deſtroy both Law and Parliament; ſince ſome ridicule the *Original Contract*, by importunately deſiring to ſee it, I hope I ſhall be able here to give a good Account of it, and to ſhew the original Right of the *People* to defend themſelves againſt a King becoming a Tyrant.

I ſuppoſe no body expects to ſee an original Contract in Writing, Time muſt needs have worn out that, and 'tis likely it was only verbal; and we muſt be ſatisfy'd with the beſt Evidence a Matter of that Nature is capable of: If the firſt Records of Authority mention the *Conditional Tenure* of the Crown, and the Duties impoſed on the King by the People; if our former Kings have confirm'd this in Parliament; if the Opinions of all the Ancient Lawyers agree, that the People had an *Original* Right to what was ſo confirm'd; if the People have ever ſince enjoy'd and maintain'd that Right; ſure there's ſomething more than *Fable* in this *Original Compact*.

In the *Saxon* Parliaments, few new Laws were enacted; but the Cuſtom then was for ſome of the moſt learned Members to declare upon Oath the Fundamental Laws of the Realm to the King and the People. I find in *Edward* the Confeſſor's Time, twelve ſworn Sages pronounced the Law, thus: *Rex ad hoc eſt Conſtitutus, ut Regnum & Eccleſiam ab injurioſis defendat, quod niſi fecerit, nec nomen Regis in eo conſtabit, verum nomen Regis perdit; debet Juſtitia magis regnare quam voluntas Prava:* And further, *Rex eris dum bene regis, quod niſi feceris, nomen Regis perdis.* Lambard, 142. I obſerve here, that firſt the excellent Duties of the King are enumerated, and the Purpoſes ſpecify'd for which he was made: That in the Beginning there was a Limitation ſet upon his Power, that he ſhould rule by the Law, and not by wicked Will or Arbitrary Power: That the original Conditions were expreſſed, for the Breach of which he was to be Unking'd. Which ſtrongly makes out an original Contract.

If it be obſerved here, that it is not expreſly ſaid, that the King was conſtituted by the *People*, nor that the *People* are to depoſe him upon Failure of his Duty: Yet it muſt be allow'd, that there were Conditions annexed to the Crown, and that it was forfeitable for the Breach of them; and when we find who had a Right to puniſh delinquent Kings, we ſhall diſcover between whom the original Contract was made.

The Conqueſt has made no Alteration in our Fundamental Laws; for even the Conqueror ſubmitted to wear the Crown upon the Conditions that his *Saxon* Predeceſſors had enjoy'd it. After this, the firſt memorable Aſſertion of the People's Right by the original Contract was in King *John*'s Time, which at laſt ended in a full Recognition of the People's Right to dethrone tyrannizing Kings. I'll only repeat Part of the Subſtance of a Clauſe in the Act of Parliament, drawn in the Form of a Charter, and refer the Examination of it to the whole Clauſe in the Appendix: 'If the King, or his Juſtices in his Abſence, do not reform 'Miſcarriages within forty Days after they are complain'd of, the Five and 'Twenty Barons, and all the Commonalty of *England*, may diſtreſs us by all 'the Ways they can, till it be amended, and the Subjects may ſwear to obey 'the ſaid Barons, and to diſtreſs us.' *

I know of no Objection to be made againſt this Charter, but what may be made againſt the Great Charter; and Hiſtorians ſay, they are the very ſame, which may be the Reaſon why this is omitted out of the Statute-Book. The Lawyers of thoſe Times concur, that the People inſiſted only upon their Ancient Liberties; the Confeſſor's Laws ſay, the Tyrant ſhall be Unking'd. This Charter declares who ſhall have Power to *Unking* him. The Method only was then ſettled

* Charter of King *John*, dated at *Running-Mead*.

ſettled of making uſe of the Coercive Power of the People, which was before their *Original Right.*

Eracton, Lib. 2. *C.* 16. *Fleta, Lib.* 1. *C.* 17. expreſs themſelves, 'That the 'Law is above the King; that the High Court (*of Parliament*) is ſuperior to 'the King; that the King is made by the Law: And therefore if the King be 'without a Bridle, that is, without Law, they muſt Bridle him.' Theſe Opinions juſtify, that the People had a Right to Bridle King *John*, a moſt unruly Prince, and that King *John* granted them nothing but what was their Due. If theſe Authors are not often quoted in the *Hall*, it is becauſe they are not *Caſe-reporters*; but conſider'd as Hiſtorical Collectors of the old Law, they are certainly in this Caſe the beſt Evidence. Some Gentlemen may perhaps object, that theſe Laws are too old to be of Force, as they ſay that ſome Precedents are too *modern* to be good. But the Opinion of Chancellor *Forteſcu* is Ancient enough to be venerable, and Modern enough to be credited.

The Chancellor in the 9*th* Chapter tells the Prince of *Wales*, 'That *Eng-* 'land is a Political Kingdom, and that the King governs by a Political Power; 'therefore he can't alter the Laws of the Kingdom.' C. 13. He tells the Prince, how a Political Kingdom is to be made; 'A People that raiſe themſelves into 'a Kingdom muſt ever appoint one to be the chief Ruler of the whole Body, 'which in Kingdoms is called King.' Then he informs the Prince of the Original of this Political Kingdom of *England*, *viz.* 'That it was form'd from *Brutus* and his Companions.' Then he informs by *whom*, and to what End this Political Kingdom was form'd, *viz.* 'The King was made and ordain'd for 'the Defence of the Law of his Subjects, and of their Bodies and Goods, where- 'unto he receiveth Power from his PEOPLE; ſo that he can't govern 'his PEOPLE by any other Power.' It is plain, that *Forteſcu* thought the King derived his Power from the *People*; and I much rely upon his Opinion, as being the moſt learned and beſt of our Chancellors, *except the Preſent.* He lived at a Time when the Title of the Crown was moſt canvaſſed, and beſt underſtood: He wrote for the Inſtruction of the *Heir Apparent*, was too great a Lawyer to miſtake the Fundamentals of our Conſtitution, and too faithful a Counſellor to miſguide the Judgment of the Young Prince.

Wherefore, ſince it appears by the moſt ancient Monuments of the Conſtitution, that Limitations and Conditions were originally impoſed upon the King, and that the King upon his Demerits was removeable, which neceſſarily implies an *Original Contract*; ſince Chancellor *Forteſcu* affirms, that the King of *England* was made King by, and received his Power from, the People; ſince by the *Magna Charta* of King *John*, the Right and Power of Dethroning Kings, for Breach of the Contract, has been acknowledged and ſettled in the People; *The Original Contract* muſt needs have been between the *King* and the *People*, who gave the King Power to govern, and reſerved a Right to themſelves to remove him for Tyranny; which Power and Right have been enjoy'd by the People from the Original of Government in *England* down to this Day, as often as the *Neceſſity* of the Caſe compell'd them to make uſe of it.

But ſince ſome are endeavouring the Ruin of the State, by an upſtart Doctrine of the Church, it is with great Pleaſure I have read the Hiſtory of the

Church

Church Reſiſtant, *Proteſtant Catholick*, as well as *Roman Catholick*; and it is exceeding comfortable to me, who, with regard to my Duty towards God, think it a henious Sin to rebell againſt the lawful Powers of a good Prince, and yet, with reſpect to my Country, think myſelf indiſpenſibly obliged to reſiſt the unlawful Acts of a Tyrant: To find, that this Doctrine of Non-Reſiſtance (as now preached) is not the Doctrine of the Church of *England*, nor the true Senſe of the Homilies, that the Practice and Opinions of all the ſubſequent Convocations have been contrary; to find, that the true Meaning of 'Kings having 'their Power from God, is not, that they have any diſtinct Authority beſides 'the Law of the Land derived to them from God, but that by the Laws of 'God, the Authority of the Law of the Land was ſecured to them: That 'the Laws of Religion in the Scripture did only eſtabliſh the ſeveral 'Conſtitutions and Governments that were in the different Parts of the World.' To find all this ſo well proved, in the incomparable Speech of the Biſhop of *Salisbury*, and by the Opinions of the greateſt Part of the *Sacred Bench*; to find the Truth force itſelf out of the Mouths of the *Priſoner's Council*, who did all fully and plainly own, that in Caſes of extream Neceſſity an Exception of the Doctrine was to be admitted, and that ſuch was the Caſe of the *Revolution*; to find the *Revolution* juſtify'd, by thoſe who were brought there to arraign it, gives entire Satisfaction to my Conſcience, that I perform'd my Duty to my Country in reſiſting King *James*, without breaking the Law or Ordinance of God.

But you, *Doctor*, wave all Defences, but that of your Homilies: And of all their Expoſitors, the Opinion of Biſhop *Sanderſon* is propereſt for your Purpoſe, and the Spirit of it very agreeable to your Genius: I dare not be ſo *unmannerly* free with either dead or living *Prelates*, as you, you *dutiful Son of the Church*; nor do I believe, nor will I call Biſhop *Sanderſon* a falſe Son of the Church, or a *perfidious Prelate*, becauſe I think him out in one Opinion; which maintains that 'Defenſive Arms are *de toto genere* unlawful, and may not be taken up by 'any Man, at any Time, in any Caſe, upon any Colour or Pretenſion what-'ſoever; nor for the Defence of Religion; nor for the Preſervation of a Church, 'or State; no, nor yet, if that could be imagined poſſible, for the Salvation of a 'Soul; no, not for the Redemption of the whole World.'

If this Doctrine be *Orthodox*, then Chriſt came into the World upon a *poor Errand*, to be *Crucified* for the *Redemption* of *Mankind*; which, in this Biſhop's Opinion, is not of equal Conſideration with the Intereſts of a ſingle Man. I take this Doctrine to be ſo far from being Apoſtolical, that I make bold to affirm it to be a wild and blaſphemous *Rant*, and very proper to be burnt with Doctor *Sacheverell's* *Blaſphemous Collections*.

As they are many Precedents to juſtify Reſiſtance in the Hiſtory of the *Jews*, in whoſe Political Government God had ſuch an immediate Hand, as to condeſcend to be for ſome time even their King; I ſhall only give one Inſtance of the *Reſiſtance* that the *Maccabees* made againſt *Antiochus*, when he endeavoured to to make them break their Laws, by eating Swine's Fleſh, and attempted to introduce Idolatry into their Temples. This, in Biſhop *Sanderſon's* Opinion, though to ſave their *Church*, and *Laws*, had not been ſufficient Cauſe to reſiſt;

yet we ſee that God himſelf ſupported their juſt Cauſe, and by God's Aſſiſtance, 'they quenched the Violence of Fire, eſcaped the Edge of the Sword, out 'of Weakneſs were made ſtrong, waxed valiant in Fight, turn'd to flight the Ar-'mies of the *Aliens*.'* Though St. *Paul* himſelf gives them theſe Encomiums, yet this Biſhop would make St. *Paul* ſay in another Place, that they, and all thoſe who *reſiſt in any Caſe whatſoever*, were to receive to themſelves Damnation.

I doubt not, if St. *Paul* were now living, but he would applaud the *Arms* of the *Engliſh* taken up againſt their *Antiochus*, becauſe, as in the Caſe of the *Maccabees*, Idols were brought into our Church, and our Laws broken; and becauſe *that God, even our own, and his God, has given them his Bleſſing*.

The Managers for the Doctor bring another Argument againſt the Revolution, and ſay, that they are proud of the Part they acted in it; and yet it was Rebellion, becauſe if they had not ſucceeded, they would have been all hang'd by the Laws. Undoubtedly, if a Tyrant gets the Upper-hand of the Subjects, he will put them to Death without Mercy, and we know that King *James* had then a ſet of Judges, and ſome Biſhops, who would have declared it both *Law* and *Goſpel*. But thoſe who conſider the Authority of the Laws before-mentioned will ſay, that King *James* upon his *Male-Adminiſtration* was *ipſo facto no King*, and that there could be no *Rebellion* againſt him, to whom no *Allegiance* was due.

It ſeems ſtrange to me, that Gentlemen ſhould value themſelves for being *Rebels*; yet I wiſh that ſome of them may not really *now* think, that *they deſerve to be hang'd* for having done ſo much at the Revolution. And it is to be apprehended, leſt through a conſtant Reflection upon their *Rebellion*, and Injuſtice done to the late King, they may at laſt, through a Compunction of Conſcience, think of ſome *Reſtitution*; and to make ſome amends for the Expulſion of the Father, at laſt propoſe a *Reſtoration* of the ſuppoſed Son.

This leads me to reflect, who have revived this Doctrine, to what End ſhould it be now trumped up, and univerſally preached? How is this *Doctrine wholeſome and neceſſary for theſe Times?* when our beloved Queen reigns in the very *Souls* of all her People, except *Sacheverell and Company*. I muſt obſerve, that the Author of the *Latin Sermon*, not contented to inſtill artfully this *Poiſonous Doctrine* into the Ears of moſt of the Congregations about Town, but projecting to ſpread it univerſally, took an Opportunity to harangue the whole Clergy of *London* together. The Duty of the Day was forgot, the Deſign of the Preacher was only to defend and recommend this Doctrine to their particular Care; and in his *Dedication* he gives them their *Cue*, and inſinuates, that this Doctrine, by a *Common Conſent*, and a *Common Concern*, is to be propagated.

Sacheverell's Part was to *ſet right* (as they cant) the young Clergy and Youth of the Univerſity. And theſe two Gentlemen have laboured ſo abundantly in their Provinces, that go to moſt Churches, and you will be apt to think there's but *one Text* in the Bible, or that every Text ſpeaks but *one Thing*.

Since this rank Weed has ſo *overſpread*, and is ſo *deep rooted* in the *Univerſity*; ſince a new ſet of *Profeſſors* is eſtabliſhed to teach Jacobitiſm; ſince ſuch Induſtry

16

* Thorndike, *p.* 306. *St.* Chryſoſtom, *Hom.* 27. in Epiſt. ad Heb. & alli.

is uſed to breed up the young Nobility and Gentry in an Averſion to the true Principles of our *Conſtitution*, in an *Abhorrence* of the late *Revolution*, in a general *Diſlike* of the *Hanover* Succeſſion; ſince they are become downright *Nurſeries* of Parties and Factions; ſince even *Popery* itſelf begins to *peep* abroad; ſomething more muſt be done by the Parliament than burning their Decrees, or elſe a foreign Education will infallibly be the Conſequence.

When was this Doctrine revived? Since the *Declenſion* of the Power of *France*, and a little before the *Scotch Expedition*. What are the neceſſary Conſequences to be drawn from theſe Doctrines, if they were once ſettled? That the *Revolution* was founded in Iniquity, and that Injuſtice was done to King *James*, who ought not to have been reſiſted; then it will follow that King *William* and Queen *Mary* were Uſurpers, that our rightful and lawful *Queen* is an *Uſurper*, that there is another Brood of *Uſurpers* coming over from *Hanover*, and that ſo much Blood and Money has been ſpent in an unjuſt War. Theſe are the *odious* and *black Colours* that theſe Gentlemen *caſt* upon the *Revolution* and the *preſent Government*. And to what Purpoſe they do it at this Juncture appears plainly, ſince now they have loſt all Hopes of carrying on the *Work* by a *French* Power.

Who were moſt concerned for the good Succeſs of *Sacheverell*'s *Doctrine* and *Trial*? The *Non-jurors*, *Jacobites*, and *Papiſts*; who own this to be the faireſt *Puſh* that ever was made for their Maſter. Who were the moſt remarkable Managers for the Doctor? Thoſe who were for an *Adminiſtration* and *Regency*, and againſt the *Coronation* of the *P.* of *O.* Thoſe, who put ſuch a ſudden Stop to the laſt War, and were ſo unwilling to enter into this: Thoſe, who diſtreſs'd King *William* into the *Partition* Treaty, and afterwards thought it reaſonable to hang his Miniſters for it: And thoſe to a Man, who were againſt the Union, and now with their uſual Sincerity pretend to be the Zealous Maintainers of it. How cloſe are all theſe united, and almoſt under Arms to defend this unknown and *worthleſs* Man! Hated by all who know him, for his Ingratitude and Preſumption; nay, they themſelves will tell you, it is not the *Man*, but the *Cauſe*, they *defend*. Since therefore we defend the Cauſe of the *Revolution*, I wiſh they would explain what *Cauſe* it is they *defend*.

It is remarkable, that *now* all private Quarrels are forgot, and open Enemies put Confidence in one another: No body hated *Sacheverell* more than the *Chief* of his own *Managers*; *Sacheverell* was never ſo bitter as upon a certain *falſe Brother*, whom he diſtinguiſh'd in his Sermon by the Name of *Turn-coat*: But for that Purpoſe, and *at that Time*, Pilate *and* Herod *were made Friends, for before they were at Enmity between themſelves*.

Sacheverell, in his Speech, would make us believe, it is impoſſible that he ſhould be a *Favourer* of the *Pretender*, becauſe he has *abjured* him. This indeed would be a good Argument in the Mouth of a Man of Probity; but ſince *Sacheverell* and his Managers allow of Mental Exceptions and Reſervations, we muſt examine this Matter. It is *now* well known, that ſome Gentlemen formerly, who would never qualify themſelves for the *Lieutenancy*, or the *Commiſſion* of the Peace, took all the Oaths, to get into the *Houſe of Commons*, and had Diſpenſations for the Services which they were capable of doing there. There are *now* Circumſtances to make us believe, that the *Jacobite* Clergy have the

like Inſtructions to take any Oaths, to get Poſſeſſion of a Pulpit for the Service of the *Cauſe*, to bellow out the *hereditary Right*, the *pretended* Title of the *Pretender*. Have not the Non-jurors at this Juncture, and for this very Purpoſe, taken the Oaths? Has not Parſon *H——s*, the moſt inveterate, and moſt impudent of the Non-jurors, juſt now done it; and did he not lately *out-brazen Sacheverell* himſelf? And no doubt but for the ſame Cauſe that *H——s* has ſworn *Allegiance* to Queen *ANNE*, *Sacheverell* has *abjured* the Right of the *Pretender*. We know that the one allows the *Defactoſhip* of the Queen, and the other reſerves to himſelf the *Divine Right* of the Pretender. *Sacheverell* ſays, that he has given *Publick Demonſtrations* of his *True Zeal* for her Majeſty, by defending her Title to the Crown. Which he does thus in his *Oxford* Sermon; he allows, *That by a long Succeſſion of her Royal Anceſtors*, an Hereditary Right *has been devolved upon her*, and ſays very truly, That *even her very worſt Enemies will acknowledge it*, as he himſelf, and Mr. *Leſlie*, who was the firſt Defender of this *Title*. Aſk the Gentlemen at *St. Germains* what Title their Maſter has to the Crown of *Great-Britain*, they'll ſay his 'Hereditary Right devolved upon him 'from his Royal Anceſtors.' Aſk *Sacheverell* what Right the Queen has to the Crown, he anſwers, 'her Hereditary Right devolved upon her from her Royal 'Anceſtors.' But if theſe Advocates ſhould ever meet, they would ſoon reconcile theſe Difficulties, and *compound* the Two Hereditary Rights into *One*. *Sacheverell*, *Leſlie*, and the Queen's *new Council Extraordinary*, maintain her *Hereditary Right* to the Crown, becauſe they pretend to *know* that there is a nearer *Heir*: It is for this they labour to make the Crown hang upon her Head, only by that *Slipknot* of *Hereditary Right*, when it is ſo hard bound on by Parliament. And if that Point could be once gain'd, they are ready, no doubt, to produce *their Immediate Heir*; and thus theſe *Counſellors*, a ſet of *falſe Brethren*, that the Doctor takes no notice of, whilſt they pretend to be of Council for the Queen, only *open* and *ſet forth* the Title of her *Adverſary*. It is thus that *theſe Defenders* will allow the *Hereditary Right* of the *Hanover* Family, becauſe they know that even the Houſe of *Bourbon* is before them.

The King and Parliament have always had, and uſed a Power of ſettling, directing and binding the Deſcent of the Crown in the royal Blood, different from the common Courſe of other Inheritances (it was Treaſon to deny this by the 13th of *Elizabeth*, which Act in Subſtance is revived by the late Act of the Queen) who often have prefer'd the *mediate* Heir to the *immediate*, as lately the Queen was advanced before the Pretender, without taking Notice of his Illegitimacy; the Houſe of *Hanover*, before the Houſe of *Savoy*. When *Sacheverell* and his *Managers* talk upon this Point, they are juſt upon the Brink of Treaſon, puzzled to bring it out, and labouring to with-hold it.

Mr. *Hoadly*, who, to his Honour, has incur'd the Malice of the whole Party, and been recommended by their Satire to the Parliament, and by the Parliament in a very honourable Manner to the Queen, has admirably expoſed the Self-Contradictions of one of them, in the Appendix to his laſt Book:* There he brings in the *Dean*, deſiring, 'That the Clergy may be put in Heart, and be at Hand 'always,

* Rights and Powers of *Engliſh* Convocation, *Ed.* 1. *p.* 105.

'always, to ſtand up with them (*viz.* the Laity) and to reſiſt a growing Tyranny, 'either in Church or State.' Mr. *Hoadly* is not able to reconcile this Doctrine, with that contained in the *Latin* Sermon: But though ſuch inconſiſtent Principles are irreconcileable, yet if we conſider the Circumſtances of Time, we may account for them; becauſe it ſeems to be much the ſame Deſign that made him print that Doctrine *then*, that has made him preach this Doctrine *now*. That Book was printed in 1700. Then K. *William* was upon the Throne, and the *Hanover Succeſſion* upon the *Anvil*; then Mr. *Dean* was *ready to reſiſt a growing Tyranny in Church and State*. The *Latin* Sermon I hear was firſt preached in *Engliſh* about 1708, then it was a damnable Sin to *reſiſt their hereditary Right*, who was about that Time on board the *Mars*.

Since the Doctor complains ſo much of *his hard Fortune to be miſunderſtood*, and other *hard Circumſtances* of his Impeachment, I muſt here enumerate ſome of his Felicities: Firſt, he ſent to *Oxford* for a *Teſtimonium* of his Loyalty and good Behaviour; they, it ſeems, were ſo much inclined in his Favour, as only to deny it; and ſo backward, as not to draw up an Information againſt him. Next, he had the Confidence to appeal to a noble Lord in his Speech, the Biſhop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*, for his Character; after which Day the Biſhop charitably abſented from the Houſe, apprehending (as it is ſuppoſed) that he might be called upon to give a Character of him, which would have been ſuch (it is believed) as would have made out the criminal Intention laid in the Impeachment. If this be not true, it would be much to the Doctor's Reputation, yet to procure a Teſtimonial from the Biſhop. Is it not a peculiar Happineſs that has attended the Doctor through the whole Courſe of his Trial, that though he challenges the World to ſhew any *Indication of his Diſlike* to the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*, to prove any *favourable Expreſſions towards the Pretender, or Aſperſions upon the Memory of the late King*, no body appeared to prove, that this *innocent* Doctor had ſaid that King *William* deſerved to be *Dewitted*, and that he had curſed him for his Legacy, the *Hanover* Succeſſion?

To conclude this Article, let us conſider this *Loyal* and *Faithful Subject*; this *ſincere Proteſtant*, aſſociated in Principles with *Jacobites, Papiſts, juring, non-juring*, and (what is worſe) *ſuch abjuring Clergy*; let us conſider this *Defender* of the Queen's Title, who waves her Parliamentary Limitation, to reſt it only upon an *Hereditary Right*. Let us conſider this Friend to the Proteſtant Succeſſion, who ridicules the Parliamentary Right under the Name of the *Right of the People*, and the Title of the *Mob, taught by new Preachers and new Politicians*; when it is certain, that the Houſe of *Hanover* has its Title by Parliament: Let us conſider the Scope of the Sermon, and we cannot but ſay it was to condemn the *Revolution*; and if the Doctor is guilty of any of theſe ill Intentions, he is in a moſt deplorable Condition, and has *now* more Occaſion for the Prayers of the Church, as under a State of *Reprobation*, than when under an *imaginary* Perſecution.

ARTICLE II.

The Managers againſt the Doctor ſay, that in Pages 8, 9, among the ſeveral Sorts of *falſe Brethren, with relation to God, Religion and the Church*, enumerated by the Doctor, thoſe *who defend Toleration and a Liberty of Conſcience* are comprehended.

prehended. The Doctor himself has not sworn off the Intention to condemn *a Toleration*, but owns in his Speech, 'That what he may have said offensive 'of that, cannot be adjudged to reflect on the Act of Exemption.' Here the Doctor only *distinguishes* himself *off*, by saying, that he reflected only upon *A Toleration*, and not *The Toleration*, or legal Indulgence, which looks to me more like a Quibble than a Distinction. He says, that he cannot be thought to reflect upon the Act of Parliament, because there is no Act of *Toleration*. Does not the Doctor and his *Managers* continually tell us of the *Test Act?* And though there is no Act so entitled, yet we understand what Act they mean; as they understand us, when we talk of the *Toleration Act*, to mean that Act of the First of *William* and *Mary*. Is there a Necessity, either in Speaking or Writing, to use such a Circumlocution, as to say, 'The Act for exempting their Majesties 'Protestant Subjects, dissenting from the Church of *England*, from the Penalties 'of certain Laws,' as often as there is Occasion to speak of the *Toleration?* Do not our publick Instruments run thus? Has not the Queen promised that she will *inviolably maintain the Toleration?* But the Doctor takes this to be one of his *hard Fortunes*, that the Lords, his Judges, should understand this Word, or any other Words, or Passages of his Sermon, in the common Sense that the rest of Mankind do. The Doctor says, there is no such a Thing as a *Toleration Act*, because the Word *Toleration implies more than the Law-givers design'd to grant:* The Act says, in *Section* 8. that such 'Persons shall be exempted from Penalties 'for the Exercise of Religion, permitted and allowed by this Act.' Which seem to be more favourable Words than *Tolerated*; *Allowance*, in my humble Opinion, implying *Approbation*; *Toleration*, only a bare Sufferance.

Let us here examine how the Doctor treats the Dissenters, if not his *Brethren*, at least his neareſt *Relations* in Christ. It would be tedious to repeat all the nasty Names he bestows upon them, but let us observe the History that he gives of them in Page 20. First he pretends to give you the Original of these *Miscreants begot in Rebellion, born in Sedition, and nursed up in Faction.*; then he tells you they are grown up to be *almost Christians, seditious, and schismatical Impostors*; and then they became *wretched, empty, hypocritical Sophisters:* Then he tells you what is to be done with them; they are to be *treated like growing Mischiefs*, and *infectious Plagues*. Then he disposes of them, conducts them to *Hell, and there settles them.* This is the Liberty of Speech that the Doctor takes, yet how barbarous was it to call him only a *Tool of a Party!* In how Christian-like Manner have these *Dissenters* borne these Revilings? With what Resignation and primitive Patience have they endured the late Insults and Injuries done them? Sure *Self-Defence* is lawful against Midnight *Incendiaries*, Plunderers, Rioters, Felons, and Rebels; yet how did these People, *bred up in the Principles of Rebellion*, defend themselves, but by Flight? Have these *clamorous Church-devouring Malignants* even so much as complained of the *Church-men*, who raised this *Mob?* Have these *profess'd Enemies of the Queen* undutifully remonstrated to her, that the publick Faith of the Nation has been violated, by the Indignities lately done to their religious Worship? Have they murmur'd at their Losses? Or petition'd the Parliament for a Recompence? So dutiful has been their Behaviour!

The

The modern *Laudeans* can ſcarce bear the Word *Reformation*; which their Predeceſſors formerly call'd a *Deformation*. But *this Toleration* will be for ever odious, becauſe it was introduced by the late King; and Moderation will be always call'd *Cant*, becauſe it came lately from the *Throne*. The firſt *will undermine the Church*,* the laſt *will* blow it up. The Project of *Comprehenſion*, undertook by ſome of the beſt Clergy in *England*, muſt be call'd a *monſtrous and villainous Scheme of theſe eccleſiaſtical Achitophels, to fill the Church* with unhallow'd *Pagan Beaſts* (i. e. *Diſſenters*) *inſtead of Chriſtians*; but how favourably have theſe Gentlemen received, and how willing are they to give into, the famous *Project of Reconciliation with the* Gallican *Church?* From which they think the *Church of* England parted but with a thin Veil: But if it be true, that ſome *French Clergymen* have a Mind to meet us, I wiſh we had them in Exchange for ſome of our *High-flying Clergy*; who are more than inclined to *run* over to them. And for this Reaſon you may believe them, when they ſay they would rather be *Papiſts* than *Preſbyterians*.

It is well known how they lament the loſt Power of the Church, which they apprehend will never be retrieved by a Toleration, or the *Hanover* Succeſſion; we ſee how they endeavour to advance their Authority, and to bully us with their *Anathema's*; we know that ſome of them *blaſphemouſly* repine at the Want of the *miraculous Power* of the Church in the firſt Century. How *flouriſhing*, ſay they, would be the State of the Church, how *triumphant here upon Earth*, if we had once more the Power to ſend our Enemies *quick* down to Hell!

But God is ſo gracious to us, as not *now* to entruſt theſe high-flying *Ambaſſadors* with ſuch *full Powers*, conſidering that he has given them at preſent too little Grace, Mercy and Charity, to manage them. If *Sacheverell*'s Loins were girt with this *Flaming Sword*; he, who ſays, 'That Princes ſhould anſwer 'with the Sword, and the Church with *Anathema's*;' it would be doubted whether he would look like an *Overſeer ſent by the Holy Ghoſt*, or rather like a *deſtroying Angel*. I will paſs by the ſcurrilous Language given to Biſhop *Grindal*, and tell the Doctor one Secret, that if he had lived and ſo ſcandalized the Hierarchy in *haughty Laud*'s Days, he would infallibly have gotten that *indelible Mark* on both Sides of his Head, which Mr. *Burton* had for the very ſame Crime, notwithſtanding his *ſacred Character*. Which ought to make the Doctor to forbear upbraiding the *Lords* with *Fear* to puniſh, becauſe their Mercy was ſo unparallel'd as *almoſt* to forgive.

ARTICLE III.

As to the Third Article, the Doctor juſtifies the Danger of the *Church*, and humbly oppoſes his ſingle Opinion againſt the general Senſe of the Queen, and the two Houſes of Parliament, and maintains it to their Faces: But denies, that he deſign'd to blacken that *Vote of Parliament* which declared the Church to be out of Danger, by comparing it with the *Vote* that *declared King* Charles's *Perſon out of Danger*; and would avoid, that he intended to 'inſinuate that the Mem-'bers of both Houſes, who paſſed the ſaid Vote, about the Safety of the Church, 'were then conſpiring the Ruin of the Church.'

A

* Pages 16, 17.

A Vote having paſſed in Parliament, declaring *the Church out of Danger*, the Doctor durſt not arraign that Vote directly: And yet ſome Way muſt be found to *blacken* it; and no Way was thought ſo proper, as to compare it to that *Vote which declared King* Charles *out of Danger*; with this Addition of the Doctor's, only to make the Application, *that at the ſame Time his Murderers were conſpiring his Death.* This he knew would bring conſequential Scandal upon it, and inſinuate what was not ſafe to affirm expreſly; that the Members of Parliament were contriving the Ruin of the Church, when they *voted it out of Danger*, becauſe every body knows, that the Parliament which made that Vote about King *Charles* did conſpire his Murder. But the Doctor ſays, that they who voted the King's Perſon out of Danger were not the very ſame Perſons who contrived his Murder, and therefore he could not make the *Inſinuation.* Tho' the Compariſon ſhould not exactly run upon *all four* when examined, yet the Doctor deſign'd to make that Inſinuation, by giving juſt as much of the Hiſtory as ſerved for that Purpoſe; and if it ſhould be true, that but a *Remnant*, or a few of that Parliament, which voted the King out of Danger, were the Contrivers of his Murder, yet ſtill it will ſerve the Doctor's End by way of Compariſon; for in Parliamentary Language it was ſtill the ſame *Houſe*, and differ'd no more than a *thin Houſe* from a *full one*, and therefore it was the *ſame Houſe*, ſome Members only abſent, that voted the King out of Danger, and conſpired his Murder.

The great Deſign of the Sermon was to undermine the Queen's Title to the Crown, to aſperſe her Adminiſtration both in Spirituals and Temporals, and to traduce the late Parliament, and for each Article he has provided a *Parallel* by way of Illuſtration. To ſtigmatize the Church under the *Government* of the preſent Biſhops, he ſays, 'It is very obvious to draw a Parallel here, betwixt the 'ſad Circumſtances of the Church of *Corinth* formerly, and of the Church of '*England* at preſent; *and* this is done without Diſcouragement, he is ſure with 'Impunity, by our pretended Friends and falſe Brethren; 'who the *pretended Friends* are, which ought to diſcourage, and are able to puniſh Schiſms, except thoſe *falſe Brethren* the Biſhops, I don't well know.

To diſhonour the laſt Parliament, he compares their *Vote* about the Church, to the Vote of the *Rump*-Parliament about King *Charles*'s Perſon.

At laſt, alluding to the preſent Times, he thinks to come home to the Queen by a notable Parallel, when he ſays, That *though the Ways of* Zion *may mourn for a Time, and her Gates be deſolate*, her Prieſts ſigh, and ſhe in Bitterneſs, *becauſe her Adverſaries are Chief, and her Enemies AT PRESENT* proſper, (*AT PRESENT* foiſted into the Text only to make the Application evident:) This is the *Lamentation* of the Prophet, when *Judah* was gone into *Captivity*, the King in a foreign Country, and an *Uſurper* upon the *Throne.* Can any body think that this Gentleman had no *ill* Intention, though he *ſwears* it, or no Deſign at *all*, as his *Managers* ſay, in ſo many Reflections upon the Queen and Miniſtry, ſo *artfully* cover'd, and ſo *methodically* digeſted into *Parallels?*

To ſhew the *Danger of the Church*, the Doctor gives us this Character of the preſent Age, 'For beſides that Deluge of Prophaneneſs and Immorality, which 'overſpreads the whole Kingdom; beſides the Variety of thoſe Schiſms, Hete-

'rodox

'rodox Opinions, and damnable Hereſies, which are daily publiſhed and pro-
'pagated among us; I verily believe, that never were the Miniſters of Chriſt ſo
'abuſed, and vilified, never was the Divine Authority of the Holy Scriptures
'ſo arraign'd and ridiculed, never were Infidelity and Atheiſm ſo impudent and
'barefaced, never were ſuch horrid Blaſphemies printed in any Chriſtian State,
'from the Foundation of Chriſtianity to this Day.' * So much of the Doctor's Speech I'll juſtify to be his own genuine Product; ſo elegantly he always declames, ſo honeſtly he repreſents, ſo charitably he judges of his Neighbours: If a Stranger were to read this, he would be apt to think that there was never a good Man in *Great-Britain*, beſides the pious Doctor *Sacheverell*; *ſo general is the Deluge of Prophaneneſs*, that he muſt be the *Abraham* to intercede for us.

If our Neighbours believe this Man, they muſt gaze at us in Expectation of our immediate Deſtruction, as a People more abandon'd than ever *Sodom* was. If Poſterity believes the execrable Report of this *Defamer*, they'll be aſhamed of their Anceſtors.

Are not we, even *now*, conſider'd as a *Church*, the very Pride and Boaſt of the Reformation? Are not we, conſider'd as a *People*, the honourable Head of the United Body of *Chriſtendom?* Yet, Doctor *Sacheverell* ſays, there was never any ſuch wicked 'Chriſtian State, from the Foundation of Chriſtianity to this 'Day.'

Is not the Church (thus traduced by this *her Dutiful Son*) the main Strength and Bulwark againſt Popery? When was there greater Care or Piety ſhewn for propagating the reform'd Religion, than at this Day? When were our Churches at home better fill'd, or with a greater Appearance of real Devotion? When, or in what Church of the World, were ſeen ſuch large, liberal Charities, as are at this Day for educating poor Children in Religion and Virtue? And tho' Vice and Immorality have been always too prevailing, yet there never was a Time ſo proper for the Doctor's Purpoſe, to charge the Nation with it, as under the Queen's Adminiſtration.

Now the *Managers* have Recourſe to the Doctor's *Godly Collections*, which they call Proofs of the general Corruption of the Nation, in Matters of Religion; and on that Head are brought the abortive Labours of that great *Billinſgate Logician Edmund Hick*——, of that *crackbrain'd* Projector *Aſgill*, of that poor Poet *Gildon*, of that *atheiſtical* Vagabond *Toland*, and of that eminent Stateſman *John Tuchin*, lately defunct.

Here the Doctor has learned of Squire *Bickerſtaff*, to engage with the dangerous Shadows of the Church's Enemies, chalk'd out upon the Wall: Are the Writings of theſe two or three inſignificant Fellows, ſufficient Grounds for an honeſt Man to charge a whole Nation with *Atheiſm* and *Infidelity?* But by the Doctor's Logick, all Men are irreligious, becauſe a few are ſo: But the Managers againſt the Doctor ſay, that all the Paſſages that are quoted in the *Collections*, to make out the preſent Danger of the Church, prove no *new* Danger of the Church, ſince the paſſing of that Vote, which was in 1705, becauſe all thoſe Books were wrote and printed long before 1705, and ſhew that the Adminiſtration has been

* Speech, *p.* 7.

ſo vigilant, that the Books and their Authors have been all cenſured and puniſh'd.

The good Biſhop of *London* very juſtly proſecuted that abominable Brute *Hickeringhill*, to his Damage of 20,000*l.* if ſuch a Fellow were to be believed. I am apt to think, if the Doctor had known *Hickeringhill*'s Principles before that Proſecution, he would have ſpared him, as well as the reſt of the blaſpheming *High-flyers*; for *Hickeringhill* was once (in the Doctor's Senſe) *a true Son of the Church*, as appear'd in that ſaucy Dialogue he made, between Capt. *Edmund Hickeringhill, Rector of All-Saints in* Colcheſter, *and his Friend Cornet* Compton, *Biſhop of* London. *Aſgill* has been puniſh'd both in *England* and *Ireland* for his Maggot; *Gildon* is more than half ſtarved by ſeveral long Impriſonments; and Mr. *Blunt* has already accounted to God for his Errors. The *Obſervator* was proſecuted in *Weſtminſter-Hall*, and eſcaped the Pillory but by a Miſtake of a Figure; and if any Miniſter was then lazy, I doubt it will fall upon the then Attorney-General.

The Rights of the Chriſtian Church having expoſed the Principles of ſome of the Clergy, who are for ſetting up an Independency in the *Church*, has juſtly incurr'd their Diſpleaſure; and if the *Houſe* had not burnt the Book, for one unwary Paſſage, the *Univerſities*, who have had it long under their Conſideration, were reſolved to do it for the whole, as ſoon as they had anſwer'd it. I confeſs I never heard of the anonymous Books in the *Collections*, and as I had forgot the others, I ſhould certainly never have known theſe, if the Doctor had not taken this Method to republiſh, and perpetuate them in the Record of the Trial.

If the Doctor had been ſincere enough to have pointed to the real Danger of the Church, he ſhould not have forgot Mr. *Dodwell*'s Book about the *Natural Mortality of the Soul*, &c. which has ſhock'd the very Foundation of Chriſtianity: He is a Gentleman of ſuch extraordinary Learning, ſuch a Philoſopher, ſuch an Hiſtorian, and ſo accurate in Polemical Divinity, that his Writings are of great Authority with the Learned themſelves, and unqueſtioned by the Ignorant. How fatal then muſt an Atheiſtical Poſition prove? when advanced, and defended with ſo much Plauſibility, and ſo many ſeeming Arguments as that prodigious Man is furniſhed with. This is attended too by another melancholly Circumſtance, that neither the Great *South*, the Learned *Smaldridge*, nor the Divine Pen of *Atterbury*, who ſee ſo clearly the Church and her Sons in Danger, have in the leaſt enlighten'd, or aſſiſted us poor *Lay-folks*, againſt ſo dangerous a Prepoſſeſſion. What can be the Reaſon of this, but that the zealous Jacobite atones for the dangerous Atheiſt?

The ſame doubtleſs is the true Reaſon, why ſo many ſcandalous and obnoxious Paſſages in the Books of *Leſlie*, *Hicks*, and others, have eſcaped the Cenſure of the Doctor's Collections: The Compilers of that extraordinary Piece might, almoſt in every Page of thoſe Factious, Turbulent Writers, have found the moſt virulent Reflections on the whole Body of the Clergy: Taxing them with downright Atheiſm and Infidelity, proſtituting their Faith and Conſciences for the Hopes of ſome temporal Profit or Preferment, and giving up their Flocks and their own Souls to the Men in Power. In theſe Authors they might ſee the Supremacy of the Crown turn'd into Ridicule, and abuſed in the moſt opprobrious, villainous Terms:

Terms: They might ſee the Reformation expoſed and traduced in Terms that even the Papiſts would bluſh to uſe, and all our firſt Reformers repreſented as a Pack of Mercenaries, who would ſell the Church for Gold; and ſuch Advances made towards Popery, that even their own Miſſionaries durſt not barefacedly make ſuch forward Steps: But all this, and much more is allow'd, nay approved, in Men ſoeminently ſerviceable to the Pretender.

Next, to prove the *Danger of the State*, the Doctor produces ſome Paſſages out of the *Obſervator* and *Review*, which reflect upon the Queen, State, and Miniſtry. One of theſe Authors has been already pillory'd, and the other very narrowly miſs'd it. And if the Queen and the Miniſtry were ſo happy as to have no *other* or no more dangerous Enemies, than theſe two Authors, I would venture to declare the Queen and Government out of Danger. But why was the famous *Application* * forgot here, when the Doctor was collecting the dangerous Writings againſt the Queen and State? I fear the Doctor was too intimate with the Promoter of that Treaſonable Remonſtrance, againſt the *Queen's Power of proroguing the Convocation*, which *illegal Practices* produced the ſevereſt Reprimand to the *Lower-Houſe*, that ever came out of her Majeſty's moſt gracious Mouth.

Do not the Deductions drawn from the Book entitled, *The Rights*, &c. *of the* Engliſh *Convocation*, tend to deprive the Queen of her Supremacy? Do not the other Writings of that Author encourage the inferior Clergy to rebell againſt the Biſhops, their Superiors and Governors; and perſuade the whole Body of the Clergy to ſeparate itſelf from its *ſupream Head*, by inſinuating, that the Clergy is independent of the Temporal Power, to the manifeſt Invaſion of the Queen's Eccleſiaſtical Prerogatives? The Queen, who is truly the *Nurſing Mother* of the Church, ſeems to be fonder of her *Supremacy* than of any other Jewel in her Crown; it was with great Difficulties, that our Anceſtors wrenched it out of the Hands of *ancient Popiſh* Clergy, to place it upon the Heads of our Kings (as too bright for any other) and nothing was able to fix it there, but making it Capital to deny it: And now ſome of our *Modern* Clergy are endeavouring ſlily to ſteal it back again, while others lay violent Hands upon it.

ARTICLE IV.

The Managers at *Tom*'s make out the firſt Part of the fourth Article out of their own Words, *Page* 15. where you affirm, that there are *falſe Brethren* 'in Church and State, who do weaken, and undermine, and betray in themſelves, and encourage, and put it in the Power of our profeſſed Enemies to over-turn and deſtroy the Conſtitution of both.' Then, that we may know whom you mean by theſe *Falſe Brethren*, you explain yourſelf, in *Page* 22. 'That as to falſe Brotherhood in regard to the World or State, we may ſee Men of Character, and Stations, ſhift and prevaricate with their Principles, ſtart from their Religion upon any Occaſion of Difficulty or Trial, and like the Diſciples, flying from and forſaking our Saviour when his Life lay at ſtake. What can unwary Perſons conclude from ſuch Tergiverſation and Hypocriſy, but that all Religion is State-craft and Impoſture?' To give ſtill a higher Notion of theſe *Falſe Brethren*, the *Men of Characters and Stations*, he

* *Applitation of the* Lower-Houſe *of* Convocation *in* 1707.

advertiſes, *Page* 18. 'our Governors, of the Faſhood and Treachery, as the 'Qualifications of thoſe, who are entruſted with the Guardianſhip of our Church 'and State.' For fear her Majeſty's Lay-Miniſters only ſhould ſeem to be implied in what he has already ſaid, an After-thought in a Dedication was printed, to beſpatter her Majeſty's Adminiſtration in Eccleſiaſtical as well as Civil Affairs. For this Purpoſe the Doctor ſays, That *our Conſtitution, i. e.* Church and State, *is ſo vigouroufly attacked from without, and ſo lazily defended from within.* Here the Managers againſt the Doctor want to be informed who they are, who in the Doctor's Opinion ſo vigouroufly attack the Church. I'll appeal to thoſe who have converſed with the Party, whether they don't think the Miſcarriage of the *Application* to be the greateſt Wound the Church ever received; whether they don't call them *Enemies* to the Church, who have acquieſced under the Queen's Prerogative of Proroguing of the Convocation, and rail at thoſe who obſtruct the Sitting of the *ſo long called for Convocation.* Who have own'd the Queen's Prerogative, or who are Judges of the Neceſſity of the Meeting of the Convocation, but the Queen's faithful Counſellors, the Biſhops? who juſtly apprehend the ill Conſequence of letting ſo many diſtemper'd Minds meet together, as may be found in that Aſſembly, whom the Queen has already charged with *a plain Invaſion of her Supremacy*, and branded *with Want of Duty to her, as well as to their Superiors.**

If the Party will allow the Queen her Supremacy, ſhe muſt be the only Defender of the Faith and Church; and as the Queen does nothing but by an Adminiſtration, and for that Purpoſe the Biſhops are the proper Miniſters, I doubt it is too plain, that the Doctor takes their Lordſhips to be the *lazy Defenders*. Then the Doctor goes on, and in *Page* 2. he ſays, that the Church is 'not only 'to encounter the open Fury and Violence of her profeſs'd Enemies, but is to 'be betray'd and perfidiouſly given up by her own falſe-hearted and inſidious 'Apoſtles.' Theſe Apoſtles of the Church, who were in the foregoing Page *vigourous Attackers* and *lazy Defenders*, are now become falſe-hearted and inſidious Apoſtles; and a little forwarder he ſays, that 'ſuch is the hard Fortune 'of the Church, her worſt Adverſaries muſt be let into her Bowels, under the 'holy Umbrage of Sons, who neither believe her Faith, own her Miſſion, ſub-'mit to her Diſcipline, or comply with her Liturgy.' The Doctor beſtows the Title of *Son* of the Church on none but himſelf, as *the dutiful Son of the Church*, and the Prelates, as *that falſe Son of the Church Biſhop* Grindal.

I muſt recapitulate his Charge upon the Biſhops, *the falſe Sons*, who vigouroufly *attack* and lazily *defend* the Church, her worſt Adverſaries, falſe-hearted and inſidious Apoſtles, who neither believe her Faith, own her Miſſion, ſubmit to her Diſcipline, or comply with her Liturgy. If our Hierarchy were ſo deteſtable as the Doctor has repreſented it, I ſhould think the Church in the extreameſt Peril; and if our Nation were ſo *univerſally corrupted*, there would be too much Reaſon to apprehend God's Vengeance.

The Managers for the Doctor anſwer all this by telling you, that by thoſe *Men of Characters and Stations*, the Doctor only meant *Church-wardens, Sideſ-*

men,

* *Queen's Letter to the Convocation*, 1707.

men, Conſtables, and ſome Juſtices of the Peace, whoſe Civil Adminiſtration had given great Offence to the Doctor. I confeſs I knew not the Dignity, Authority and Power of thoſe Magiſtrates, till I was informed by them, that Churchwardens and Sideſmen being *entruſted with the Guardianſhip of the Church*, have a Power in *themſelves to weaken and undermine it*, and an Opportunity to put in ſuch *falſe Sons* as *Biſhop* Grindal *to betray it*. A Conſtable's Office was never before now thought to be ſuch a *Station and Character*, as that he, in *himſelf* could, or was able 'to put it in the Power of our profeſs'd Enemies to over-turn and 'deſtroy the Conſtitution and Eſtabliſhment' of either Church or State.

The Doctor himſelf apprehended this Turn to be ridiculous, and makes a more colourable Defence in his Speech; he argues very ſpeciouſly, that a Man who has *printed* ſo many reſpectful Expreſſions, and paid ſo many Compliments to the Miniſtry, cannot be guilty of defaming them, and that nothing ought to be received in Evidence againſt *ſuch publick Demonſtrations as he had given*. It is true, the Doctor did commend the *happy Adminiſtration of the Government, and the refined Policies of the Parliament and Miniſtry*, in Page 23. of a Sermon printed in 1702. Then we know the Doctor was pretty well pleaſed with the Queen, and entirely ſatisfy'd with the *refined Policies of the Miniſtry*. The Doctor is charged with defaming the Miniſtry in 1710, and he anſwers, That can't be, for I commended the Miniſtry in 1702. Upon this and other Paſſages ſome People don't ſtick to ſay, that notwithſtanding the Doctor's Aſſeverations, the whole Speech is evaſive and falſe, without one ſincere Tittle in it: And if the Doctor *has been made to ſpeak* (as he complains, *p.* 5. of his Speech) *what he never thought of*, it was done by the Makers of his Speech, when they made him pray for the Houſe of *Hanover*, and deny his Reflections upon the preſent Adminiſtration.

But the Doctor, to purge himſelf fully, takes a ſhort Method to prepare your Belief; tells you of his Holy Miſſion from *G O D*, and his Commiſſion from the *Holy Ghoſt*: Then lifting up his Eyes and Hands to Heaven, he appeals to the 'dreadful Tribunal, at which he and all the World are to be judged; called 'the *Searcher of Hearts* to witneſs, in the moſt ſolemn and religious Manner,' that he was innocent of any Deſign to *defame the Queen's Adminiſtration* or Miniſtry. This ſolemn Appeal to God, before ſuch a venerable Aſſembly, with ſo many religious Circumſtances, pronounced with ſo much Vehemence, and ſuch ſincere Behaviour of a Chriſtian, works ſo ſtrongly upon me, that my Charity has blinded my Senſes, and makes me pray, for his Soul's Sake, that he ſpoke nothing but the Truth. Yet ſome Gentlemen, who pretend to know the *Man*, to know his *Meaning*, who affirm that he has expreſly *named* one Miniſter in Page 22. who have a Key to his *Men of Character and Stations, his Guardians of the Church and Crown*, deſire to be excuſed, if they can't believe a Proteſtation, though never ſo ſolemn, againſt a Matter of Fact. They ſay further, that ſome of your Managers were aſtoniſh'd, and trembled at the Oath, and have own'd that you were chiefly employed to beſpatter the preſent *Miniſtry*, and ſome few finding their Party ſo ſtrong, are now angry with you for recanting it; but you have infinitely recommended yourſelf to others by it, who think you now a moſt *uſeful* Perſon.

The

The latter Part of the *4th* Article is made out by the *Derby* Dedication.

'Now, when the *Principles* and *Intereſts* of our *Church* and *Conſtitution* are 'ſo ſhamefully *betray'd* and *run-down*, it can be no little *Comfort* to thoſe who '*wiſh* their *Welfare* and *Security*, to ſee, that notwithſtanding the *Secret Malice* 'and *Open Violence* they are perſecuted with, there are ſtill to be found ſuch '*worthy Patrons* of both, who dare *own* and *defend* them, as well againſt the '*rude* and *preſumptuous Inſults* of the *one Side*, as the *baſe undermining Trea-*'*chery* of the *other*; and who ſcorn to ſit ſilently by, and partake in the Sins of 'theſe *aſſociated Malignants*.

'Though the *Truth* ſeems to be ſo much forſaken at preſent, yet, God be 'thank'd, They ſhall yet find, to our Honour, that we have ſtill amongſt us 'thoſe who have *Courage* to ſpeak it, as well as thoſe who have *Lives* and *For-*'*tunes* to maintain it: And tho' the Age is ſunk into the *loweſt Dregs of Cor-*'*ruption*, that it cannot endure ſound Doctrine, there are not wanting ſome to '*preach* it, and others to *ſupport* it, at the Expence of *both*: May the *Influence* of 'good *Examples*, which as much animates our *Friends*, as it terrifies our *Enemies*, 'be as diffuſively prevailing as 'tis nobly conſpicuous, and the Bleſſing of that '*Church* attend you, which you ſo eminently *adorn* and *ſuſtain*.'

Here we are told from the Pulpit, That 'the Principles of our Church and 'Conſtitution are ſhamefully betray'd and run-down with ſecret Malice and 'open Violence' Is not this to *inſtill Fears and Jealouſies* into weak Minds, and to make each Man ſuſpect the other of ſecret Deſigns? And are not theſe Fears and Jealouſies *groundleſs*? when our Church is in a moſt *flouriſhing* Condition, and the Conſtitution of our State ſtrengthen'd by ſo many good Laws, and our good Queen ready to give what more we deſire.

When he ſays there are ſome *who ſcorn to ſit ſilently by, and partake in the Sins of theſe aſſociated Malignants*, does he not *knaviſhly divide* the People by the Diſtinction of *Malignants?* Does not he tell us in his Sermon, who thoſe Church-devouring Malignants are? And does he not immediately threaten thoſe *aſſociated Malignants?* and tell them, that 'they ſhall find, to our Ho-'nour, that we have ſtill among us, thoſe who have Courage to ſpeak it, as well 'as thoſe who have Lives and Fortunes to maintain it.' Does he not here blow the Trumpet? Does he not here muſter his Forces? Does he not here inform us how reſolute ſome are *to maintain it with their Lives*, and how able others are *to ſupport it with their Fortunes?* Here he *excites and ſtirs them up to Arms:* Here he directs them to the Enemy, by pointing out to the *aſſociated Malignants*; and at laſt very piouſly gives them *the Bleſſing of the Church to attend them* in the good Enterprize.

Theſe godly Exhortations have had the deſign'd Succeſs, and open Rebellion has been the immediate Conſequence; but the Doctor again profeſſes in the Preſence of God, 'That it was without any Fault of his, or the leaſt Encourage-'ment given by him.' This ſeems to ſome People to be another *raſh Oath*, who ſay, that the Sermon influenced, and the Doctor's indiſcreet Behaviour afterwards *encouraged the Mob*. But his *Managers* ſay in his Behalf, that when the *Gentry of White-Friars* attended him at his Chambers, and were ſo reſpectful to pull off

their

their Caps to him, he could not be ſo rude as not to bow to them: That he could not refuſe the Compliment of his Solicitor, Bail, Council and Friends, to attend him with their Equipages, before and behind, like Guards, to the *Hall*; and who could prevent his ungovernable Footmen from hollowing themſelves, and making the *Mob* do ſo too? He never thought this would *give the leaſt Encouragement*; it was but Chriſtian-like, to deſire the Prayers of the Church when under Perſecution; and but Politick, to lay the Perſecution upon the Diſſenters.

The Doctor himſelf (as well as the reſt of the World) thinks, that the 'Charge of wickedly wreſting divers Texts of Scripture lies very hard upon 'him, as a Chriſtian and a Miniſter of Chriſt:' Yet he ſeems to me to ſtand very *eaſy* under it; when to clear his *Holy Character* of ſo *foul a Blot*, which he apprehends, if he were *even acquitted*, * *muſt leave a Scar upon his good* Name; when to ſupport an Opinion of his Integrity, 'whoſe whole Capacity of doing 'good in the World *(he ſays)* principally depends upon it;' not one Word has been ſuggeſted in his Defence or Excuſe, but he again appeals to *another Tribunal* to be judged by, when the Sun is not plainer at Noon Day, than ſeveral Perverſions of Scripture in his Sermon. But, 'he hopes, *indeed*, that thoſe, whoſe par-'ticular Profeſſion and Studies qualify them to be the moſt competent Judges 'of ſuch Matters, will abſolve him in this Particular.' If by being *abſolved*, the Doctor ſhould mean, to be *acquitted* of wreſting the Scriptures, I believe the *moſt competent Judges* will not abſolve him; but if by *Abſolving*, he means only *Forgiving*, he need not fear but that, whether he perverts or blaſphemes the Scriptures, whether his Appeals to God be true or falſe, for any Wickedneſs he has done, or ſhall do, nay, if he were capable of Aſſaſſination, he may be fully abſolved, whilſt ſuch good Confeſſors as *Cook*, *Snat*, and *Collier*, are living.

I have not yet heard any of his Managers deny his corrupting the Scriptures; none yet, but himſelf, have arrived to that invincible Impudence. It will ſoon appear by the excellent Speech of one of the Managers, how he abuſes them, ſometimes by adding, ſometimes by leaving out Words and Sentences; ſometimes he miſ-cites Paſſages of Holy Writ, and always wickedly miſapplies them. What an infinite Scandal is this Man to the Church, who (unlike a Chriſtian Prieſt, pronouncing the immutable and plain Truths of the Goſpel) reſembles the Heathen Juglers, making their Idols ſpeak their own Senſe, adapting their Oracles to all Occaſions, and explaining of them to all Purpoſes! How ſtedfaſt was the Wickedneſs! How atheiſtical the Preſumption, to appeal to God for the Truth thereof, when he ought to have humbled himſelf before God, for the *Flagrancy* of the Sin!

Let us conſider this Man, who ſays he is 'ſatisfied of the Queen's being an affec-'tionate Nurſing Mother to the Church,' yet repreſents her as an unnatural *Step-Mother*, who has committed 'the Guardianſhip to ſuch lazy Defenders and put 'her profeſſed Enemies into her Bowels.'

This is the loyal and faithful Subject, who would die for his Queen, and in Defence of her Title; who affirms to her Face, that the Means uſed to ſecure her Succeſſion to the Crown were *odious and unjuſtifiable*.† This is the Aſſerter of

* Speech, *p.* 21. † Character of a *Low-Church Man*.

of her Prerogatives, who ſaid, 'That the Church groan'd under the Prerogative 'Act, and Letter Miſſive, i. e. *her Supremacy.*' †

This Man doubtleſs muſt be in earneſt, when he commends her Majeſty's happy and wiſe Adminiſtration, and the Vigilance of the Miniſtry; ‖ yet, after that he has made the Nation the very Sink of Perdition, he ſays, 'That all 'th ſe Miſchiefs walk up and down this diſtracted Kingdom with Impunity.' *

If ſome Perſons, through a real Senſe of religion, ſhould apprehend any Danger of the Church, by Reaſon of Vice and Immorality, inſeparable at all Times from all Nations under Heaven, always complain'd of, and never more than *now* diſcouraged: Yet the Queen has juſt Reaſon to 'think it very injurious 'to her, to take a Pretence from thence to inſinuate that the Church is in any 'Danger from her Adminiſtration,' and has as much Reaſon to reſent the Indignity, and ſuſpect the Deſign, as her Grandfather the bleſſed Martyr had, upon the very ſame Occaſion. 'For, ſays he, when they did obſerve, that many '*Honeſt* and *Religious* Minds in *that Houſe* did complain of thoſe Dangers that 'did threaten the Church, they likewiſe took the ſame Word in their Mouth, 'and their Cry was, *Templum Domini, Templum Domini, when the true Ca e of the 'Church never came into their Hearts*; ** and what the one did out of Zeal 'to Religion, the other took as a *plauſible Theme to deprave our Government*; *as 'if we, our Clergy, and Council, were either ſenſeleſs or careleſs of Religion*; and 'this wicked Practice hath been, *to make us ſeem to walk before our People, as 'if we halted before God.*'

This Man muſt not be thought to intend to aſperſe the Memory of the late King, 'whoſe Government, *he ſays*, was blown up by the Providence of God, 'and who had ruin'd the Church, had not an opportune Providence interpoſed, 'i. e. *his Death.*' ††

This Man prays as heartily (as he ſwears) for the *Hanover* Succeſſion, but even there he won't *acknowledge their Right* to the Succeſſion. *So high he is for the uninterrupted Succeſſion*; ſo firmly he adheres to the Hereditary, as the only Right; and ſtill ſuppoſes a Parliamentary Right to be the *Title of the Mob.*

He profeſſes not to 'have the leaſt Diſlike of the Indulgence granted by Law 'to the Diſſenters, *and ſays, he has* declared his Approbation in the moſt expreſs 'Words imaginable, ‖‖ *viz.* Queen *Elizabeth*, like a Queen of true Reſolution, 'and pious Zeal, pronounced, that ſuch were the reſtleſs Spirits of that Factious People, that no Quiet was to be expected from them, till they were 'utterl ſuppreſs'd; which, like a prudent Princeſs, ſhe did by wholeſome 'Severities, that the Crown for many Years ſat eaſy, and flouriſhing upon 'her Head; and had her Succeſſor King *James* but followed her wiſe Po-'liticks, *&c.*'§ In his Sermon he commends the wholeſome Severities uſed towards them by Queen *Elizabeth*, wiſhes that her Succeſſors had followed her wiſe Politicks; and yet he'll take it amiſs if we doubt his Sincerity, when in his Speech he deſires to be believed, that he approves of the Indulgence now granted to them, who extols Queen *Elizabeth* for having *totally ſuppreſſed* them.

This

† Character of a Low-Church-Man, *p.* 29. ‖ Speech, *p.* 15. * Ded. to the Lord-Mayor. ** Ruſhworth, *Vol.* 1. Appendix, *f.* 6. †† Low-Church-Man, *p.* 4, *and* 16. ‖‖ Speech, *p.* 8. § *St. Paul's* Sermon.

This Man, who in his other Writings continually demands the *Execution of the Penal Laws, as in Queen* Elizabeth's *Time*, and in the mean time admoniſhes *our Superior Paſtors to do their Duty in Thundering out their* Anathema's, to damn their Souls (which he ſtill affirms they can, and ought to do) ſince their Goods and Perſons are protected by the Law, will think it hard to be thought *to betray any Want of Chriſtian Moderation.*

I hope yet, that we all mean the ſame Thing, though we expreſs ourſelves differently about it; that we ſtill wiſh the ſame Thing, though we ſhew the contrary Paſſions of Joy and Sorrow upon the ſame Occaſion. I hope we are all going the ſame Way, though ſome of us look backward; that, though we ſeem to have different Deſigns in working up the Plot, yet in the End they will all tend to bring about one Glorious Action; and that there is no other but a 'laudable Contention among us, who ſhall exceed the other in contributing to 'advance the Queen's preſent Happineſs, and ſecure the Proteſtant Succeſſion.' Yet I would deſire one Side to ſatisfy the other of their Sincerity, by deſiſting to give out that they are encouraged by the Queen (to do I don't know what;) forbearing to libel the other Side, under the Umbrage of (ſo unacceptably) addreſſing her Majeſty, and by thoſe Addreſſes to inſinuate that the Queen wants Encouragement from them; by ceaſing *again* to traduce her Majeſty, as if ſhe had a ſecret Will, different from her Declarations; and at laſt by granting her Majeſty her moſt ardent Wiſh, in uniting the Minds of her People.

There are ſome, no doubt, who would repeal the *Toleration*, and diſſolve the Union; who endeavour to defeat the *Hanover* Succeſſion, and to unſettle the *Revolution.* They know well enough what Obedience is paid, even by this *abandon'd People*, to the Word of God, and what Influence the Clergy have, even when they pervert it. This very Method was taken formerly by the *Great* Earl of *Warwick*; he employ'd a very *Significant Tool*, that *Eccleſiaſtical Incendiary, and predicant Herald*, Doctor *Goddard*, who proclaim'd *(at St. Paul's too)* the *Divine Right* of *Henry* the Sixth, ſet forth the Injuries done him, condemn'd the Reſiſtance made againſt him, arraign'd the Parliamentary Title, and Recognition of the undoubted Right of the *Houſe of York*; from hence the People concluded *Edward* the Fourth to be an Uſurper; immediately the *London* Mob took Arms, and depoſed the lawful Prince: and at that Time it was the Prieſt, and not the *Earl*, who was the *King-maker.*

To prevent any ſuch execrable Attempt, let ſome great Genius project a *Monumental Act*; let the Preamble rehearſe, how *London* and the whole Kingdom have *eſcaped* a ſecond *Fire*, by profeſſed and *diſguiſed Papiſts*; let the Church, if poſſible, be ſettled in a more *Flouriſhing* and *Safe* Condition; let the Profeſſion be ſtill more encouraged, and the Profeſſors be made more worthy; let the Obedience of the Inferior Clergy be bound to the Superior; let the *Supremacy* be ſecured to the Crown, and the *Dependency* to the *State*; and let ſome effectual Remedy be provided againſt *Applicationers* and *Occaſional Abjurors*; let the Crown be adorn'd with *all* its ſparkling Prerogatives; let it caſt ſuch a Luſtre as may make it look amiable, but not terrible: For the obtaining the Queen's *Wiſh, for the uniting the Minds of her Subjects*, and for the fulfilling *her Promiſe*, let the *Toleration* be *eſtabliſh'd.*

Let the Act of Union and the *Hanover* Succeſſion be made irreverſible; let the *Revolution* be declared *honourable*; let the *neceſſary Means*, the Reſiſtance then made, and in ſuch deplorable Caſes hereafter to be made, be allowed lawful and juſtifiable.

Let the Memory of our *Deliverers*, King *William* and Queen *Mary*, be inſhrined in Glory: Then, let the Felicities of Queen *ANNE* be recorded, to amaze Poſterity; and let her Virtues be repeated, for their Example: Let her Zeal for the Church, her Benefactions to its Miniſters, her wiſe Choice of its Guardians, her Love for her People, and their Duty to her, be perpetuated. At laſt, let a moſt ardent Prayer be framed (equal if poſſible to our Wiſhes) for the longeſt Continuance of her precious Life, and for the invaluable Bleſſing of an Heir of her Body; and to ratify this Decree, it ſhall *Thunder and Lighten from on high*, and the Voice of God, as it were, ſhall be heard in the univerſal Joy and Acclamations of the People. *Amen*, and *Amen*.

APPENDIX.

STATE TRACTS, Vol. I, *p.* 539, 540.

'AND whereas we have granted all theſe Things for God's Sake, and for the Amendment of our Government, and for the better compriſing the Diſcord ariſen betwixt Us and our Barons: We, willing that the ſame be firmly held and eſtabliſh'd for ever, do make and grant to our Barons the Security underwritten; to wit, That the Barons ſhall chuſe Five and Twenty Barons of the Realm, whom they liſt, who ſhall to their utmoſt Power keep and hold, and cauſe to be kept, the Peace and Liberties which we have granted and comfirmed by this our preſent Charter;* inſomuch, that if We, or our Juſtice, or our Bailiff, or any of our Miniſters, act contrary to the ſame in any thing, againſt any Perſons, or offend againſt any Article of this Peace and Security, and ſuch our Miſcarriage be ſhewn to four Barons of the ſaid Five and Twenty, thoſe four Barons ſhall come to Us, or to our Juſtice, if we be out of the Realm, and ſhew Us our Miſcarriages, and require Us to amend the ſame without Delay; and if we do not amend it, or if, we being out of the Realm, our Juſtice do not amend it within forty Days after the ſame is ſhewn to Us, or to our Juſtice if we be out of the Realm, *Then the ſaid four Barons ſhall report the ſame to the Reſidue of the ſaid Five and Twenty Barons, and then thoſe Five and Twenty Barons, with the Commonalty of all* England, *may diſtreſs Us by all the Ways they can; to wit by ſiezing on our Caſtles, Lands and Poſſeſſions, and by what other Means they can, till it be amended, as they ſhall adjudge; ſaving our own Perſon, the Perſon of our Queen, and the Perſons of our Children*; and when it is amended, they ſhall be ſubject to Us as before; and whoever of the Realms will, may ſwear, that for the Performance of theſe Things he will obey the Commands of the ſaid Five and Twenty Barons, and that together with them he will diſtreſs Us to his Power: And we give publick and free Leave to ſwear to all that will ſwear, and will never hinder any one: And for all Perſons of the Realm, that of their own Accord will ſwear to the ſaid Five and Twenty Barons to diſtreſs Us, We will iſſue our Precept, commanding them to ſwear as aforeſaid.'

RE-

* The Great Charter of King *John*.

REFLECTIONS *on a late Pamphlet, entitled,* Prieſtcraft in Perfection.

——— *Antiquam exquirite Matrem.*

THE Author of a late Pamphlet, entitled, *Prieſtcraft in Perfection*, has taken a great deal of Pains to prove, that the Clauſe of the *Church's Power* was not contained in the *imprinted Book of Articles* that was eſtabliſhed by Law; which in my Opinion was not abſolutely neceſſary to his Purpoſe: For upon a ſtrict Survey of the Words of the Act of Parliament, and calling to Mind ſome Paſſages I had met with in Books, I find that none of the Articles contained in that *imprinted Book* were confirm'd by Law, except thoſe Articles which 'only concern the Confeſſion of the true Chriſtian Faith, and the Doc-'trine of the Sacraments; and that the Articles contained in the ſaid *imprinted Book* which relate to *Diſcipline*, and to ſuch Doctrines as concern not the Eſſence of the *Chriſtian Faith*, and *the Doctrine of the Sacraments*, were not paſſed by the Parliament. And therefore that Author might have infer'd, that the Clauſe of the *Church's Power* could not be confirm'd by Law, though it was contain'd in the *imprinted Book* ratify'd by Parliament, becauſe that *Clauſe* relates only to *Diſcipline*. I wonder that a Gentleman ſo willing to deſtroy the Credit of *Church-Authority* ſhould over-look this Conſideration, when it tended not only to ſerve his Purpoſe of proving, That the Clauſe of the *Church's Power* was not eſtabliſhed by Law, but to take off from the legal Authority of ſo many other Articles of the Church, which are now univerſally thought to be eſtabliſhed by Law. But few Mens Acuteneſs is equal to their Zeal; and therefore our Author has, throughout his Book, ſuppoſed, 'That all the Articles contained 'in the imprinted Book, referred to by the Act of Parliament, are eſtabliſh'd by 'Law.' But to carry on the Matter further than he has done, I ſhall produce the very Words of the Law, and then confirm the Senſe I ſhall give of it by ſome undeniable Authorities. The Articles confirmed by Law* are, 'All the 'Articles of Religion, which ONLY concern the Confeſſion of the true Chriſ-'tian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments, compriſed in a Book imprinted, 'intitled, *Articles whereupon it was agreed by the Archbiſhops, and Biſhops, and 'the whole Clergy, in the Convocation holden at* London, *in the Year of our Lord 'God*, 1562, &c.' Which Words plainly confirm only thoſe *Articles compriſed in the imprinted Book*, which can be reduced to theſe two Heads, *viz.* 'Articles 'that concern only the Confeſſion of the true Chriſtian Faith, and the Doctrine 'of the Sacraments;' and exclude all other Articles which fall not under theſe two Heads.

This ſeems to me to be the obvious Senſe of the Words of the Law; and if the Reader will but conſider, when he reflects on the Words, that in Queen *Elizabeth*'s Time Matters of Diſcipline and Ceremony were eſteemed of high Conſequence, and diſputed of with great Vehemence among the Proteſtants of *England*; and I may add, with a Zeal equal to that which we ſee at this Day in

* 13 Eliz. *c.* 12.

relation to *Paſſive-Obedience*; it is impoſſible to imagine, that the Parliament would not have mention'd *Articles* of Diſcipline (which ran ſo much in their Heads) as well as Articles that 'concerned only the Confeſſion of the true 'Chriſtian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments;' unleſs they had excluded all the Articles that related to *Diſcipline*. And the ſame may be ſaid in regard to other Doctrines contained in the *Thirty-Nine Articles*, which fell not under the two Heads mentioned in the Act of Parliament.

I do not expect that the Senſe I have given of the Law (how juſt ſoever it is) ſhould of itſelf convince Men who are already ſtrongly engaged in the common Opinion. But when they come to conſider what I have further to ſay, and join what I have already ſaid with it, I am not without Hopes of convincing all unprejudiced Men, that I have given the true Senſe of the Law.

1. In the firſt Place, I ſhall produce the Authority of that great Lawyer, Mr. *Selden*.

He tells us, 'There is a Secret concerning the Artieles:* Of late Miniſters 'have ſubſcribed to all of them, but by Act of Parliament that confirmed 'them, they ought only to ſubſcribe to thoſe Articles which contain Matter 'of Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments, as appears by the firſt Subſcrip-'tions. But Biſhop *Bancroft* (in the Convocation held in King *James*'s Days) 'began it, that Miniſters ſhould ſubſcribe to three Things, to the King's 'Supremacy, to the Common-Prayer, and to the Thirty-nine Articles; many 'of which do not contain Matter of Faith. Is it Matter of Faith how the Church 'ſhould be governed? Whether Infants ſhould be baptized? Whether we have 'any Property in our Goods, *&c.*

Theſe Words not only declare Mr. *Selden*'s Opinion of the Meaning of the Law, but make him teſtify a Matter of Fact that confirms his Opinion, and puts the Truth of his Opinion beyond all Doubt: For if the *firſt Subſcriptions* were only to ſuch Parts of the Thirty-nine Articles as *contain only Matter of Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments*, it muſt be becauſe the Law was at firſt underſtood to relate only to ſuch of the Thirty-nine Articles as come under one of thoſe Heads.

Whether the Fact be true or no that Mr. *Selden* relates, may I ſuppoſe at this Day be put out of all Queſtion; for I doubt not but there are Places where the firſt Subſcriptions of the Clergy to the Articles are kept. I am not ſkilful enough in eccleſiaſtical Matters to ſay *where*; but wherever they are, I do, upon the Opinion I have of Mr. *Selden*'s great Integrity, appeal to thoſe Subſcriptions for the Truth of what Mr. *Selden* affirms.

2. But beſides the Authority of Mr. *Selden*, as a Lawyer, and a Witneſs of a Matter of Fact, whereby it appears that the Parliament did confirm only ſome of the Thirty-nine Articles, I will preſent the Reader with a Paſſage that I find among the *Journals of Parliament*, publiſhed by Sir *Simon D'Ewes*, in a Speech of *Peter Wentworth*, Eſq; one of the Burgeſſes for the Borough of *Tregony*, in *Cornwal*, made in the Parliament of 1575, wherein, among Abundance of other Things worthy of Remark, it is affirm'd by him, *p.* 239, 'That he had heard 'of old Parliament-Men, that the Baniſhment of the Pope and Popery, and the 'reſtoring

* The Table under the Head *Articles*.

'reſtoring of true Religion, had their Beginning from this Houſe, and not from 'the Biſhops; and he had heard that few Laws for Religion had their Founda-'tion from them.—I was, *ſays he*, amongſt others, the laſt Parliament, ſent to 'the Biſhop of *Canterbury* for the Articles of Religion that then paſs'd this Houſe. 'He aſk'd us, why we did put out of the Book the Articles for the Homilies, 'conſecrating of Biſhops, and ſuch like? Surely, Sir, ſaid I, becauſe we were 'ſo occupied in other Matters, that we had no Time to examine them, how 'they agreed with the Word of God. What, ſaid he, ſurely you miſtook the 'Matter; you will refer yourſelves wholly to us therein? No, by the Faith I 'bear to God, ſaid I, we will paſs nothing before we underſtand what it is; 'for that were but to make you Popes: Make you Popes, who liſt, ſaid I, for 'we will make you none. And ſure, Mr. Speaker, the Speech ſeem'd to me 'to be a Pope-like Speech; and I fear leſt our Biſhops do attribute this of the 'Pope's Canons to themſelves (*Papa non poteſt errare:*) for ſurely if they did 'not, they would reform Things amiſs, and not ſpurn againſt God's People for 'writing as they do.'

1. Theſe Words of Mr. *Wentworth* are a plain Evidence of the Matter of Fact, 'That the Parliament put out, or did not confirm ſeveral of the Thirty-nine 'Articles.' For this Speech was deliver'd in Parliament in 1575, about five Years after the Parliament eſtabliſhed the Articles; and therefore it is not to be imagined that Mr. *Wentworth* ſhould have affirmed, that any *Articles were put out by the Houſe*, unleſs they really were put out; when there muſt of courſe have been ſo many Members of Parliament preſent, who were Members in 1571, (when the Articles were eſtabliſhed) able to contradict him, had not what he ſaid been true.

Beſides, Mr. *Wentworth* was ſtop'd in the Progreſs of this Speech for his great Boldneſs, and afterwards examined before a Committee of the Houſe (to whom he gave it in Writing) on the Account of ſome Exceptions taken to ſome Paſſages which he had delivered; but no Notice was taken of this Particular, as appears from his *Examination*, printed immediately after his Speech, in the *Journal* of Sir *Simon D'Ewes*; and conſequently it is reaſonable to imagine, that the Committee was conſcious that what he delivered in that Particular was true.

2. The Words of Mr. *Wentworth* are not only an Evidence of the Matter of Fact, that the Houſe of Commons *put out*, or did not confirm ſeveral Articles contained in the *Imprinted Book of Articles*, but do ſo fall in with the Expreſſions of the *Act of Parliament*, as to leave no reaſonable Doubt but that the Parliament paſſed not ſeveral Articles contain'd in the *Imprinted Book*.

For the Articles put out, according to Mr. *Wentworth*, were, 'the Ar-'ticle for the Homilies, the Article for conſecrating Biſhops, and ſuch like;' which is as much as to ſay, Articles relating to ſuch Doctrines as were not Fundamentals, or of the Eſſence of Chriſtian Faith, and Articles relating to Diſcipline. To which Heads, if you add theſe two mentioned in the Act of Parliament, *viz.* 'Articles that only concern the Confeſſion of the true Chriſtian 'Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments,' you have all the Heads under which Matters of Divinity are uſually rank'd. So that the Words of the Act of Parliament, and of Mr. *Wentworth*, are like Tallies to one another. Where-

fore

fore I think I may conclude, 'That ſeveral of the Thirty-nine Articles were not 'confirm'd by the Parliament.' For ſince the Words of the Law have ſo plain a Relation to the Diſtinction of Articles into different Kinds, and ſince a Diſtinction of Articles into different Kinds is confirm'd by Matter of Fact, and ſince that Diſtinction is a common Diſtinction in Divinity, I think the Words of the *Act of Parliament* ought to be underſtood conformably to it. For why ſhould any one ſuppoſe the Parliament expreſſed themſelves unaccurately, and that they meant all the Articles comprized in the Imprinted Book, when they ſpeak of thoſe 'only which concern the Confeſſion of the true Chriſtian Faith, and the 'Doctrine of the Sacraments,' compriſed in that *Imprinted Book*; while taking the Words in the obvious Senſe, and in the Senſe agreeable to Matter of Fact, and the Nature of Things, makes them uſe the moſt accurate Expreſſion in the World?

How many of our Thirty-nine Articles are ſtruck out from being eſtabliſhed by Law by the foregoing Comment on the Law, cannot be known with that Certainty as if we had the *Imprinted Book of Articles* recorded, as our other Laws are. Then perhaps we ſhould have ſeen what Articles were confirm'd, and what were not confirm'd. But ſince we are deprived of that Light about Religious Matters eſtabliſhed by Law, that we have in Civil Matters eſtabliſhed by Law, we have no other Way to find the *Articles* eſtabliſhed by Law, but by running over the whole Thirty-nine Articles, and conſidering the Nature of them. This I do not propoſe at preſent to take upon me; but only beg Leave to obſerve, That we may be ſure we have no Homilies by Law eſtabliſhed. For the *Homilies* are no otherwiſe ſuppoſed to be eſtabliſhed by Law, than as they are a Part of the Thirty-nine Articles; the Thirty-fifth whereof affirms them *to contain a godly and wholeſome Doctrine, and neceſſary for theſe Times.* And Mr. *Wentworth* directly ſays, *the Article for the Homilies was put out by the Houſe.* Though had he not mentioned that *Article*, the Matter would have otherwiſe been very plain. For how can an Article, which affirms, *That* thirty-three Sermons or *Homilies do contain a godly and wholeſome Doctrine, and neceſſary for theſe Times*, be one of the Articles of Religion *which only concern the Confeſſion of the true Chriſtian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments?* The Articles which only concern the Confeſſion of the Chriſtian Faith, and the Doctrine of the Sacraments, are no more concerned whether there ſhould be any Homilies, or whether theſe Sermons or Homilies *contain a godly and wholeſome Doctrine, and neceſſary for theſe Times*, than they are concerned in the numerous Sermons and Books, cited by *Sacheverell*'s Council in Behalf of Paſſive Obedience.

What I have ſaid is, I hope, ſufficient to carry the Point further than the Author of *Prieſtcraft in Perfection* has done, who has argued on the Suppoſition, that *all the Thirty-nine Articles are eſtabliſhed by Law*; and to convince any Man that is more concerned for Truth than his own Opinion, not only that the Clauſe of the *Church's Power*, in the Beginning of the Twentieth Article, is not confirm'd by Law, 'but that there are ſeveral of the Thirty-nine Articles not con-'firm'd by Law.

The

The Age of RIDDLES: or, A true Liſt of certain extraordinary Poſitions, formerly called Contradictions, but now diſtinguiſhed by no Name at all. Faithfully extracted from ſeveral Modern Doctrines and Practices.

Qui color eſt Albus, nunc eſt contrarius Albo.

I. ALL Government is over-turn'd by Obedience, and eſtabliſhed by being reſiſted. Therefore

II. The moſt eminent Inſtance of Loyalty is to condemn Subjection; and he is the greateſt Rebel that preaches againſt Rebellion.

III. Thoſe are a Prince's beſt Subjects, and moſt faithful Miniſters, who deny his Title to the Crown before his Face, and argue againſt that Right which they are bound by their Offices and their Oaths to defend.

IV. The worſt Cauſe in the World ought to have the worſt Managers; and thoſe are fitteſt to cenſure other People's Speeches, that can't read their own.

V. A C——ch muſt neceſſarily be in a ſafe and flouriſhing Condition, when *Biſhops* explode its Doctrines, and *Lawyers* are forced to defend them.

VI. They that know nothing of the Laws of the Land, or act and plead in direct Oppoſition to them, either are already At——nies and Sol——r G——ls, or ought to be made L—d Ch—f J——ces.

VII. Thoſe are the moſt proper Perſons to accuſe others of high Crimes and Miſdemeanors, who for their Speeches in that very Accuſation ought themſelves to be hang'd for high Treaſon.

VIII. Ignorance, Rudeneſs, Impudence, Dulneſs, Blunders and Nonſenſe, are undoubted Proofs of Wit, Learning, and good Manners; and the groſſeſt Slander, Lying and Injuſtice, the bittereſt Railing, Rage and Malice, are the trueſt Signs of Chriſtian Charity, Temper and Moderation.

IX. When a Man is condemn'd and puniſhed as a Criminal, his Friends ought to teſtify their Concern by Bon-fires and Illuminations.

X. It is the Buſineſs of the Sons of Arch-biſhops to impeach the Church; of Biſhops, to vote a Clergyman guilty of high Crimes and Miſdemeanors, for preaching thoſe Doctrines which Chriſt and his Apoſtles, and they themſelves have preached; of *Scotch* Peers, to ſave a Church of *England* divine from Ruin; of Preſbyterians, to pull down Meeting-Houſes; of Governors, to diſcourage the Principles of Obedience; and of the Mob, to rebell in Defence of Loyalty.

The

The True, Genuine, TORY-ADDRESS. To which is added, An EXPLANATION of ſome Hard Terms now in Uſe; for the Information of all ſuch as Read or Subſcribe ADDRESSES. 1710.

Dread Sovereign,

IN this critical Juncture of Affairs, permit us, the moſt dutiful, and moſt peaceable, as well as moſt numerous, of your Majeſty's Subjects, in the moſt humble Manner to lay before you our good Diſpoſitions, and our beſt Advices, as well with regard to your *Sacred Perſon* and *Government*, as to our happy *Conſtitution*, and the true Intereſt of this *Church* and *Nation*.

It is with Grief that we have obſerved of late a mighty Zeal to appear for the *Revolution*, which we were in good hopes had been by this Time forgotten. Nay, to ſuch a pitch of open, barefaced Impudence are ſome Men arrived, that they have preſumed, even under your Majeſty's mild Reign, publickly to defend thoſe Principles and Practices, which ſaved your Sacred Life from Deſtruction, and the Nation from Ruin, and which are the whole Foundation of our preſent *Eſtabliſhment*; and openly to confront thoſe many excellent *Treatiſes* that have been publiſhed (to the great Benefit of our whole *Conſtitution*, and preſent *Eſtabliſhment*) in Defence of *Abſolute Monarchy*, and *Unlimited Non-Reſiſtance*, and *Unalienable Right*. We therefore cannot but eſteem this the moſt proper Time, to declare our Zeal to be awakened into the utmoſt Abhorrence of thoſe *Republican*, *Antimonarchical Principles*, which alone preſerved your Royal Perſon, and ſecured to us the unſpeakable Happineſs of your *Government*; and which alone can remove our Fears of returning again to *Popery* and *Slavery*, in Time to come.

Your Majeſty has ſeveral times expreſſed a more than ordinary pungent Senſe of that wonderful Out-cry which had been induſtriouſly raiſed, concerning the *Danger of the Church of England*, under your gracious *Reign*. We beg Leave, as we have hitherto done, to conſult *the Serenity of your Royal Mind*, by continuing and increaſing this moving Cry, till ſuch *Faithful Sons*, and *Bright Ornaments of the Church*, as we can confide in, are put into the higheſt Offices. And in the mean time, whilſt this Cry is working our Will through the Nation, if we be called to Account, as offending againſt the Voice of Queen, Lords, and Commons; we can profeſs that we found it all upon that Increaſe of *Blaſphemy* and *Profaneneſs*, which threatens Ruin to the *Presbyterian Kirk* of *Scotland*, and all the Diſſenting Congregations here, equally with the *Church of England*. We humbly hope therefore, that ſo deep and univerſal a Concern as this, for our *Brethren's Presbyterian Churches*, as well as our own, can give no juſt Offence to your Majeſty, or any good Chriſtian.

Our *Eſtabliſhment*, ſince the late *Revolution*, being founded upon the Juſtice of the Nation's having departed from the Right Line; and extinguiſhed the Title of many who might hereafter claim by virtue of a *Right* merely *Hereditary*;

and

and fixed the Succeſſion in the *Proteſtant Houſe of Hanover:* in a deep ſenſe of the Oaths we have taken, and in order to make our Zeal for that *Illuſtrious Houſe* manifeſt *beyond all Contradiction*; we lay hold of the preſent Seaſon, to declare our whole Regard to be for your Majeſty's Title, as far as it is *Hereditary*; not knowing, nor being able to judge, how far it is ſo: But not doubting that this will be an unanſwerable Demonſtration of our being the trueſt Friends to your Majeſty, as it will ever remain a certain Proof to the whole World that we are entirely in the Intereſt of that *Illuſtrious Family*, which is, unhappily, void of all Pretence to an *Hereditary Right*.

Thus do we, according to your *Royal Direction*, contend with our *Brethren*, who ſhall moſt effectually ſecure the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*.

Your Majeſty recommends with the utmoſt Earneſtneſs an *Union of Affection* amongſt your Subjects. And indeed the Circumſtances of this *Nation*, the Importance of the *War* abroad, and the Danger we are in from a powerful *Common Enemy*, might ſeem an irreſiſtible Motive to it. And ſo deeply are we touched with what ſeems moſt of all to affect the *Serenity of your Royal Mind*, that in order to this, we are continually doing what we can to perſuade all our *Fellow-Subjects* into *one well-compacted Body*; that is, our own Party. But if they will not yield to the moſt perſuaſive Arguments of *Raillery* and *Abuſes*, we moſt humbly deſire to be excuſed from all Tendency to *Moderation*; a Word indeed, unhappily, uſed by your Majeſty from the Throne, but of pernicious Conſequence to the Intereſt of our *Church*. And as we have begun with Tumults and *Rebellions*; ſo we ſhall go on by *diſcontented Addreſſes* to contend, according to your *Royal Deſire*, who ſhall moſt promote the Practice of *Peace* and *Love*.

Your Majeſty has declared from the Throne, that *you will inviolably maintain the Toleration*. We humbly wiſh that your Majeſty had made uſe of a Word known to *our Law*. We cannot, in our Conſciences, be for a *Toleration*. No: We your Faithful Subjects are for an *Indulgence to Conſciences truly ſcrupulous*: At leaſt, *we do not preſume*, publickly, *to diſapprove the Legal Impunity allowed to Conſciences truly tender*. By which we, who are Judges of other Mens Conſciences, know what we mean, *viz.* To leave room for Indulgence to whom we pleaſe; and to judge all *Proteſtant Diſſenters*, according as we think fit, to be Perſons who have no Conſciences at all, and therefore to be without all Title to this *Indulgence* or *Impunity*.

We know that your Majeſty hath with great Earneſtneſs aſſured us of your affectionate Concern for the *eſtabliſhed Church*: And it is true that we have received ſome ſmall Pledges of it, a little *Revenue* beſtowed upon it, and an *Act* paſſed in order to enrich it more. But we hope to live to ſee other Proofs of it; and the Intereſt of all *Europe* ſacrificed to it, if Need be. What will all theſe Profeſſions avail us, if the higheſt *Poſts* and *Truſts* are filled with ſuch *Enemies* to the *Church*, as, if we do not timely prevent it, will ſecure it too much againſt *France* and *Rome*? We therefore beg Leave plainly to declare to your Majeſty, that we cannot think it ſafe, in our Senſe of the Word, till the following Points are gain'd, *viz.* till a *General* is diſmiſs'd, who is the *Idol* of the *Confederacy* abroad, and whoſe uncommon and unſeaſonable *Victories* unluckily portend the Ruin of that *Church* which they preſerve; till a *Treaſurer* is removed, whoſe Conduct

hath extinguiſh'd the *Credit* of all *France*; till a *Miniſtry* is diſplaced, under which every Thing moſt honourable and moſt agreeable to your *Majeſty*, every Thing moſt grievous and moſt diſguſtful to the *Common Enemy*, hath been unhappily effected; and eſpecially, till a *Houſe of Commons* is diſſolved, which hath betray'd too much Regard to the *Liberties* of their *Country*, and too much Zeal againſt *Tyranny* and *Oppreſſion*; a Behaviour which we ever eſteem pernicious to our *Eccleſiaſtical Intereſt*. Theſe are *Sacrifices* worthy of a *ſacred Love* to the *Church*; and theſe are the Marks of it, which we are now impatiently waiting for.

And we humbly hope that your *Majeſty* will pay the more ready Regard to theſe our *Inſinuations* and *Importunities*, even at the Hazard of the *publick Peace* at Home, and of the *Confederacy* abroad; becauſe we have made ſuch Preparations for a new Election, as can hardly fail us, and at the ſame Time have given the moſt ample Proofs of our great Intereſt, and of the Weakneſs of the oppoſite Party. For what may not your *Majeſty* expect from *us*, who have been able to arm the *People* againſt thoſe who ſtood up in Defence of their *Rights* and *Privileges*; to induce *Engliſh Proteſtants* to act in Conjunction with *Papiſts*; and to reconcile Men to that unparallel'd Contradiction of *rebelling* out of *Loyalty*, and *reſiſting* out of *Zeal* for *Non-Reſiſtance*? And what can your *Majeſty* expect from another Sort of Men, ſo heartleſs and weak, that all our repeated Provocations have not been able to ſtir them up to any one Act of *Tumult* and *Oppoſition*? And how can the Succeſs of the *Experiment* be doubted? By our *Riots* and *Mobs* we have raiſed the Spirits of our *Friends*, and ſtruck Terror into our *Enemies*. By our *Addreſſes* we have kept up that Ferment which our *Riots* raiſed. And now by our *circular Letters* we are diſpoſing the ſeveral *Counties* of the *Land* to the *happy Event*.

And as we have thus, in every Reſpect, ſhewed our ready *Compliance* with all your *Majeſty*'s pathetical Exhortations from the *Throne*: As we have cultivated *Peace* and *Quiet* by encouraging, or conniving at, the moſt *outrageous Tumults*; and mutual *Love* and *Affection* by the moſt endearing *Provocations* and *Abuſes*: As we have manifeſted our unfeign'd Reſolution to maintain the *Proteſtant Succeſſion*, by our Zeal for that *hereditary Right* which cannot belong to it; and our Concern for the *common Good*, by doing every thing agreeable to the Wiſhes of the *common Enemy*: So your *Majeſty* may certainly depend upon it, that we will ever give the like convincing Proofs of our ſincere Affection to your *Perſon* and *Government*. We will ever continue faithfully to ſupport the *Conſtitution* and the *Church*, by reviling the *Revolution*, and railing at the *Toleration*. We will, to the laſt, defend your *Majeſty*'s Title to the *Crown*, as far only as it is *hereditary*; and we will effectually keep out the *Pretender*, and all the *popiſh Line*, by conſtantly adhering to thoſe Principles of *unalienable Right*, and *unlimited Non-Reſiſtance*, by which they were at firſt excluded: Principles which, as we have ſhew'd in the Face of the whole World, ſweeten the Tempers, and quiet the Paſſions of thoſe who profeſs them; and are peculiarly adapted to reconcile the Affections of Men to our *preſent Eſtabliſhment*.

By all therefore that is worthy of Conſideration, we moſt earneſtly entreat your *Majeſty*'s Favour; by all the numberleſs Obligations we have formerly laid upon

upon you; by the great and unparallel'd Abilities and Conduct of our *Friends*, when they were once in the *higheſt Poſts*; by our quiet and peaceable Deportment ſince they were removed; by the *Meekneſs* of our *Tumults*, and the *good Temper* of our *Addreſſes*; by our tender Regard to *Conſciences truly ſcrupulous*; by our uncommon *Zeal* for the *hereditary Right* of the *illuſtrious Houſe of Hanover*; by the moving *Cry* of the *Church's Danger*, ſo agreeable a Sound in your ſacred Ears; by our ſincere Promiſe to ſuppreſs all diſorderly *Tumults*, now they are over; and our unfeign'd Reſolution to be very peaceable and ſubmiſſive when we are uppermoſt; by the entire Conformity of our *Practices* to our *Profeſſions*; by the *Paſſiveneſs* of our *Principles*, and the *Activeneſs* of our Natures; by the little Regard paid to your *General*, and the little Confidence placed in your *Miniſtry* by the *Allies* abroad; by the particular *Seaſonableneſs* of the *Time*, when your *Armies* are in full Heart, penetrating into the *Enemy's Country*; by the Wiſhes of the *common Adverſary* abroad, who boaſts of what we are now doing; and by the Entreaties of all the *Papiſts* and *Nonjurors* at home, who are acting the ſame Part with us; by the *Terrors* we have ſtruck into all our *Opponents*, and the *Preparations* we have made for a happy *Election:* By every Thing dear and ſacred to us, we beſeech your *Majeſty* to be directed by our infallible Wiſdom; to diſcard ſuch a *General*, ſuch a *Miniſtry*, and ſuch a *Houſe of Commons*, as have given *you* ſo ſmall Proofs of their Ability, or Zeal, to ſerve the Nation; and to enter entirely into a *new Scheme*, which will prove ſo great a Satisfaction to all your *Allies*, and ſo deadly a Blow to *France*, abroad; and will ſo effectually extinguiſh all the Hopes of the *Pretender*'s Friends at home. This is the true Meaning of all our Zeal in addreſſing your *Majeſty*; and theſe are the *united Prayers* of

Your Majeſty's *moſt quiet, moſt peaceable, and moſt paſſively obedient Subjects.*

An EXPLANATION of ſome Hard Terms now in Uſe; for the Information of all ſuch as Read or Subſcribe ADDRESSES.

ANtimonarchical Principles] Such Principles, in other Words, as are abſolutely neceſſary for defending our preſent Conſtitution, and hindering it from being turn'd into an *abſolute Monarchy*; and preventing the People's Fondneſs for a neighbouring Prince. *Monarchy* is a *Greek* Word, and ſignifies the Government of one ſingle Perſon by his own Will and Pleaſure. *Anti* ſignifies *againſt*, or *contrary to*; ſo that by *antimonarchical Principles* are meant ſuch *Principles* as are *againſt* the *abſolute Government* of one Perſon by mere Will and Pleaſure, and without *Laws*.

Antimonarchical Men] Theſe are a rebellious Sort of Men, who prefer the Preſervation of our *Government* by *Queen*, *Lords* and *Commons*, before *abſolute Monarchy*; and are for defending it againſt all, from the *higheſt* to the *loweſt*, who would invade it, and turn it into an *abſolute Monarchy*.

Hereditary Right] Is a *Right* reſulting from Nearneſs of Blood, and not from ſo low a Principle as *Acts* of *Parliament*. It is thought much more *divine* and *unqueſtionable* than a *Parliamentary Right*. In other Words, it is that *Right* by which the *popiſh Line* may claim to be reſtored, and by which the *Houſe* of *Hanover* muſt neceſſarily be excluded.

Popiſh Doctrine] Now uſed for a *Doctrine* which keeps out *Popery*, and is deteſted by *Papiſts*. Note, the Word *Popiſh* is never of any true Service to the *Church* in the Way of Reproach, but when it is joined to the Word *Republican*, or *Preſbyterian*.

Republican Principles] Much the ſame with *Antimonarchical*: but particularly *Revolution Principles* are meant by them; ſuch Principles as defend the Proceedings of the *Queen*, the *Nation*, and *Prince of Orange*, at the *late Revolution*.

Men of Republican Principles] A Sort of dangerous Men, that have lately taken Heart, and defended the *Revolution* that ſaved us, and the *Proteſtant Succeſſion* as eſtabliſh'd upon that *Revolution*. Note, that, it not being adviſeable to ſpeak directly and openly againſt the *Revolution*, and *Proteſtant Succeſſion*, it is thought fit to attack them under the Covert of the Words *Republican* and *Hereditary Right*.

All Friends are deſired to take Notice of the true Intent of theſe few *ſignificant* Words.

The True, Genuine Modern WHIGG-ADDRESS. To which is added, An EXPLANATION of ſome Hard Terms now in Uſe; for the Information of all ſuch as Read or Subſcribe ADDRESSES. 1710.

Dread Sovereign,

IN this critical Juncture of Affairs, permit us, the leaſt dutiful, the leaſt peaceable, as well as the moſt inconſiderable of your Majeſty's Subjects, in this extraordinary Manner, to lay before you the preſent Neceſſity of preferring the private Paſſions and Prejudices, the exorbitant Ambition and immoderate Counſels of an Handful of your Subjects, to the true Intereſt of your own Perſon and Government, the Advice of your Nobility, Clergy, and Gentry, together with the Voice of your People, ſeditiouſly combined to make your Reign eaſy, and your Nations happy.

It is with Grief that we have obſerved of late a mighty Zeal to appear for the Monarchy which we have labour'd ſo long to extinguiſh. Nay, to ſuch a Pitch of open barefaced Impudence are ſome Men arrived, that they have preſumed, even under your Majeſty's mild Reign, and in your gracious Preſence, *publickly* to aſperſe and condemn thoſe *Principles* and *Practices* which brought your Grandfather to the Block, involved the Nation in Confuſion, and overturn'd the very Foundation of the eſtabliſh'd Government in Church and State, and have *arro-*

gantly

gantly dared openly to confront thoſe many excellent Treatiſes, that have been publiſh'd ſo much to the Edification of our Youth, and to the Benefit of our Cauſe, in Defence of *Arming againſt the Sovereign*, of *limited Allegiance*, of *alienable Right*, *according to the Will and Diſcretion of the People*, with the Laws of God and the Nation, the Doctrine of our Saviour and his Apoſtles, the Opinions of our moſt holy and learned Prelates and Divines, as well as the moſt able Lawyers in all Ages and Countries.

We therefore cannot but eſteem this the moſt proper Time to declare our ZEAL to be awaken'd into the utmoſt Apprehenſions of ſeeing ſuch *Principles* again prevail; which *alone* can ſecure your Royal Perſon from being call'd to Account when we pleaſe, and diſappoint the unſpeakable Profit which would accrue to us, by continuing you under the Tyranny of a *Party*, and which alone muſt inevitably throw us back to our firſt State of *Indigence* and *Shame*: For *naked we came into the World, and naked we ſhould return.*

Your Majeſty has ſeveral Times expreſs'd a more than ordinary Senſe of the Outcries concerning the *Danger of the Church.* We humbly deſire your Majeſty would be pleaſed to believe, notwithſtanding the frequent Declarations of our Adverſaries, that all thoſe Apprehenſions have ariſen from the Efforts of our *Faction*; that you are much more likely to be ſuſpected of Indifference in Matters of Religion, than ourſelves. To which we muſt crave Leave to add this further reaſonable Requeſt, That your Majeſty would look on the Members of the Church of *England* as *Atheiſts* or *Papiſts*; they being the only Perſons who have adventured to ſtem the preſent Torrent of Blaſphemy, as they once ſtood ſingle in their Oppoſition to *Popery*; whilſt we ſeem ſo little concerned now, and at that Time acted the Part of Confederates againſt them.

Our Eſtabliſhment, ſince the late Revolution, is founded upon the Juſtice of the Nation's having departed from the right L——. This we affirm to be the Foundation on which we ſtand. The Juſtice of *departing from Right* may indeed ſeem a *Paradox*; but ſo hearty are we in obſerving your Majeſty's frequent Recommendations of Union, that we endeavour even to reconcile Contradictions. And therefore it is, that in a deep Senſe of the Oaths we have taken to be true to your Majeſty and your Succeſſors, and in order to make our Zeal manifeſt, we lay hold of the preſent Seaſon to declare, That we have not the leaſt Regard to your Majeſty's Title, as far as it is Hereditary; nor to any Right of Deſcent of the Crown, in Failure of Iſſue from your Majeſty, on the Houſe of *Hanover*, as they are next in Succeſſion in the Proteſtant Line.

Thus do we, by ſhaking one great Prop of the Crown and of the Proteſtant Succeſſion, earneſtly contend with our Brethren, who ſhall moſt effectually ſupport them.

Your Majeſty was once pleaſed from the Throne very earneſtly to recommend *Moderation*; which we have ſeconded with all the Art and Induſtry of Men ſincerely affected to Peace and Union, by perſuading all who would be perſuaded, to be as *moderate* as poſſible, in their Zeal to your Majeſty as Subjects, and to their God and their Saviour as Chriſtians, for Fear of giving Offence to *weaker Brethren.* The ſureſt Way to prevent all Animoſities about *Religion*, is ſo to ſettle the Minds of Men, as to have none at all.

Your

Your Majesty was likewise pleased to declare from the Throne, 'That you 'would inviolably maintain the Toleration.' The *Church-men*, 'tis true, very readily agreed, and have ever supported such an *Indulgence to tender Consciences*, as the Law has allow'd: Nay, they have gone further; they have connived at our Breach of this very Law in a Thousand Instances, rather than be thought too nice, or inclinable to give Disturbance. But this, we presume, is far from being sufficient; not a Man of them will *tolerate Vice* and *Immorality*; not a Man of them will *tolerate Prophaneness* and *Blasphemy*, *Sedition* or *Rebellion*: And till this is effected, how is it possible we should be *All of one Mind?* And how can it be said to be a *general Toleration*, where such material Exceptions are taken?

We humbly hope that your Majesty will pay the more ready Regard to these our Insinuations and Importunities, at the Hazard of your Crown, and of the publick Peace; because we have made such Preparations to continue the *present Parliament*, till we shall think fit to *dissolve* it ourselves, as nothing can disappoint but *Calling a new one at this Juncture*. For what can your Majesty expect from these *Church-men*, who daily and openly declare, that your Majesty should be left a *Free Agent* on your Throne; that you should yourself be deliver'd from Oppression, who have so gloriously deliver'd *Mankind* from it? What can they mean by this, but giving your Majesty an *unnecessary* Trouble of *governing*, which we, your faithful *Modern Whigs*, have so chearfully and readily preserved you from, without being weary of the Burthen to this Day? What can they mean by insinuating that Gentlemen ought to be distinguish'd by no other Denomination but that of *Good Subjects* and *Good Patriots?* Is not this a positive Exclusion of your *faithful* J——o? Or, that *Men of Birth*, *Fortune*, and *Merit*, should pay Obedience where Obedience is only due, and receive the Reward of their Services, without scandalous Dependency? And what is this but an open A--k upon your M——y?

By all therefore that is worthy of Consideration, we most earnestly intreat your *Majesty*'s Favour. By the Contempt which we shew'd, and the many Indignities which we offer'd to your Person in the late Reign: By our Endeavours to disappoint your Succession to the Throne, or to render precarious and uneasy your Seat in it: By our steady Opposition to your Majesty before we were taken into Power; and by our Arbitrary Impositions upon you since: By the ill Usage we gave your *Ministers* when then were not our Vassals; and by the Adoration which we have paid them from the Time they became so: By the Confidence which we place in them, and by the Distrust which we shew of you: By our uncommon Zeal for the illustrious House of *Hanover*, whilst we differ'd from your *Ministers*; and by our infamous Neglect of that Family since we agreed with them: By the entire Conformity of our Practices to our Professions: By our Votes against any Peace without the Restitution of *Spain*, and by our absolute Neglect of that Part of the War: By our disgracing the *Englishman* who was victorious in that Country, and supporting the *Frenchman* who has sold or lost it; as if *Success* was criminal in all but one, and *Conquest* was least valuable where it is most wanted: By that exemplary Instance of Love to our own *Poor*, in sending for *Palatines* to intercept that Charity for Want of which they starved: By making no Use of Victories, but to prolong the War, and to become terrible

rible to your Majeſty, and to our Fellow-Subjects: By our Pretences to *Moderation*, and our Exerciſe of *Tyranny*: By that Love which we affect of *Liberty*, and that *Slaviſh* Submiſſion which we require of all who ſerve us: By the Clamours which we have raiſed in former Times againſt Violations of Charters, againſt Proſecutions on *Innuendo's*, and againſt *Convictions* on forced Conſtructions of Law, and by the *Corporations* which we have in theſe Times garbled: By the Right of Election which we have taken from ſo many Thouſands of our Fellow Subjects: By our ſtraining paſſionate Expreſſions into *high Crimes*, and common Riots into *high Treaſon*: By the particular Seaſonableneſs of the Time, when we gave Occaſion to the *preſent Ferment*; and by the Dexterity which we ſhew'd in reducing the Friends of our old Conſtitution to this *Dilemma*, either of ſitting tamely down under Oppreſſion, or of affording this Colour to aſperſe them, that by their Struggles for Self-Preſervation at home they give Encouragement to the *common Enemy* abroad: By every Thing dear and ſacred to us, we beſeech your Majeſty to be directed by our infallible Wiſdom, to reſign the *Prerogative* of *Peace* and *War* to your *General*, the whole *executive Power* at home to your *Treaſurer*, and to continue both *yourſelf* and *them* under the Dominion of that *J——o*, whoſe ra--c--s Av---ce, and whoſe inſ——le Amb—n have been the great Occaſion of all the Diſ——s which have happen'd either in the laſt Reign or in this; and have juſtly render'd them *t—r—ble* to all thoſe who *pray for the Peace of our* Jeruſalem.

'This is the true Meaning of all our Applications to your Majeſty; and 'theſe are the united Deſires of your Majeſty's moſt greedy, moſt turbulent, 'and moſt rebelliouſly devoted humble Servants.'

An EXPLANATION of ſome Hard Terms now in Uſe; for the Information of all ſuch as Read or Subſcribe ADDRESSES.

Revolution Principles.

REVOLUTION comes from the *Latin* Word *revolvere*; which ſignifies *to turn about*: So that by *Revolution Principles* are meant ſuch Principles as, under the ſpecious Pretence of juſtifying the laſt *happy Revolution*, prepare Mankind for any; and allow of the ſame Proceedings without the ſame Neceſſity.

Republican Principles.

BY theſe are meant ſuch *Principles* as did once ſubvert our *Conſtitution* in Church and State: Such *Principles* as murther'd the Grandfather, and are in the Grand-daughter's Reign at this Time openly profeſs'd and encouraged.

Here-

Hereditary Right.

THIS *Right* is own'd by the *Church-men* to be in the *Queen* by lineal Deſcent from her royal Anceſtors; together with that legal one which is derived from the *Acts of Settlement*. Theſe *Jacobites* likewiſe allow that the ſame hereditary Right, in caſe of her Majeſty's Deceaſe, and in default of Heirs of her Body, would have been in the Houſe of *Hanover*, as next in Succeſſion in the Proteſtant Line, even without the laſt Act *for the further Limitation of the Crown* to that illuſtrious Family; they conceiving that all *Papiſts* are by Law for ever excluded from inheriting the Imperial Crown of theſe Realms. The *Church-men* tie themſelves down to Submiſſion by two Bands of Allegiance: The *Modern Whigs* ſuffer themſelves to be faſtened but by one Slip-Knot, to be made or un-made, as they ſee good.

Popiſh Doctrine of Reſiſtance.

THIS *Doctrine* is certainly *Popiſh* as well as *Whiggiſh*. It was firſt broach'd by the Clergy of the Church of *Rome*, to keep thoſe Princes in Awe, who grew uneaſy at the Uſurpations of the *Papacy*. 'Whenever (ſay the Jeſuits) the 'Rights of the Church are invaded (which Invaſion depends on the Pope and 'his *Junto* to determine) Subjects are bound in Conſcience to rebell.' *Whenever* (ſay the *modern Whigs*) *the original Contract is broken* (which Breach the *Junto* of *Whigs* pretend to be *only* capable to give Notice of) *it becomes the indiſpenſible Duty of Subjects to reſiſt*. *N.B.* If the Truth of this State is denied, the Authorities ſhall be produced.

Antimonarchical Men.

MONARCHY is a *Greek* Word, and ſignifies no more than the Government of one ſingle Perſon. *ANTI* ſignifies *againſt*. So that by *Antimonarchical Men* are meant ſuch Perſons as are againſt the Government of a ſingle Perſon. Now the *modern Whigs* point in two different Manners at the ſame End: Some of them are for having five, ſix, or ſeven Sovereigns; others of them are againſt any Sovereign at all.

Paſſive Obedience.

THE *CHURCH-MEN* hold an *abſolute Paſſive-Obedience* to be the Duty of the Subjects, agreeably to the poſitive Law of God, the conſtant Doctrine of the Church, and the Language of all our Statutes made as well ſince the Revolution as before it. At the ſame Time they allow, that in Caſes where the Ruin of the Nation muſt otherwiſe enſue, the Neceſſity diſpenſes with the Duty, and

and Self-preſervation takes Place before any other Law. The *modern Whigs*, on the contrary, make the Bounds of Allegiance ſo uncertain, preſs the People ſo hard to *Reſiſtance*, and paſs ſo lightly over the *Doctrine of Obedience*, that they ſeem to make the *Rule* the *Exception*, and the *Exception* the *Rule*.

Moderation.

THIS Word admits amongſt the *modern Whigs* of two very different Conſtructions. When they are uppermoſt, it ſignifies *Governing*, or if you will, *Domineering*. When they are in Diſtreſs, it implies a *temperate Exerciſe of Power*, and is uſed to raiſe the Compaſſion of Mankind, and to obtain that Quarter which they never grant.

KENSINGTON, *May* 12, 1710.

The following Addreſs from the Borough of Newton, *in the County of* Lancaſter, *was preſented to her Majeſty by* John Ward, *Eſq; one of the Repreſentatives in Parliament for the ſaid Borough; introduced by the right honourable* John *Earl of* Angleſey: *Which Addreſs was graciouſly received, and Mr.* Ward *had the Honour to kiſs her Majeſty's Hand.*

To the QUEEN's *moſt excellent Majeſty.*

The humble Addreſs of the Steward, Bailiff and Burgeſſes, of your Majeſty's ancient Borough of *Newton*, in the County-Palatine of *Lancaſter*, together with the Gentlemen, and moſt Subſtantial Free-holders, of the Fee of *Mackerfield* (containing twenty-two Townſhips) belonging to the Manour of *Newton* aforſaid.

WE your Majeſty's moſt Loyal and dutiful Subjects cannot at this Juncture acquit ourſelves to your Majeſty, and our own Conſciences, without openly declaring (which we here do in the moſt ſolemn Manner) our utter *Deteſtation* and *Abhorrence* of that *Spirit* of Blaſphemy and Prophaneneſs, Schiſm and Sedition, which hath of late ſo *inſolently* ſhewed itſelf in this Land, and will ſo certainly bring down upon it God's ſevereſt Vengeance, if not timely prevented by your Majeſty's great Piety and Wiſdom.

When we with Grief reflect, how your *Royal* Grandfather (whoſe Goodneſs you inherit) yielded to the Importunities of Republicans and Schiſmaticks, till he became a *Martyr*, and the *Loyaliſts*, who adhered to him, a Prey to the *implacable* Malice of thoſe Enemies to Monarchy; who, under the Pretext of Conſcience and Duty, learned firſt to ſeparate his *Power* from his Perſon, and then ſoon deſtroyed both; continuing their *Hypocriſy* to the End, in the Mock-form of a

Trial, and Pretence of Law and Judicature: And when we conſider, how that horrid Crime of Regicide, while by ſome ſeriouſly commemorated and lamented, is by others extenuated, if not excuſed; and that the Law yet in Force for an Anniverſary Humiliation is *tranſgreſſed* and *ridiculed*: How the very ſame Antimonarchical Tenets and Poſitions, which brought on that ſad *Cataſtrophe*, are now revived, and openly and audaciouſly advanced and avowed: We cannot but with Reaſon fear the like fatal Effects to your Sacred Majeſty, and this Nation, if not timely prevented.

And as from the Bottom of our Hearts we moſt chearfully recognize your Majeſty, our *Hereditary* and *Lawful* Sovereign, and ſincerely profeſs ourſelves Members of the Church of *England*, by Law eſtabliſhed, of which your Majeſty is not only an Ornament, but alſo the Defender; ſo we beg Leave, at the ſame Time, to aſſure your Majeſty, that we will, to the utmoſt of our Power, ſupport and aſſiſt your Majeſty againſt all Attempts, which may endanger your Royal Perſon or Government, our moſt *Excellent* Church, or the Proteſtant Succeſſion.

And, to that End, when your Majeſty ſhall, in your great Wiſdom, call a new Parliament, we will be more careful than ever to chuſe ſuch Repreſentatives, as are moſt zealouſly affected to your Majeſty, and the preſent Eſtabliſhment both in Church and State.

And, in the mean Time, we ſhall not fail to implore Almighty God, ſo to preſerve and bleſs your Majeſty, that with Courage and Reſolution, equal to the *Impending* Danger, you may put an Early and Effectual Stop to theſe *Growing Evils*; and alſo pray, that, as your Majeſty hath been the Renowned Protector of Diſtreſſed Nations and People abroad, He, whoſe Authority you have, and whoſe Miniſter alone you are, may make you the happy Inſtrument of freeing your own People from all juſt Fear and Apprehenſions of having any illegal Attempts made upon their moſt happy Conſtitution in Church or State here at home.

W

KENSINGTON,

KENSINGTON, *June* 1, 1710.

This Day the following Addreſs was preſented to her Majeſty by the right honourable Sir John Holland, *Baronet, Comptroller of her Majeſty's Houſhold, and* Aſh Windham, *Eſq; Knight of the Shire for the County of* Norfolk, *accompanied by ſeveral Gentlemen of the ſaid County, and the City of* Norwich; *introduced by his Grace the Duke of* Devonſhire, *Lord Steward of her Majeſty's Houſhold: Which Addreſs her Majeſty received very graciouſly; and all the Gentlemen had the Honour of kiſſing her Majeſty's Hand.*

To the QUEEN's *moſt excellent Majeſty.*

The humble Addreſs of the Deputy-Lieutenants, Militia Officers, Gentlemen and others of the City of *Norwich.*

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

IT is with inexpreſſible Concern we obſerve your Reign made uneaſy by *Miſtaken* and *Ill-deſigning Perſons*, ſo induſtriouſly keeping up *Diſtinctions* and *Diviſions*, amongſt your Subjects, contrary to your Majeſty's repeated Recommendations of UNION. It might, with great Reaſon, have been expected, that the unparallel'd Wiſdom and Goodneſs, with which you exerciſe your Government, would have compoſed your Subjects into an univerſal Acquieſcence in your Conduct; and that the Miniſtry you have ſo wiſely made Choice of, and who have acquitted themſelves with great Prudence and Fidelity to your Majeſty and their Country, ſhould not have been ſo invidiouſly ſtruck at. The ill Treatment your Majeſty, they, and your Great Council, meet with, we heartily lament, and deſire that our Deteſtation of this Kind of Behaviour may be recorded to Poſterity.

We are at a Loſs to account for the Carriage of ſome Perſons, who, in Notion, maintain an *unlimited Submiſſion* to be due to the *Worſt* of Princes, and yet, in Practice, diſcharge their Obedience ſo imperfectly to the BEST: Whilſt by unfair Inſinuations they repreſent your Majeſty as wanting in your Care of the *Church of England*, notwithſtanding the great Bounty you have ſhewn to the Clergy of it, the bright Example you are in it, and your reiterated Profeſſions of your true Concern for the ſame. But as the Reverſe of what we complain of, we declare our great Satisfaction in your Adminiſtration, and are perſwaded the Impartial World will join with us in doing Juſtice to your Majeſty in that reſpect. We humbly aſſure your Majeſty (whom God long preſerve) of our Readineſs, at all Times, to defend your Perſon and Government againſt the *Pretender*, and all his open and ſecret Abettors, and all other your Enemies; and to maintain the *Church of England*, and the Proteſtant Succeſſion in the illuſtrious *Houſe of Hanover*; and that we ſhall, in every reſpect, demean ourſelves as becomes good Subjects to the beſt of PRINCES.

We hope, that theſe Approaches of your People to you, which ſhould be an Inſtance of their Reſpect to your Majeſty, ſhall not be made uſe of to put Difficulties upon you: But that all your Subjects will continually ſtudy to make your Reign eaſy, who have done all that a wiſe and good Prince could do to make them ſo.

We beg Leave to congratulate your Majeſty upon the ſucceſsful Opening of this Campaign, and hope it prefages an Approaching PEACE, that will be glorious to your Majeſty in procuring it, and ſafe to your Dominions, and the Nations in Alliance with you; and that Peace may be eſtabliſhed at home, as well as abroad, and thereby your Majeſty's full Intentions for the Happineſs of your People, the better to be obtained, we ſhall, with utmoſt Care, upon all Occaſions, cultivate a good Accord with our Fellow Subjects; in Teſtimony whereof, we moſt Heartily and Chearfully hereunto ſubſcribe,

Your Majeſty's moſt Obedient, and moſt Faithful

Subjects and Servants.

July 30, 1710.

The following Addreſs from the County of Kent *was this Day preſented to her Majeſty by Sir* Thomas Palmer, *Bart. and* David Polhill, *Eſq; their Repreſentatives in Parliament, attended by ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable Gentlemen of the ſaid County; introduced by the right honourable the Earl of* Dorſet *and* Middleſex: *Which Addreſs her Majeſty received moſt graciouſly, and all the Gentlemen had the Honour of kiſſing her Majeſty's Hand.*

The Humble Addreſs of the Deputy-Lieutenants, Juſtices of the Peace, Clergy, Gentlemen, and Freeholders of the County of *Kent*, aſſembled at the Aſſizes held at *Maidſtone* the 25th Day of *July*, 1710.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majeſty's moſt Dutiful and Loyal Subjects do humbly beg Leave to congratulate your Majeſty upon the early and continued Succeſſes of this glorious Campaign: And at the ſame Time moſt gratefully to acknowledge the many Bleſſings we daily enjoy, under your Majeſty's Happy Adminiſtration. And it is with the utmoſt Deteſtation we reflect upon thoſe Turbulent Spirits, thoſe Fomenters of Sedition, who even in your Majeſty's pious and exemplary Reign would falſly inſinuate, that the Church, the moſt ſacred Part of our Conſtitution, is in Danger, notwithſtanding the unparallel'd Victories with which God has bleſſed your Majeſty's Arms abroad,

under

under your moſt faithful and moſt ſucceſsful General, and the wiſe Adminiſtration of Affairs at home, under a moſt prudent and well-choſen Miniſtry.

But ſuch is the Ingratitude of theſe Wicked and Deſigning Men; ſuch their Inveteracy to the Happy Revolution, and ſuch their Inconſiſtency, that though at preſent they think it for their Purpoſe ſeemingly to approve of your Majeſty's being upon the Throne, yet they ſtick not openly to revile and traduce, as odious and unjuſtifiable, the neceſſary Means that were uſed in bringing about the happy Event.

But may that Providence which has ſo peculiarly attended your Majeſty, throughout the whole Courſe of your Reign, ſtill continue to protect and defend the beſt of Queens.

And may our Holy and Apoſtolical Church ever be ſecured againſt all her Enemies, of what Nature ſoever, whether Popiſh or Fanatical; but more particularly againſt thoſe Vipers in her very Boſom, who inſtill groundleſs Fears, and prophane her Sacred Name, in uſing it only as a Cloak to Deſigns, they do not as *yet* think proper openly to avow.

And as we do ſolemnly aſſure your Majeſty, that we are ready with our Lives and Fortunes to maintain your Majeſty's undoubted Title to the Crown, and to defend the Church of *England*, as eſtabliſhed by Law; ſo we do not think it altogether unneceſſary in this *prevaricating* Age to declare, that we mean that Title which is founded on the Happy Revolution, and confirmed by the indiſputable Authority of Parliament; and by the Church, *We* mean no other, but our Holy Epiſcopal *Proteſtant* Church of *England*, eſtabliſhed by the Laws at the Reformation.

And we likewiſe beg Leave to aſſure your Majeſty, that when this Parliament (the Memory of which muſt be ever dear to all who wiſh well to their Country) has a Determination, we ſhall do our utmoſt *ſtill* to be repreſented by ſuch as are zealouſly affected to your Majeſty's Perſon and Government, *ſincere* Promoters of the Common Intereſt, and ſuch who ſhall endeavour to enable your Majeſty effectually to ſecure the Proteſtant Succeſſion (for the Good of our Poſterity) againſt the Attempts of your Majeſty's Avowed Enemies abroad, and from the more Dangerous *Perils of Falſe and Seditious Brethren at home.*

Signed by Twenty-ſix Deputy-Lieutenants and Fifty-two Juſtices of the Peace.

To the Worſhipful the Addreſſers, and more eſpecially the Juſtices of the Peace, Mayors, *&c.* of Counties, and Corporations.

The humble Addreſs of the Induſtrious Poor *within your Worſhips ſeveral Diſtricts*, that ſtudy to be quiet, and to do their own Buſineſs. 1710.

WE her Majeſty's free-born and moſt obedient Subjects, but your Worſhips neglected Vaſſals, being truly ſenſible of the Bleſſings which *even we* daily enjoy in common with you, under her Majeſty's moſt auſpicious

auſpicious Government, the Integrity of her Councils, and the Glory of her Arms, cannot but be amazed (how little ſoever your Regard may be to her late moſt ſeaſonable Admonitions from the Throne) that your Worſhips ſhould expreſs ſo much leſs for yourſelves, as to betray your Deficiencies of common Senſe in the royal Preſence.

The *Factious*, *Heretical*, *Schiſmatical*, *Antimonarchical*, *Malicious*, *Seditious*, and *ſcandalous Books* and *Pamphlets*, your Worſhips ſo ſagaciouſly complain of, have, *as well as Addreſſes*, too long abounded (your Worſhips and your equally wiſe Predeceſſors be thank'd for it.) And as her Majeſty and our late glorious Deliverer have, both by Word and Deed, conſtantly encouraged and recommended their Suppreſſion to your and their Care, with Aſtoniſhment we behold your Worſhips aggravating your Guilt to her Majeſty's Face, by aſſuring her of a ſtudied Neglect of your Duty.

We are ſenſible of our Safety at home by the repeated Succeſſes of our Arms abroad; and of *Britain*'s Freedom by the Diſtreſſes of *France*: We are as ſenſible of the due Application of what our prudent Legiſlators annually raiſe as the Price of Liberty, and that none of the Neceſſities of Life are taxed for the Preſervation of more than Life itſelf, and could heartily wiſh your Worſhips would (with greater *Reaſons*) have *better Notions* of our common Bleſſings, and be either at Peace with yourſelves, or at leaſt exempt your Fellow-Subjects from bearing the Burthen of your Follies.

We accuſe not your contrary Conduct of foreign Views or Deſigns beyond the Water; though we cannot but think, that it is from your Worſhips in Temporals, and your noiſy Partners in Spirituals, that miſtake (to ſay no worſe) their own Models of unlimited Obedience and Party Zeal, for the Chriſtian Doctrines of legal Submiſſion and univerſal Charity, and (like Members of the true Church Militant) practiſe neither, that Encouragement is given abroad, and our excellent Conſtitution, both in Church and State, is in Danger.——Good your Worſhips! let it not be always a Reproach in our *Iſrael*, that *Simeon* and *Levi* are Brethren.

For our own Parts, having declared ourſelves to be of the Number of the Peaceable, it is for Peace ſake alone that we addreſs you to compoſe yourſelves: That your Worſhips would, like her Majeſty's good and dutiful Subjects the Juſtices of the Peace, Mayors, *&c.* keep the Peace yourſelves (may it pleaſe ye) promote it in others, and puniſh the Breaches of it in all; the Exceſſes of Ale and Zeal to the contrary in any wiſe notwithſtanding.

That by exerting the Down Weight and Top Meaſure of your Sagacities, we may no longer labour to be abuſed, but have juſt Weights and full Meaſures in our Markets, and that you would be pleaſed to keep in due Repair the Poſts of your Authority, for your own and the publick Uſe: But in Matters of Superior Government, let us beſeech your Worſhips to avoid preſcribing; and let the ſeaſonable Neglect of your Follies convince you of the Lenity of that Government, that ſtudies the ſofteſt Way to your Amendment; beſeeching you alſo, that the Parliament may ſit once more, to correct the Diſorders of your Seſſions.

QUE-

QUERIES. 1710.

WHETHER any Parliament ever did better than this has done, or better deſerved to ſit again? And if the *French* gave Three Hundred Thouſand Pounds to have a Parliament diſſolved by King *Charles*; how much, by a modeſt and fair Computation, may the breaking of this be worth? And if we may not juſtly hope for a Supply of our Want of Specie, by what has been return'd to our new Counſellors upon that Account?

Whether the ſame new Counſellors did not intend to have a Peace at any Rate, when they order'd our Miniſters abroad to ſtop the *French* Plenipotentiaries? And whether the *French* King was not too raſh, and ſecure, when he recall'd his Miniſters ſo ſoon; before his Friends here came out from behind the Curtain, and had it in their Power to give him what Terms he pleaſed?

Whether the ſame new Counſellors were not hard put to it, when, after all their Endeavours for an ill Peace, they were forced to let a Memorial go over to the States, approving their Reſolution to carry on the War? And whether we are not in a happy Condition to be under the Influence and Direction of ſuch Perſons, as dare not own any one Deſign they have?

Whether any Thing could be more proper and ſeaſonable than the late Memorial from the States, in which they repreſented in a moſt decent and affectionate Manner the abſolute Neceſſity of continuing the preſent Parliament? And whether this could be juſtly ſaid by the new Counſellors to be meddling in her Majeſty's Domeſtick Affairs, when it was known to be a Matter, on which the whole Alliance depended, as well as the Security of the Proteſtant Succeſſion, for which the States themſelves are Guarantees?

Whether the Letter from the Emperor upon the ſame Subject was not ſtill leſs liable to Exception, if that be poſſible? Whether he had not as much Right to intercede for the Meeting of this Parliament, as her Majeſty had to interpoſe, which ſhe frequently has done without Complaint, in the Affairs of his People and Empire? And whether the Regard that was paid to him and his Miniſter upon this Occaſion was ſuch as is due to the Chief of our great Confederacy?

Whether the ſame new Counſellors are not extreamly in the Right, to keep all ſuch Memorials and Letters as long as they can from the Council? And whether in any Thing they have more fully ſhewn their great Parts and Forecaſt, than in preventing the Debates that might have ariſen there, upon ſuch frivolous Subjects as the Preſervation of this Parliament, of this Nation, and of all *Europe*?

Whether Aſſurances were not given to the States, and the other Allies, That no more Changes ſhould be made in the Miniſtry, after the Removal of the E. of *S.* at which they were juſtly alarm'd? Whether the late Lord Treaſurer may not be ſaid to have been a Miniſter? And whether the new Counſellors, that turn'd him out, had a due Regard to her M—'s Honour, and to her Character in Foreign Courts?

Whether

Whether any Inſtance was ever known till now, of a Treaſurer being removed without the leaſt Fault pretended; who in all the Time of this expenſive War has by wonderful Ability and Reputation kept down the Intereſt of Money to Six *per Cent.* and who in the Management of above forty Millions is not ſuſpected by his Enemies to have diverted one Penny to his own private Uſe; nor to have got one Farthing by the Diſpoſal of Offices, or any other Exerciſe of Power or Favour, in all the Courſe of his Miniſtry?

Whether Experience in Buſineſs, or Ability in Parliament, recommended the Majority of the new Commiſſion? Whether a certain Perſon might not as well have ſat there alone, if he had dared to ſucceed ſo great a Predeceſſor? And whether Whigs or Tories will beſt like the Commiſſion?

Whether it is not certain now that our General will alſo be laid aſide? Whether we are not likely to fall after that an immediate Sacrifice of *France?* And whether it is not already high Time for theſe new Counſellors to recall him, whoſe Actions each Year have exceeded the Hopes of his Friends; and who has conſtantly provoked the Diſpleaſure of his Enemies, by performing the Buſineſs of two Campaigns in one? Which is the only Proof they can give of his Deſire to prolong the War.

Whether the reſt of thoſe great and able Men, who yet remain in the Offices of Buſineſs, will not likewiſe be very ſoon removed? Whether any People before were ever ſo unhappy, to loſe in a few Months the Service of all their beſt Friends? And whether another Set of Men can be found in the Nation, that are, in any Degree, equal to the late Miniſters for Honour, Fortune, Reputation, all Manner of Qualifications for their ſeveral Employments, and unalterable Love of their Country?

Whether the Compariſon that is now writing of theſe new Counſellors with the late Miniſters will not be a moſt inſtructive Piece of Hiſtory? Whether they will not force People at laſt to write impartially their whole Lives and Characters, which of all Satyrs would be the ſharpeſt? And whether any thing could have been more ſeaſonable than the reprinting a certain Book, which was written ſoon after the Aſſaſſination-Plot, by a Perſon whoſe Name is *Smith*, and which is now coming out again with a very large Appendix?

Whether any thing is ſo juſtly fear'd in this Nation as Popery? And whether it is not as likely to be brought in by an *Italian* Courteſan, as ever it was by a *French* Miſtreſs?

Whether it is poſſible that any one Creature of theſe new Counſellors ſhould be choſen by true *Britains* to ſerve in the next Parliament, when in every *Paris Gazette* we find a Recommendation of them? And whether the new Commiſſion is not a ſufficient Reward to our wiſe High-church-men, for their great Care and Pains in ſending their *Fool* about the Country to influence the next Elections?

Whether the new Ambaſſador to *Hanover* is not choſen with great Diſcretion, and will not be extreamly acceptable to that Court; who, to paſs over all other Parts of his Character, has, at the Age of Threeſcore, renounced his old Principles and Friends, and is ſetting up in his own Country Hereditary-Right-Men, in order to ſecure the Proteſtant Succeſſion?

Whether

Whether the late Action in *Spain*, performed by Mr. *S———pe*, will not bring him e're long into great Trouble and Mortification? Whether it was not a moſt imprudent thing in him to gain a Victory, after the Example that has been ſet before his Eyes? Whether, in all Probability, his Succeſſor will not ſpeedily be named? And whether Fame ſays true, that my Lord *N——th* and *G——ey* will be the Man? Or who?

Whether the new Commiſſioners could have ſat two Days in the Treaſury, if they had not been ſupported by the late Miniſters; who preſſed all their Friends to ſupply the Neceſſities of the War, and all the Foreign Miniſters to prevent the breaking of our Alliance? Whether any People before were ever in ſo deplorable Circumſtances, to be obliged, for the immediate Preſervation of the whole, to ſupport ſuch Perſons as they know are brought in for their Deſtruction? And whether the new Counſellors, with all their ſettled Aſſurance, can have the Boldneſs to pretend, that the Government at this Time is carried on by them?

Whether there ever was a Character of more Heroick Virtue and Publick Spirit, than the late Miniſters maintain; who being diſgraced, and reviled, and loaded with all manner of Reproaches, and with ungrateful Returns for true and faithful Services, have yet the Courage, Conſtancy and Merit to perſevere in their honeſt Endeavours for preventing the Nation's Ruin, and preſerving the common Cauſe?

Whether after all theſe Endeavours of the late Miniſters we ſhall not loſe the good Effects of this great and glorious War? Whether human Nature is able to bear this Reflection? Whether a new or old Parliament can come Time enough to retrieve the Deſpondency of our Allies, or the Misfortunes into which the new Counſellors have plunged us? And whether they will not be equally liable in either to be call'd to anſwer for the Confuſion they have brought upon us, notwithſtanding our continued Succeſs abroad, and our flouriſhing Credit at Home?

A SPEECH made in the *Houſe of Commons*, upon the late Miniſtry's forcing a new Charter upon the Town of *Bewdly*, in the County *Worceſter*, without a Surrender of the old. 1710.

Mr. SPEAKER,

I Did not intend to have troubled you this Seſſion, and I believe it will be to little Purpoſe now: For if a Gentleman ſtands up to complain of Grievances, although this Houſe meets in order to redreſs them, he is repreſented as a Perſon that obſtructs her Majeſty's Buſineſs; if he finds fault with the Miniſtry, he is ſaid to reflect upon the Queen; if he ſpeaks againſt the Continuance of the War, to prevent the Beggary of the Nation, to prevent the Monied and Military Men becoming Lords of us who have the Lands, then he is to be no

Object of her Majesty's Favour and Encouragement. This, Sir, is the Pass we are brought to, and this is the Freedom of Speech you are pleased to ask for at the Opening of this Session, and which of Right belongs to every Member of this House. I remember the Time, when such Restraints as these would not have been suffered or endured; but we are under arbitrary ministerial Power; and if ever there was an Instance of it, it is in this that is now before us: But how great soever the Discouragements are to Freedom of Speech, I think myself obliged, as an *English* Gentleman, who never will comply with an arbitrary Ministry; as a Member of this House, who has been always zealous to support the Constitution of Parliaments; as a Neighbour to this Borough in the Case now before us; to speak my Mind with that Warmth I used to do, when the Liberties of my Country, or any Part of it seem to be touched. For though the Injury may be felt by one single Man, or one single Society of Men; yet the Terror, the Concern, and the Consequence of it, reaches unto all. We have had a Fact this Day of dangerous Tendency laid before us, of a new Charter forced upon an ancient Corporation, at the single Instance of a noble Lord, without a Surrender of the old, contrary to Law, to Reason, and the Rights of the Members thereof; which they refused to accept, as being inconsistent with their former Charter of King *James* I. and, as they conceived, void in itself; since it is impossible for two Charters, any more than two Grants, or two Leases, to have a Being at the same Time. Ever since the Revolution, every thing has been transacted in this Corporation pursuant to the Charter of *James* I. the Right of the Bailiff and Burgesses affirmed by Judgment in the *Queen's-Bench*, until this new Corporation was erected by this unprecedented Charter, which the old was so far from consenting should pass, that they opposed it, by entering Caveats in all the Offices, and by shewing that it was contrary to her Majesty's Intention expressed in the Warrant.

Thus, Mr. Speaker, have you seen the Prerogative inlarged and extended farther, I will be bold to say, than it was in the unhappy Reign before the Revolution. Every Gentleman remembers how highly Things of this Nature were resented in King *James*'s Time, when Court Arts were used to wheedle and terrify Boroughs into a Surrender of their Charters, and when they found that Method would not do, they endeavoured to take them away under Colour of legal Process, by bringing *Quo Warranto's* against them: This was then thought dangerous to the Constitution; and very well it might, for the People of *England* could expect no other Fruit from such a Proceeding, but that this House would be filled with Men of the Army, with Men of desperate and broken Fortunes, with Pensioners, with Vassals of the Court, with Slaves of the Ministry, and with all those servile sort of Gentlemen that can give with one Hand to receive with the other, and thereby betray those they represent to arbitrary Power: But this Instance now before us is more new and dangerous, than taking away Charters by Surrender or *Quo Warranto's*; those Methods made some Noise, alarm'd the free People of *England*, and you see what became of it. But this is a quicker, a more silent Method of doing it, which, like white Powder, destroys the Liberty of the People, and subverts the Constitution of this House without Noise or Notice. I beg, Gentlemen, you would consider all the Circumstances

with

with which this Charter was attended, and I am ſure you can't reflect upon them without Grief. Firſt, as to the Time, you have heard, Sir, how the great Seal of *England* was affixed to this Charter upon the Twenty-ſecond of *April*, 1708, the very ſame Day there was an Order made in Council to iſſue out Writs for calling this Parliament; in this critical Juncture was this Corporation erected, I will not ſcruple ſaying, to ſerve the arbitrary Deſigns of thoſe who are afraid of a free Election, who are afraid of a free and uninfluenced Parliament: Such a Parliament would ſcorn to flatter great Men, would inquire into Miſcarriages, and puniſh ſuch as are faulty; would call thoſe Miniſters to Account who ſhould prevail with the QUEEN to turn Men of Ability and Conſideration out of Place and Employment, for acting upon Principles of Honour and Conſcience, and doing their Duty in this Houſe. Another evil Conſequence with which this Charter is attended, is, that ſo many new Electors and a new returning Officer are created by it, to the Infringement of the Liberty of the Subject, and making all Elections, in a manner, depend upon the Will of the Prince. I hope, Gentlemen, you will ſeriouſly conſider this Matter, that you will lay aſide all Thoughts of Party in this Cauſe; for if it be in the Power of the Crown to diſſolve old Corporations and erect new, in ſo exorbitant a Manner, we may bid adieu to Liberty and Property, and to all that has coſt us ſo much Blood and Treaſure to maintain and defend; there will be no Difference then between a Parliament of *Great-Britain* and a Parliament of *Paris*.

I hope, once more, Gentlemen, you will ſeriouſly conſider how much the Honour and Juſtice of this Houſe are concerned in the Determination of the Caſe now before you: The Eyes of the People have been for ſome time opened; they will obſerve, they will judge of our Votings in this Caſe, and do expect from us, as we have put a Stop to unjuſt and exorbitant Power abroad, that we ſhould neither ſuffer nor endure it at home.

The THOUGHTS of an HONEST TORY, upon the preſent Proceedings of that PARTY: In a Letter to a Friend in Town. 1710.

YOU know, my Friend, that I take a great deal of Pleaſure in communicating my Thoughts to you, eſpecially when they are ſuch as lie heavy upon my Mind. I cannot forbear giving myſelf this Relief, and you are always ſo kind as to eſteem it the Part of Friendſhip to bear with me in it. I need not tell you, that my Sentiments in Matters relating both to *Church* and *State* have been ever conformable to *your own*. The ſame Fears, the ſame Hopes, the ſame Joys, the ſame Sorrows, have been hitherto entertained by us both. But I know not how it is; I cannot by any Means enter into the Meaſures of your laſt Letter, nor by any Means receive that Satisfaction from ſome Appearances, which you ſeem to have received. Whether it be that your cloſer Converſation with ſome Perſons of *refined Politicks* in Town hath a little alter'd

your Soul from that Regard to *Right* and *Juſt*, which ſeem'd once inflexibly to poſſeſs it; or that the Quiet and Compoſure of my *Country Seat* gives me more Leiſure and Inclination to melancholly Reflections; or what the *Reaſon* is, I am not able to ſay.

The Day is our own, you tell me; 'we are juſt now coming into Play again. 'The Credit of the Miniſtry is gone: The Reputation of the *Whigs* ſunk to 'nothing: There are thoſe who have ſatisfied her Majeſty, that we are her true 'Friends; that the *Houſe* of *Commons* muſt be diſſolved; a total Alteration 'made;' and the like. How this would once have rejoiced my Heart, I need not tell you. But I confeſs, a Walk or two in my Garden, and a Thought or two upon the Matter, hath made me at preſent entertain but too melancholly Apprehenſions concerning this Piece of News. If you will give me Leave to ſpeak my Mind freely, as I uſed to do, I will own to you that I am quite ſick at the Review of the Methods our Friends have uſed to gain this happy Proſpect, and at the Conſequences which at this Time preſent themſelves to my Thoughts. Honour obtain'd by diſhonourable Means muſt end in Diſhonour: And Honour obtain'd by ſhaking the *publick Happineſs* is only a more viſible Diſgrace. Theſe are my Maxims which recur perpetually to my Mind at this Time.

A little *Patience* might have made way for our Friends, without that Load of *Infamy* which muſt now ſtick to our *Cauſe*, till it hath eaten into it, and conſumed it. You and others, I find, fondly imagine, that the late *Trial*, and our Management upon it, have laid the Foundation of our Reign. But I fear, my Friend, that when the whole Matter comes to be ſedately conſider'd, both the *Trial*, our *Management*, and the *Man* who was the Occaſion of all, will hang like a *Miliſtone* about the *Neck* of our *Cauſe*, till it is ſunk lower than ever it hath yet been. I know ſeveral conſiderate Perſons in our Parts, who were a little wavering before, now entirely confirm'd that the *Tories* care not if the Affairs of *Europe* be entirely confounded, ſo their perſonal Ends be anſwered; and that no Methods are too bad for them to encourage and make uſe of. And between Friends, a little more of the like Management cannot but alienate myſelf from a Cauſe which I have hitherto been heartily engaged in. You know, that though I am for the *Church*, I am for *Religion* too; and though I join with the *Tories*, yet I took *Oaths* with a ſincere Deſign of being faithful to them; and therefore you will not wonder, if I look with Grief upon ſome Proceedings.

What Defence ſhall we make for raiſing a *Mob*, upon the foremention'd Occaſion, wherever we could? It cannot be palliated, it cannot be denied. To caſt it now upon the *other Party*, is only adding to the Wickedneſs: And to do it, as ſome of our Friends do, even whilſt themſelves are boaſting of having the *Mob* againſt the *Whigs*, is too groſs and bare-faced a Contradiction. I have, to my Grief, heard ſeveral glorying in it: and I am myſelf Witneſs, that no Care was on our Side taken to ſuppreſs it; but a great deal to hinder the Puniſhment of any who were concerned in it. If ever there can be ſuch a Thing as *Rebellion* againſt *Queen*, *Lords*, and *Commons*; this may juſtly be ſo accounted. And this is our *Glory*, which ought to be our *Shame!* What ſhall we ſay to the *Inſults* made upon the Sentence paſs'd, by *Bonfires*, *Illuminations*, *riotous Aſſemblies*, encouraged, or connived at amongſt us univerſally? When it is aſked, are theſe

the

the Men who are crying out upon *others* as the *Promoters* of *Rebellion?* Are theſe the *Paſſive*, the *Submiſſive* Diſciples of the *Croſs?* What ſhall be anſwered to the *Adverſaries?* You know what my Opinion hath always been of the other Side; but I muſt own, that my Reading will not furniſh me with a *Parallel*, nor can I ſay that they have ever, upon ſo ſlight an Occaſion (a Man judicially call'd to Account) ſhewn ſo turbulent and ſeditious a Spirit. And put the *Caſe* that at this Time they had been as ready to return Injuries, as others to offer them, and as deſirous of fomenting Diſturbances, as we have uſually thought them; what muſt have been the *Event*, but ſomething terrible and bloody? Something which I cannot, without Horror, think of? But it ſeems our Methods, which I uſed to think open, honeſt, and generous, muſt now be wholly alter'd. Nothing is *bad*, ſo it be for a *good End:* Nothing to be balk'd that can ſerve a Purpoſe. Nor hath our great Management ſtopt at theſe *Tumults*, and *Inſults* upon the whole *Legiſlature*, by which we have ſhewn our Valour to our *Conſtitution*. If all the Proſelytes we have gain'd, and all the ignorant *Men* and *Women* we have ſpirited up for us, on this Occaſion, by Lyes and Calumnies, by perſonal undeſerved Praiſes and undeſerved Abuſes, were taken away, I fear the Remainder would be very inconſiderable. The *Man*, who is now, it ſeems, made our *Champion*, we both agree, is not more hated by one Side, than he is heartily deſpiſed by the other. For my own Part, I have heard ſuch a Character of him, that I never deſire to have to do with him. Our Friends, indeed, pay him, as they would do a *Fidler*, that plays the *Tune* that is call'd for, and helps forward a *Country-Dance*; and they ſeem inwardly to value him as much as they do ſuch a one. You know in the *Houſe* of *Commons* they did not think fit to ſay one Word in his Behalf, or in the Behalf of his *Sermon*. In the *Houſe* of *Lords*, it was pleaded by them, that the *Sermon* was *incoherent Nonſenſe*, and he that could preach it, little better than mad; and this was thought the beſt that it was proper to ſay for him. All the World knows, he was not to be truſted with the Management of his own *Cauſe*, or with any Thing but the ſpeaking ſuch Words as were put into his Mouth. And yet to this Man we muſt wiſely tack our Fortunes. The *Church* of *England*, nay, the whole *Church* of *Chriſt*, *Chriſtianity* itſelf muſt be made dependent upon his Fate. His *Pictures*, his *Cauſe*, muſt be made our *Tools*. Who would not envy us ſuch honourable Inſtruments? He is now, I hear, in his Progreſs, propagating *his Goſpel*, making his Triumphant Entries into our Cities, receiving the obſequious Homage of adoring Crowds, and diſpenſing his Bleſſings amongſt them. I ſuppoſe, quickly we ſhall have a *Map* of our *Apoſtle's Travels*, as there are of the others; and *Propoſals* for ſetting up his *Statues* in all *Market-Places*, and his *Picture* in all *Pariſh-Churches*. Hath *he* not a Friend left in the World to recall him, for his own Sake? Or, hath not our *Party* one left to ſtop his *Career*, before he grows too *ridiculous*, even to be a *Tool* any longer? And is all our *Argument*, and *Reaſon*, dwindled into this? Have we nothing to ſay for ourſelves but by ſuch a Mouth, and ſuch a prevailing Figure? In my Conſcience, I think it a Seaſon for us to mourn, inſtead of rejoicing, if this be ſo. The *Man* himſelf will ſink us in Time.

And then, what ſhall we ſay of that numerous Train of *Lyes* and *Calumnies*, which our *Agents*, with Applauſe, ſcatter abroad through the whole *Country*, eſpecially

eſpecially a *News-writer*, *J. D——r*, whom, however ſome may think of him, I cannot but eſteem the greateſt Infamy belonging to our Party. Juſtice is due to all Men. You may remember what a barefaced Lye he told us about Dr. *Weſt*'s Sermon on the 30th of *January*: What Repreſentations he hath made of Matters ſince, which we knew to be otherwiſe; and juſt now (what toucheth my Temper as tenderly as any Thing) he hath been inſulting Mr. *Dolben*'s Death, to make *God*'s Hand in a particular Manner upon him; and confidently attributed that to him, which I ſince know, from thoſe who attended him on his Death-bed, to be a *notorious Falſhood*. Numberleſs are the Inſtances of this Nature: So many of late, that I have had a Suſpicion theſe ſix Months, that the *Whigs* give him a *Penſion* to ruin us, under Pretence of ſerving us, by his ſcandalous Lyes and Calumnies.

Our *Addreſſes*, I own, make as deep an Impreſſion of Melancholly upon my Mind. Shall I, becauſe I differ from Men in other Things, preſently go and repreſent to her Majeſty, and inſinuate that *they* are *Republicans*, whom I know in my Conſcience to be otherwiſe; that *they* are not *Churchmen*, whom I know to be ſo; or that they have Deſigns, which I cannot prove ever to have entered into their Heads? And ſhall I ſo far forget myſelf, as to declare *that Right* to be the *beſt Right*, which I myſelf have *abjured* for the future? All the *Poſts* and *Offices*, in all the *Kingdoms* of this World, are not worthy of one ſuch Inſtance of *Foul-play*. I cannot forbear doing Juſtice to all, and acting the Part of a generous Enemy, as well as an honeſt Man. I aſk'd one great Man, who brought me an *Addreſs* to ſign, whether he could name one ſingle Perſon of any Remark among the *Whigs*, who deſires our preſent *Conſtitution* may be changed into a *Republick*; whether as great Friends as any we have had not openly own'd *Paſſive Obedience* to be a *limited Duty*; whether that which we *ourſelves* own to be true, ſhould be made Matter of Reproach to *others*; whether our Cauſe could not be better ſupported without *Lyes* and *Calumnies*, and the like. I found he could name no ſuch *Republican*; and as for the *Doctrine* of *Non-reſiſtance*, he frankly own'd between Friends, that he believed all were of a Mind about it, and that none would practiſe it in *Caſes* of *Extremity*. He added, that by *Hereditary Right* he for his Part meant no more than *Hereditary Right* according to that *Act* which excludes *Papiſts*, and conſequently deſtroys *Hereditary Right*; but that theſe *Terms* would ſerve as well as any in the World to break another Intereſt, and to keep up a *Diſtinction* where there was no *Difference*. I could not forbear anſwering him, that I deteſted *Popiſh Principles*, and deteſted *Republican Principles*: But at this Time found my *Deteſtation* to riſe higheſt againſt thoſe *falſe Friends*, who were now bringing an indelible Diſgrace upon a good Cauſe, by *Jeſuitical* and *Diabolical* Methods. He ſeem'd to pity my Honeſty, and ſo took Leave. As ſoon as he was gone, *good God!* thought I, to what a Height ſhall we come at laſt, and where will ſuch Proceedings end? Our Cauſe may be carried indeed for the preſent by ſuch Methods: But what *Cauſe* can long ſubſiſt by them? If we could not hold it, when we came regularly, and by the voluntary Favour of our *Princeſs*, into the *Poſts* and *Truſts* of the Nation; how ſhall we be able to hold it, when we come to them under a Burthen of ſuch *Infamy* and *Diſhonour*, as will one Day or other appear in due Light, to the Generality of the Nation?

And,

And, my Friend, the Circumſtance of Time ſhould methinks ſtrike ſome little Concern into every *Britiſh Heart*. Think to what a *Criſis* Things are coming abroad; the great Affair of Peace now on Foot; a *General* fighting our Battles, in whom the *Allies* have an entire Confidence; the *Summer* almoſt half ſpent; the *Pretender* watching the lucky Opportunity: At home, think of a Nation of Men, mutually provoking, and provoked by one another; hardly, at beſt, abſtaining at this Time from open Quarrels. Is this a Time for ſuch a total Alteration, as muſt ſhake the Confidence of Friends, and inſpire the Enemy with Hopes? Is this the Seaſon for an entire Change of Hands, when *publick Credit* muſt be ſunk into nothing, before the reſt of *Europe* can have Time to know whom they are to depend upon, and the People at home whom they are to truſt? Is this a Day for a *new General*, or to diſguſt the *old*, when he is happily in the Favour of all abroad, and in the Midſt of the Execution of glorious Projects? Or is this a Time for a new Choice of a Houſe of *Commons*, when ſuch an Opportunity is more likely than ever to be improved by our *common Enemies* into a *civil War* amongſt ourſelves? I ſhould upon other Terms have been as glad as any Man of ſuch Alterations: But not upon the hard Terms of hazarding a total Ruin of us all together; of endangering the whole Confederacy; of forcing upon *Europe* a diſhonourable Peace, and of laying open ourſelves to the greateſt Heats and Quarrels. As much as I have ever oppoſed the *Whigs*, and as heartily as I have ever eſpouſed another Intereſt, I profeſs I would not, for all the World, be the Man who ſhould at this Time bring about ſo terrible and hazardous *Alterations*: Which can hardly, without a Miracle, be unattended with the moſt fatal Conſequences both *abroad* and at *home*. Abroad, we cannot ourſelves deny it, the Diffidence and Diſtruſt upon an entire Change here muſt be as great as, we know, the Confidence and Security to be at preſent: And ſo the ſole *End* of a twenty Years War all at once diſappointed, even when it is come within View of a Concluſion. At *Home*, ſuch Threatnings have been given out, and ſuch Inſults made, that I dread to think, leſt the *Field* of *Election* ſhould become a *Field* of *Battle*. This however I cannot help foreboding, that if there be any one happy Conſequence of ſuch *Changes* at this Time, it muſt be to the *common Enemy*; if any miſerable, it muſt be to our *native Country*.

Alas! Whither are we running ſo haſtily? And what is the *Spirit* which we have been raiſing? We ſee the Beginnings of theſe Things; but we ſee not the End. Would it not make a Man of ſober Senſe heart-ſick, to hear what is vented (by Means of our Encouragement, and our Protection *forſooth*) from thoſe *Pulpits* in which our *Friends* do ſo ſuperabundantly at this Time *triumph*! The *young Man*, juſt come from the *Univerſity*; and the *old Man*, that hath been long in the World; (thoſe I mean, that are called of our *Party*) agree in making *them* too often Places of *Liberty*, how much ſoever they are againſt *Liberty* in others. Nothing hardly now to be heard of from them, but the Superiority of the *Crown* to every Thing, except the *Church*; the *Independency* of *Church* and *Churchmen* upon the *State*; the *Royal* and *Divine Dignity* of the *Prieſthood*; the entire *Dependence* of us poor *Laity* upon their *Abſolutions* and *Benedictions*; not without frequent Hints concerning the *Reſtitution* of *Church-Lands*; and open Declarations, that any Notice taken by the *Civil Power*, of what they think fit

to

to deliver from the *Pulpit*, is downright *Perſecution* and *Uſurpation*. 'Behold 'I am with you to the End of the World. As my Father ſent me, ſo ſend I 'you. A royal Prieſthood. Shall periſh in the Gain-ſaying of Corah. Aſk 'for the old Paths. They that reſiſt, *&c.*' Theſe and the like Paſſages of *Scripture*, diſtorted from their original Deſign, furniſh them with plentiful Matter for magnifying themſelves and their Office, as well as for preaching up the *Slavery* of all *others*. And as one Madneſs of the *People* draws on another; ſo who knows, what may be the Conſequence of ſo many *fine Harangues?* Some, I find, are come already to talk of the *Catholick Church* of *England*: Which is the old *Popiſh Blunder* of a *Univerſal Particular Church*. What they may come to next, I cannot divine. *We* have opened our *Preachers* Mouths, and who ſhall ſhut them we know not. We have taught them to cry out againſt all *judicial Notice*, as *heinous Wickedneſs* and *Diabolical Invaſion:* And now it ſhall be lawful for them to vent any Thing! The more bold, the more like a *Miniſter* of *God*, who is to anſwer at *another Tribunal*, for the Abuſe of his Office, and not to earthly Judges! If they are ſo weak as to think, that *we* deſire and long for their *Dominion*, any more than the *Whigs*, they are as much miſtaken as ever Men were: But if *we* ſtill go on to encourage ſuch a *Spirit* in them, and ſuch extravagant Flights, as it may be too hard, in Time, to reſtrain, I know who are the Fools. We may flatter ourſelves, they are doing our Work: But it is manifeſt they are doing *their own*. We imagine them our *Tools:* But, I fear, the *Tools* may come to be too hard for the *Workmen*.

You have here my free Thoughts. I have this Peculiarity in my Temper, that I am more affected and angry at the Vices and evil Practices of my own *Party*, than of the contrary; and think myſelf more obliged to declare againſt them. And I cannot but think, there never was ſuch Ground as there is at this Time. We uſed to complain of the Methods and Arts of the *Whigs:* And we are now combating them with more infamous Weapons, than they ever in my Memory uſed againſt *us*. We are lamenting the Profaneneſs of others: What greater *Profaneneſs* is there than to be *wicked* for the *Church?* We are crying out upon *Hypocriſy:* What greater *Hypocriſy* is there, than to make an extravagant Noiſe about Obedience the Cloak for *Turbulency?* And, what ſeems a Fate upon us, *our Wit is dwindled with our Honeſty*, and our *Senſe* hath forſaken us together with our *Plain-dealing*. I know not how it is with you in *London*; but in the *Country*, I profeſs to you, I can hardly meet with any one Thing writ on our Side, but what is either *inhumanly dull*, or *inhumanly abuſive*; what is enough to make either the *Man* very *ſick*, or the *Chriſtian* very *melancholly*. Whether it be that the chief *Light* of our *Cauſe* is at preſent carried in a *Dark-Lantern*; or that our *new Heads* are reſolved to keep all their deep Senſe within their own unſearchable Breaſts; or that it is thought beſt to adapt every Thing to the Capacity of *Watermen*, *Porters*, *Carmen*, and *Plowmen*, leaving *Gentlemen* and Men of common Senſe to ſhift for themſelves; or that we in the *Country* are permitted to have nothing but what ſome *Whig-Bookſellers* in *Town* will let us: This I can aſſure you, that I can meet with nothing to put into the Hands of a ſenſible *Whig-Neighbour* who viſits me, but what makes him think us *inſipidly mad*, and what ſets him ten times more againſt us than he was before. The laſt Paper I ſent him he this Morning returned, with this Note in the blank Leaf,

'God

'God be thanked, I have now lived to ſee the *Party-Writings* of the *Tories* as 'void of *Wit*, as I ever thought their *Cauſe* to be, of *Reaſon*.' I deſire, if you have any Thing *new* that may ſerve to take off this Reproach, you would immediately ſend it down to me. But of all Things, I entreat you, let me have nothing that bears any Relation to the *Author* of *Timothy* and *Philatheus*, who, I hear, hath been dabling again. For a *Wag is my Averſion:* and, with me, *Want of Decency is always Want of Senſe*. His firſt *Work* gave me Diſguſt enough: and I confeſs my Amazement is hardly yet diminiſhed, that *Chriſtians* and *Divines*, who expunged, as I have been inform'd, ſo much of his *Obſcenity*, *Profaneneſs*, and *Folly*, could ſtill leave ſo much behind; eſpecially when they had *Martial*'s eaſy Rule before them, *Una litura poteſt:* 'There are a Sort of Writings, not to 'be corrected but by one long black Stroke of the Pen.'

Indeed, we have hardly one *Writer* on our Side, as I ſee; but the Weight of a numerous Company of *Scriblers*, void of *Senſe* and *Good-Manners*, ſparing neither *Dead* nor *Living*, *inſulting* the *one* beyond Example, and *abuſing* the *other* beyond Patience. If any of us condeſcend to argue, we are forced to acknowledge the Truth of the main *Whig Principles*, as hath been now done in the Face of the whole World. And yet the next News we hear of from our Quarter, is *Obedience without Reſerves*, and I know not what *Monſters* of equal *Wickedneſs* and *Nonſenſe*. When we are forced to explain ourſelves upon *abſolute Non-reſiſtance*, or *Hereditary Right*; we have the Abſurdity to own, that by *abſolute Non-reſiſtance*, we mean a *Non-reſiſtance* which is not *abſolute*; and that by *Hereditary Right*, we mean the ſame with the *Whigs Parliamentary Right*. And yet we have the *Conſcience* to raiſe the Spirits of the poor People againſt *them*, by the deceitful Uſe of theſe Words, and by Clamours about a Difference, where we cannot maintain any. If this don't do, why then we have a farther Fetch, *viz.* to tax them with ſecret Intents againſt our *Church* and *Monarchy*; contrary to all the Rules, I will not ſay of *Chriſtianity* (for it ſeems to be forgotten that we are *Chriſtians*) but of *Heathen Juſtice*, or *Mahometan Honeſty*. In one Word, our *Champion*, our *Adderſſes*, our *Writers*, our *Methods*, are all of a Piece. I will undertake that, at a lucky Conjuncture of Circumſtances, the beſt Set of *Principles* and of *Men*, that ever yet appear'd, might be run down, and exploded for a Time, by the like *Perſons*, and the like *Means*. But remember again, what I have ſaid to you, 'They that make uſe of them will, at length, 'be ſunk by them.'

Before I eaſe you of this Trouble I will add a Word or two. Our Friends are grown very fond of *Faſt-Days*. But their Thoughts, I find, always turn upon the Sins of *others*. Why ſhould we not for once call to Mind our own? And inſtead of humbling ourſelves for the Madneſs of *Lunaticks*, or the Folly of thoſe whom nobody regards, and few ſo much as knew of, before we, out of our Chriſtian Compaſſion, diſcloſed the Infernal Scene; inſtead of this, I ſay, why ſhould we not publickly repent in Duſt and Aſhes for that Scene of *Villany*, and *Scandal*, which is working on our Side, and which I cannot ſay we deſire ſo much as to ſeem to diſcourage. And for the Time to come, let us dare to be honeſt; if we think fit to enter the Liſts, let us combat our Neighbours upon equal Terms, and not be ſo diſ-

honourable as to fight them with Weapons that make us an Over-match for all that have any Degree of Love to their *Country*, or of *Modeſty*, or of *Humanity*, left. *I am*, &c.

POS'FSCRIPT.

'I have juſt now received the *Impartial Account of the Proceedings in the laſt Seſſions*, &c. and have conſider'd it enough to tell you, that I am ſtill more confirm'd in what I have been lamenting. The very *Title-page* is *Knavery*; and the *Concluſion* as plainly points to a *Second Reſtoration*, as any one could well dare to do, before it comes to paſs. The Tenderneſs expreſs'd, *p.* 11. to *Papiſts* and *Nonjurors*, as if it was unreaſonable to look upon them as Enemies ready to diſturb our *Government*, hath an Appearance in it, ſhocking to every honeſt Man who hath taken the *Oaths*: And the ridiculous Contradiction of boaſting of the *Zeal* of the *Mob*, againſt thoſe whom our Friends have nick-named *Republicans*, and yet attempting to throw the Scandal of the *Tumults* upon thoſe very Perſons who are ſo nick-named, will remain upon Record, as great a Teſtimony of *Underſtanding*, as the former is of *Honeſty*. I am told we are indebted to a *celebrated Patron* of our Cauſe for this Account. If this be true, ſo much the worſe; ſo much the greater Load of Scandal upon us. I paſs by a Multitude of other Points, which, I am ſorry to ſay, are utterly unjuſtifiable. *Integrity* and *Honour* ſeem to be entirely forgotten. *God help a Cauſe* that is ſupported by ſuch Methods! *Adieu.*'

FAULTS

FAULTS on both SIDES: Or an ESSAY upon the original Cauſe, Progreſs, and miſchievous Conſequences of the Factions in this Nation. Shewing, that the Heads and Leaders on both Sides have always impoſed upon the Credulity of their reſpective Parties, in order to compaſs their own Selfiſh Deſigns, at the Expence of the Peace and Tranquillity of the Nation. Sincerely intended for the allaying the Heats and Animoſities of the People, and perſuading all Honeſt, Well-meaning Men to compoſe their Party-Quarrels, and unite their Hearts and Affections for the promoting the Publick Good, and Safety of their QUEEN and COUNTRY. By way of Anſwer to the THOUGHTS *of an* HONEST TORY. By *Richard Harley*, Eſq; 1710.

——*En quo Diſcordia Cives*
Perduxit miſeros. —— ——Virg.

SIR,

YOUR Thoughts and mine agree in ſo many Things, that I could pleaſe myſelf to think that there were a Poſſibility of reconciling *Whigs* and *Tories*, if there were to be found, among your Party, Men of ſuch moderate Sentiments as you have expreſs'd through your whole Letter; but,

Timeo Danaos, & Dona ferentes.

your Conceſſions are ſo large in our Favour, that you give me Cauſe to ſuſpect you have only aſſumed the Name of a *Tory*, but are indeed a crafty *Whig* at the Bottom; however, I am willing to incline to the charitable Side, and had rather ſubmit to the Deluſion, than omit ſo fair an Occaſion to own my Belief, that there are honeſt Men in both Parties; and to endeavour to convince the Honeſt *Whigs*, as well as the Honeſt *Tories*, that the Difference of their Opinions, in relation to Religion and Civil Government, is not ſo great as they are made to believe; and that they might eaſily be brought to agree in preſerving the publick Tranquillity, if there were not deſigning Men in both Parties, who have each in their Turns artfully contrived to keep open the Breach, and ventilate the Heats and Animoſities of ignorant People; that by the Strength of their reſpective Factions they may be enabled to promote their own ſiniſter Deſigns, which ge-

nerally have been to engroſs the Places and Profits of the Government into their own Hands, to raiſe vaſt Eſtates to themſelves by purloining all they can from the Publick, and to eſtabliſh ſuch an Intereſt as may always ſupport them from being call'd to account for their Miſmanagements.

I can think of no Way that is more likely to create a right Underſtanding between us, than by an impartial Enquiry into the original Cauſe and Spring of our deſtructive Feuds and Diviſions, which is primarily the affecting a greater Power than our Conſtitution admits on the Part of the Crown; and the endeavouring to maintain the ancient Rights and Privileges of the Nation, on the Part of the People: But there is a ſecond Cauſe, hitherto leſs obſerved by the Writers on this Subject, which has, as it were by a natural Courſe, led us into theſe Conteſts; and that is, the mighty Alteration that has happen'd in the Property of the Lands, and conſequently in the conſtituent Strength and Power of the Government, ſince the Reign of King *Henry* the Seventh.

For, as in ancient Times the Peers of this Kingdom were poſſeſs'd of vaſt Tracts of Land (ſome of them perhaps equal to whole Counties) they had, by Virtue of their Tenures, the Power of Sheriffs in the Civil Adminiſtration, and the Power of Lord Lieutenant in the Military, whereby they did for many Ages hold the Ballance of the Government, and were able to defend their own and the People's Rights, and check the exorbitant Power of ſuch of our Kings as have at any Time attempted to uſurp upon them. A very large Proportion alſo of the Lands of the Nation was, in thoſe Times, annex'd to the Crown, together with all the Military Services dependent thereon; and then the Poſſeſſions of the Abbies and Monaſteries made likewiſe another conſiderable Tenure of Lands.

But we have ſeen, that in the Courſe of one Century, ſince the forementioned Reign, this vaſt Allotment of Property (which perhaps amounted to no leſs than three Quarter Parts of the whole Lands of the Kingdom) was quite alienated and ſold off from the former powerful Poſſeſſors, and divided into the Hands of a numerous Gentry and Commonalty, who (for the moſt Part) by making their Purchaſes in ſmaller Portions, and by the Subdiviſions that have been ſince made, neglected the Military Services that were annexed to the Tenures; (which have been ſince quite aboliſh'd) and by this Means the mediate Power, which the former great Proprietors of Lands exerciſed over at leaſt ſeven Eight Parts of the Militia of the Kingdom, coming to fall, the Crown took to the immediate Adminiſtration of the whole; which great Aſſumption of Power ſeems likely to have been the prevailing Argument with the falſe Politicians of King *Charles* the Firſt's Time, to put that Prince (contrary to the Goodneſs of his own natural Inclination) on ſome arbitrary Methods of Government, upon a Preſumption, that now the Strength of the Lords was broken, there was no Power left in the Kingdom able to diſpute or oppoſe the Royal Will and Pleaſure in any Thing; and the Parliament of 41 were doubtleſs very apprehenſive of the Danger that threatened the Conſtitution from this Increaſe of Power on the Crown Side, and therefore endeavour'd to have the Militia ſettled by Act of Parliament, in ſuch a Way that it might not be made uſe of to deſtroy the Peo-

ple's

ple's Liberties; and the King's utterly refuſing to conſent to this, ſeems to be the principal Point that occaſion'd that fatal War between him and his Parliament.

If that King had found himſelf in the Poſſeſſion of all the ancient Crown Lands, together with the Military Strength annex'd to them, he might have been enabled to raiſe and maintain ſuch an Army out of his own Lands, as would have been ſtrong enough to ſubjugate the Nation; becauſe the ballancing Power which had been fix'd in the Peers was utterly broken, and the People had now no viſible Standard to reſort to for the Defence of their Liberties: But as the natural Power, inherent to the Lands, was now alſo fallen away from the Crown, it ſoon became viſible, that the effectual Strength of a limited Monarchy is inſeparably united to the Property of the Lands and Riches of the Nation; for tho' the King, with the Aſſiſtance of ſuch of the Nobility and Gentry, as voluntarily join'd with him (many of them rather with an Intent to aſſiſt him to come to good Terms, than really to enable him to vanquiſh the Parliament, and withal their own Liberties) carried on the War with ſome Vigour at firſt; yet having no Fund of his own, either of Treaſure or Strength, the ſingle Authority of his Prerogative proved but an artificial and precarious Power, unable long to hold out againſt the real and natural Power of Property, which was now ſo largely veſted in the People, that when they had found the Way to put their Affairs into a Method, and came to feel their own Strength, they were able to bear down all before them; though it is probable that this Maxim in Politicks had never been conſider'd by the King's Adviſers, till they came to be convinced by this unhappy Experiment.

'Tis at this Period then that I would place the Beginning of thoſe unhappy Diviſions, which, from the ſame original Cauſe, and by the ſame evil Arts and factious Diſpoſition, though diſtinguiſh'd by different Names of mutual Reproach and different Circumſtances, hath continued even to this Time miſerably to diſtract the publick Affairs, and obſtruct the Tranquillity of our dear Country.

It is neither in my Inclination or Purpoſe, to vindicate any of thoſe many ill Things that were acted in the Proſecution of that Civil War; but ſince my Lord *Clarendon* himſelf fairly acknowledges, That that Prince was miſled into many Miſtakes in the Conduct of his Government, we may modeſtly ſay, that it was the proper Buſineſs of the Parliament to inſiſt upon a thorough Reformation of all that had been done amiſs, and to obtain ſuch Laws as might effectually ſecure the Liberties and Properties of the People from the like Invaſions for the future: If the King, at firſt, adhered to the Advice of thoſe who diſſuaded him from giving ſuch Satisfaction to his Parliament as he would have yielded to at laſt; and if he was perſuaded to decide the Diſpute by the Sword, and to begin it by diſplaying his Standard of War againſt his People; what could then remain for them to chuſe, but either to give up for ever all their Rights and Liberties, and to ſubmit themſelves and their Poſterity to be govern'd by the Will and Pleaſure of all their future Kings; or to reſolve to defend their ancient Laws and Privileges to the utmoſt, and to oppoſe Force with Force?

There is, doubtleſs, a true Diſtinction to be made between a Rebellion and a Civil War; the firſt is notorious, when Subjects take up Arms againſt lawful

Governors

Governors lawfully governing; but when a Prince violates the eſtabliſh'd Laws of the Nation, raiſes Taxes by his own Authority, contrary to the known Rules of the Conſtitution, invades the Liberties of his Subjects by illegal Impriſonments, unjuſt Proſecutions, and other grievous Oppreſſions, and perſiſts in ſuch arbitrary Acts of Government for a Courſe of Years; if a People can find no other Means to preſerve their moſt valuable Intereſts, but by having Recourſe to the laſt Remedy, and ſhall take up Arms to compel ſuch a Prince to reſtore their Rights, and reform his ill Government; 'tis evident, from the Hiſtories of the Civil Wars of *France* and other Countries, that grave and impartial Hiſtorians have not thought fit to treat this Way of oppoſing the unlawful Uſurpation of Princes with the odious Name of Rebellion; and it is obſerved, that our Parliaments have had the Caution, that in the Acts paſſed after the Reſtoration, in relation to the preceding War between the King and Parliament, they would never give it the Name of a Rebellion, doubtleſs out of the Conſideration that it behoved them to keep up the Sanction of the Parliamentary Authority, and that that War was authorized by a legal Parliament, who had a Right to vindicate the Liberty of the Nation.

The Names of Reproach, which paſs'd in thoſe Times, were *Cavalier* for thoſe who ſided with the King, and *Roundheads* for ſuch as took Part with the Parliament: Now if the Intention of the latter were no other than to bring the evil Counſellors to condign Puniſhment, to prevail with the King to comply in a juſt Settlement of their civil and religious Liberties, and then to reſtore him to the Regal State under ſuch Limitations as might ſecure them from any future Invaſions of their Rights and Privileges (and this, I believe was the general Deſign of thoſe who took up Arms at firſt) I ſee no Reaſon why thoſe *Roundheads* ſhould lie under a harder Cenſure for what they acted at that Time, than may be imputed to ourſelves for what we have done in the late happy Revolution, for the reſcuing our Laws and Religion from the Violations of the late King *James*.

Hitherto you will ſay I have argued like a *Whig*, but I ſhall ſoon ſhew you that I am not inclined to be partial. When this very reforming Party had reduced the Forces of the King, and it was in their Power to have put a good End to the War, they fell into Factions and Diviſions among themſelves, and many of thoſe that had eminently diſtinguiſh'd themſelves, and gain'd the Applauſe of the People, entered into Deſigns to advance their own Grandeur; the great Officers of the Army form'd Cabals in the Houſe of Commons, who by their Strength and Intereſt violated the Rights of Parliament, by impriſoning ſeveral of their Fellow Members without juſt Cauſe, and excluded ſuch as oppoſed their ſiniſter Deſigns, without filling the Houſe with new Elections; ſo that they became no true Repreſentative of the People, and carried on all their extravagant Actions afterwards by a ſmall Number of their own Faction: In ſhort, when the King was at laſt brought to yield to ſuch Terms as might have ſettled the Nation in Peace, they rejected all Manner of Accommodation with him, hurried him to the Block, uſurp'd the regal Power, kept up the Army to ſupport their own Tyranny, oppreſs'd the People with illegal Exactions, and ruled the Three Nations by the Sword; and if thoſe who ſtile the Whole a Rebellion had

had but diſtinguiſh'd between the Commencement of the Civil War, and the Time when theſe Actions were perpetrated, I ſhould be content to allow them that Term, or even a worſe if they could invent it.

And thus, after our Fathers had ſpent their Blood and Treaſure to reſcue their ancient Rights and Privileges from the Invaſions of a miſguided but legal King, they were cheated out of all by the Chiefs of their own Side, who made it evident to the World, that their hypocritical Zeal for Religion, and their ſpecious Pretences for Civil Liberty, were made uſe of as Artifices to delude the ſimple People, and make them their willing Tools whereby to accompliſh their own ambitious Deſigns; and I have the rather gone ſo far backwards to bring in this Inſtance of the Deceits of theſe Men, becauſe it is my Intent to ſhew that from the Beginning of our Conteſts to this very Time, the Zeal and Affections of the People have always been kept up by both Parties with fair and ſpecious Pretenſions of Publick Good, till the Heads and Leaders of either Side could get themſelves into the Saddle, and then they have driven on their own Intereſts, and left the poor People to ſhift for themſelves, till they ſhould have further Occaſion to make uſe of their Credulity.

To proceed then with my Obſervations in what Manner the Frame of our Government is varied from the ancient Conſtitution, and to ſhew what miſchievous Inconveniencies have been introduced thereby; as I have already noted, that the ancient Poſſeſſions allotted for the Support of the Dignity of the Crown were alienated, ſo now after the Reſtoration (moſtly) there was a Neceſſity to find out ſome other Ways of raiſing Money to enlarge the ſmall Revenue that remain'd, ſo as it might enable the King to live honourably, and to maintain the Charge of the Civil and Military Liſts: The Cuſtoms on Merchandize were much advanced, great Duties of Exciſe, together with that of Hearth Money, were given, and theſe new Ways of taxing the People required a Multitude of Officers for the Collection, and many profitable Places for Men of Quality, all in the Gift of the Crown, and conſequently a Means of engaging Abundance of Creatures and Dependants upon it.

It may be aſſerted for a Truth (though it has been conteſted by ſome) that the Repreſentatives of the People (or Houſe of Commons) did in ours, and in all right *Gothic* Governments, make a conſtituent Part of the Aſſembly of the States (or Parliament) though it be certain that in old Times they bore a much leſſer Figure than now, and were much at the Devotion of the great Lords; but as their Power decreaſed, that of the Commons grew, and (as is ſaid before) their larger Share of Property has naturally devolved the Ballance of the Government upon them, and their Authority is much increaſed ſince the Crown is brought to have ſo great a Dependance upon them for its Support; but as the Commons were formerly wont to be elected, and to ſit and vote with Freedom, having nothing more in View than to ſerve their Country faithfully, now our Kings came to apply their utmoſt Endeavours to influence Elections, and then to gain as many Members as they could into their Intereſts, by giving them Honours, profitable Places, and Penſions: So that our Parliaments have ſince come to be divided into the Court and Country Factions, by which Means the Crown has acquired a new Sort of Power, that has ſometimes proved more dangerous

gerous to our Conſtitution than its former Power, which (as I have ſhewn) was founded upon Property, becauſe a ſufficient Ballance was provided to check the Exceſs of that; whereas this introduces a Corruption into our very Conſtitution, and it appears a Matter of the utmoſt Difficulty to provide a ſufficient Remedy againſt it.

I muſt not omit alſo to obſerve, that in the Times of Popery the great Preferments of the Church depending upon the Pope, the Clergy were then as zealous as the Temporalty in defending the Liberties of the People againſt the Uſurpations of the Crown; but when, in the Reign of *Henry* the VIIIth, the Parliament aboliſh'd this Foreign Juriſdiction, and placed the Power of conferring the Dignities of the Church in the King, this laid the Foundation for Men of aſpiring Tempers, ſince the Reformation, to ſtrain their Inventions to form ſuch Schemes of Divinity as might render them acceptable to the Court, and become a Means to advance them to Deanaries and Biſhopricks; and thus they came to wreſt the holy Scriptures, and to pervert the pure and uncontroverted Doctrines of Chriſtianity, to maintain Falſities and Abſurdities, to flatter Princes with an Opinion that God had placed them in a Sphere above all human Laws, and that they were accountable to him alone for their Male-Adminiſtrations; to teach the People that they are bound by the Precepts of the Goſpel to pay an unlimited paſſive Obedience to Princes in all poſſible Caſes; and that themſelves may not want a fair Share in theſe Heavenly Privileges, they would make us believe that they are *Jure Divino* God's peculiar Heritage in a diſtinct Superiority to the Layety, and that their Order is exempted from any Dependency upon the State, *&c.* But I ſhall leave the Examination of theſe Opinions to another Place, my Intent at preſent being only to ſhew, that as the Clergy are diſperſed over the whole Kingdom, and have great Influence upon the People, they have deluded Multitudes of unthinking Men into theſe falſe Notions of Government, and almoſt perſuaded them out of their own Birth-right; and have ruin'd more than one King by miſleading them into the actual Practice of arbitrary Rule, from a Confidence that theſe Principles would ſupport them in it: And in this mannner they are become another additional Power to the Crown with a Miſchief, for it has operated but like a Sword in the Hands of a Madman, to his own Deſtruction.

By what has been ſaid then you will ſee that the eſſential Powers of our Conſtitution are very much changed, and it is from thence that the firſt Occaſion of all our National Contentions ſpring; while on the one hand the Crown is ſtruggling to ſupply the Loſs of it's natural Strength by arbitrary or artificial Innovations; and the People on the other hand are contending to preſerve their ancient Rights and Privileges; when in the mean Time both are made a Prey to the Ambition and Avarice of ſelf-ſeeking Men: And we muſt always expect to be ſubject to the Breakings out of this old Sore, until ſome good Patriots ſhall be ſo happy as to find out ſuch a Temperament as may make the Crown eaſy and the People ſecure; wherein, as it will always be the true Intereſt of the latter to keep to the ancient Conſtitution as near as poſſible in preſerving the Luſtre and Salutary Authority of the Crown, ſo on the other Side, it will be more for the Eaſe and Safety of the Prince to ſoften any ſuch Powers of the Prerogative, as may tend to keep up Fears and Jealouſies in the Subjects, and which indeed are more apt to be made uſe of by Favourites

vourites and evil Miniſters to promote their own Grandeur and private Gain, than to contribute any real Advantage to the Crown.

After the Reſtoration, the Nation run into an Exceſs of Loyalty, and (except the violent Perſecution of the poor Diſſenters) Things went on ſmoothly for ſeveral Years, the Generality of the People not much concerning themſelves in the Conteſts between the Court and Country Parties in the Houſe of Commons, untill after the Diſcovery of the *Popiſh Plot*, which alarmed the whole Kingdom, and then all Sorts of Proteſtants thought themſelves equally concerned to oppoſe the impending Danger; the Court itſelf was forced for a Time to give way to the Current, untill they had formed new Intrigues to ſham the *Popiſh Plot*, and turn it upon the Preſbyterians; too many of the Clergy came into this Scheme, and by theirs and the Court Influence many of the Gentry and common People were drawn off from their late Indignation againſt Papiſts, and taught to believe that the Preſbyterians (not excepting the other Diſſenters) were a more dangerous People; and as great Numbers of the more conſiderate People of all Ranks, who had always adhered to the eſtabliſhed Church, joined with the Diſſenters in the common Apprehenſion of the Danger of Popery, and in their mutual Jealouſy of the Intrigues of the Court; all theſe (who made at that Time the much greater Party) were by the others reproached with the Appellation of *Whigs*, which was a Name that had been formerly put upon the *Scotch* Preſbyterians; ſo they on the other ſide called their Adverſaries *Tories*, which originally denoted the wild *Iriſh* Papiſts: And thus began theſe opprobrious Diſtinctions, which with ſometimes more, ſometimes leſs Warmth, have divided this poor Nation, and kept up Feuds and Animoſities between the unhappy People for more than Thirty Years.

It may be very material alſo to obſerve to you, that as theſe Names of Diſtinction are taken from Words ſignifying Parties differing in their Religious Sentiments, the World has been led into, and ſtill perſiſts in a Miſtake, as if the one Sort were altogether Diſſenters, and the other included all that were true Church of *England-Men*, whereas there has always been a great Number of the *Whig* Party, even of the Clergy as well as the Laiety, who are as zealous for the Epiſcopal Church Government as the *Tories* themſelves; ſo that they are indeed more truly to be accounted Factions in the State than in the Church: Nor can we have a more juſt Idea of the real Difference between them, than that in the Beginning the *Whigs* conſidered that the Duke of *York* was a Papiſt, and gave Life and Strength to that Party; that if he ſhould live to inherit the Crown, our Religion and Liberties would be in the utmoſt Danger; that he had great Influence over the King his Brother; that ſuch Miniſters were employed in the Adminiſtration of the Government as were in his Intereſt, and who were evidently inclined to arbitrary Meaſures; they every where uſed their utmoſt Diligence in the Elections of Magiſtrates for Corporations, and Members for Parliament, to chuſe ſuch as they believed to be zealous for the Good of the Publick, and would oppoſe the Deſigns of the Court in any thing that might tend to the Prejudice of the People in their religious or civil Rights; they foreſaw and endeavoured to prevent the many Miſchiefs that have ſince fallen upon us, ſo that all Men of Candour muſt confeſs that they were then true

Patriots, and had eſpouſed the beſt Cauſe: On the other hand, the *Tories* applauded the Duke of *York*, and promoted his Intereſt all they could; they contended for ſuch Elections as ſhould be intirely devoted to the Court; the Magiſtrates of that Side oppreſſed the *Whigs* with vexatious Proſecutions, violently perſecuted thoſe that were Diſſenters, and went ſo far as by pack'd Juries and ſtrained Laws to deſtroy ſome of the beſt Men in the Kingdom; in ſhort, that Generation of *Tories* gave themſelves up to fulfill the Will and Pleaſure of the Court in every Thing that lay in their Power; and, by what we have ſince ſeen come to paſs, it is evident that they engaged on the wrong Side, and were made the very Inſtruments to bring about thoſe evil Deſigns of the Duke of *York* and the Papiſts, which broke out upon the Nation in the next Reign: I will not yet doubt but that many honeſt well meaning Men, zealous for the Monarchy and the Church, were impoſed upon by the Leaders of that Party, (who were all the while playing their own Game at Court Preferments), and deluded into a groundleſs Jealouſy, that the Diſſenters were aiming at the Deſtruction of both.

When the late King *James* ſucceeded to the Crown, the *Tories* deafened him with the Noiſe of their Addreſſes from all Parts of the Kingdom, ſtuffed with Expreſſions of the moſt extravagant Loyalty and unlimited Paſſive Obedience and Non-reſiſtance, profeſſing them to be even Principles of their Religion, and the very Characteriſtic of their Church; and, after the Suppreſſion of the Rebellion of the unfortunate Duke of *Monmouth*, to compleat the enſlaving of the Nation (and themſelves withal) they furniſh'd him with a formidable ſtanding Army; and thus provided, he ſoon diſcover'd his long projected Scheme, and fell on amain to eſtabliſh Popery and arbitrary Power.

It was by his Influence (when Duke of *York*) that the violent Perſecutions were carried on againſt the Diſſenters, and the chief Inſtruments were known to be his Creatures and Partizans; this hard Uſage had begotten in the Diſſenters the utmoſt Animoſity againſt the perſecuting Churchmen; and now he changes the Scene, and, in an Inſtance ſo plauſible, breaks through all the Laws to gratify them (and the Papiſts withal) with a Declaration for Liberty of Conſcience, pretending alſo that it had always been his own Principle; the Charters of Corporations are taken away, and (by the diſpenſing Power) Diſſenters are made Magiſtrates, to revenge themſelves upon the Churchmen; and thus Proteſtants were to maul one another, that Popery might ſlide in with the leſs Noiſe and Reſentment; Papiſts are brought into the King's Privy Council, then into the Univerſities, and eccleſiaſtical Commiſſions executed, to deprive ſuch of their Incumbencies as oppoſed theſe illegal Innovations; Proteſtants are turn'd out, and Papiſts brought into the Army and Magiſtracy in *Ireland*, and ſo that whole Kingdom put into their Hands; Popiſh Chapels are ſet up, and Maſs publickly celebrated in the City of *London*; Papiſts made Officers in the *Engliſh* Army; and at laſt an Army of Five Thouſand Papiſts brought over from *Ireland*.

At length the flattering Addreſſers and Adorers of *James* the Juſt have their Eyes open'd to ſee how near Popery and Tyranny was approach'd to their own Dwellings; now they begin to ſtir themſelves, ſeven Biſhops (to their great

great Honour be it remember'd, though they had been all of the high Side) took the Courage to petition the King, for which they were ſent to the *Tower*, the whole Party were frighten'd out of their Paſſive Obedience and Non-Reſiſtance Doctrine (I mean in that undiſtinguiſh'd Senſe that many of them had preach'd it) they enter'd into a Confederacy (otherwiſe call'd a *Plot)* to invite the Prince of *Orange* to come over with an Army (not to reſiſt or compell, you will ſay, but with Prayers and Tears, or ſome way or other) to bring King *James* to Reaſon, and re-eſtabliſh the Religion, Laws and Liberties of the Nation on a ſecure Foundation; now they courted the *Whigs* (who were forward enough to join with them, it having always been their Principle to endeavour to reform what was amiſs in the Government) and profeſs'd their Readineſs to come to a Temper for the Eaſe of tender Conſciences; and thus when they themſelves came to feel the Weight of the Power which they had been ſo many Years raiſing up, they ſaw their Error before it was quite too late, and both Parties heartily join'd to bring about the late happy Revolution; though, to their Honour, it muſt be acknowledged that for almoſt the whole Merit of the Contrivance, and the larger Share of the Succeſs, we ſtood indebted to the *Tories*.

But as ſoon as the Convention Parliament came to declare King *James* abdicated, the Throne vacant, and to ſettle the Crown upon King *William* and Queen *Mary*, behold! the *Tory* Spirit returns upon many of them again,

Naturam expellas furca licet uſque recurret.

they ſtruggled to ſet up a new Sort of Government, a Regency over a King that was a grown Man, a Thing that our Laws never knew (probably they had a Mind to be Regents themſelves:) Surely if the People have Power ſo far as to unking their King, and leave him nothing but the bare Name, they uſed their Authority much better in making a new King, and keeping to the Conſtitution: But thoſe of them who refuſed to ſwear to the new King and Queen (in that yet much honeſter Men than thoſe that took the Oaths and remain'd Enemies to the Government) how could they have better kept their Oaths and maintain'd their Allegiance to King *James*, if they had ſet up a Regency over him? However, I muſt ſtill own that the wiſer and better Part of thoſe that had been call'd *Tories* became true Converts, came into the Government, and I doubt not (though they may have ſometimes contended about other Matters) but that they have been hearty in its Support ever ſince.

And now the Factions are at Peace for a Time, and the general Expectation was, that ſome, at leaſt, of the many that had been the Adviſers and Inſtruments of King *James*'s Male-Adminiſtration would have been puniſh'd for an Example to deter others from the like Attempts; and that Laws ſhould be made to ſettle the Government on ſuch a Foundation that it might not be in the Power of any future King to endanger the Rights of the Nation: For the firſt, it ſeem'd as if King *James* alone in his own Perſon had done all the Miſchief, for not one Man could be found whom they thought worthy to be proſecuted: The other Point, for fencing the Conſtitution againſt any future Invaſions of

the Crown, was ſlightly paſs'd over with only a Bill of Rights, which was no more than a bare Recognition of ſuch Privileges as were well known to be the People's Due before; but no Proviſion was then made for frequent Parliaments, for puniſhing the Delinquency of Miniſters of State, or for purging the Houſe of Commons from the dead Weight of Court Officers and Dependents; on the contrary, it was now become the Language of *Whigs*, that we muſt not make the King a Doge of *Venice* (though nobody thought of any ſuch Extreme) nor make the Crown uneaſy for him to wear, *&c.* The Truth is, that many of the Leaders of the *Whig* Party run into the Court for Preferments, and were very well content to ſit down with a Mixture of *Tories* to teach them their Buſineſs, and that Leaven ſoon proved ſtrong enough to leaven the whole Lump.

At the Beginning of this Government the *Whigs* had the Aſcendant, but in a little Time the *Tories* got Strength, and the King was perſuaded to change the Militia and the Juſtices in their Favour; however, the former prevailing in the Houſe of Commons, work'd out the latter again, and (with a few of the complying *Tories*) kept in the Adminiſtration till the latter End of this Reign; but we were ſoon convinced by woeful Experience that, like the *Roundheads* in the *Oliverian* Time, they were no ſooner got into Power, but their former Zeal for the Publick turn'd all into Words and Profeſſions, when in Deeds they greedily purſued their own private Intereſts, and fell on the readieſt Ways to enrich themſelves at the Nation's Coſt, proſtituting their Principle to their Profit: It is true indeed (what they ſaid for themſelves) that *Whigiſm* does not oblige us to ſtand always in Oppoſition to the Court when they manage every thing well; but theſe Men were ſo tender of diſpleaſing, and ſo devoted to ingratiate themſelves with the Court for Places and Advancement, that they came into all the wrong Meaſures that were taken in that Reign.

It has been found by Experience that the moſt natural Way of exerting the Power of this Iſland in Time of War has been by our naval Expeditions, wherein we are certainly capable of being ſuperior to any of our Neighbours; but (unhappily for us) King *William*'s Genius inclining more to Land Armies, we were drawn in by Degrees, from the moderate Quota which was agreed to at the Beginning of the War, to maintain ſo great an Army beyond Sea, that the Nation was drain'd of not leſs than two Millions of its Treaſure for ſeveral ſucceſſive Years, whilſt in the mean time we fell into ſo ſcandalous a Management of our Sea Affairs, that our Coaſts were inſulted, our Fleet beaten, and our Merchants ruin'd by the Depredations of the Enemies Privateers. We did indeed at length gain a conſiderable Advantage over the *French* Fleet, and burnt ſeveral of their beſt Ships at *La Hague*, and, if that Victory had been cloſely purſued, there appear'd the utmoſt Probability of deſtroying the reſt; but it ſeem'd as if ſome People had no Mind to break the naval Power of *France* at once; for the Admiral return'd immediately into Port, and though he was forthwith order'd out again, to attempt thoſe Ships that had ſaved themſelves at *St. Malo*, he made ſo many frivolous Delays that the Enemy gain'd Time to fortify themſelves ſo well that nothing could then be done; and being accuſed in Parliament for his Miſmanagement in that whole Affair, his Friends the *Whigs* were ſtrong enough to bring him off, with a Vote of Thanks from the Houſe

of

of Commons into the Bargain: But any one that will be at the Pains to examine the Minutes of the House of Lords upon that Accusation, will find great Reason to suspect, that there was either Treachery in the Case, or at least so apparent a Deficiency in Conduct, that such a Person ought never more to have been intrusted with the Command of the royal Navy; and yet even after this, he had the good Fortune to continue in that weighty Employment till he had gain'd a vast Estate; and had Interest enough to obtain a privy Seal for the passing his Accounts, after he had been accused by an honest Commissioner of the Victualling for having defrauded the Publick of great Sums. But to return to the *Whig* Administration.

The War created a vast Receipt in the Treasury, and we have seen what mighty Estates have been since raised by many of those through whose Hands the publick Money has pass'd; never was the Nation engaged in so great an Expence, never so loose a Management; the Publick run into Debt, and the People that trusted it paid with distant Tallies, which crept up from 10 to 20, 30, 40, 50 *per Cent.* Discount, for which, to be sure, the Government must pay in Proportion for what they bought; great Premiums given for the borrowing of ready Money; the Coin of the Kingdom spoil'd through the supine Neglect (if not Connivance in some) of those who had the Direction of the publick Receipts; private Advantages made of the publick Money; Accomptants suffer'd to lie behind in their Accounts, to the Loss and Defrauding of the Publick; Misapplication of Taxes, and no Care taken for the Discovery or Prevention of these Abuses.

It had been the Part of a provident and careful Ministry, when they had found by two or three Years Progress of the War, at what Expence it might be supported, to have sought out effectual Means to raise annual Supplies sufficient to carry on the War without involving the Nation in Debt; but these took up with mean Projects for raising Money, and gave divers insufficient Funds; it was enough with them to give in Name the Sum required, and they had no more to care for, than to add the Deficiency to the next Year's Sum total, and then as deficiently to supply it; from which Improvidence (if not Artifice) arose so many distant Tallies, and the depreciating of the publick Credit, whereby the Nation lost some Millions, which the Tally-Jobbers and the Money-Mongers (not excluding the skilful Ministers and their Friends) got among them; and they had so little Regard to provide for the future, that the annual Revenues of the Excise, Customs, *&c.* were made Funds of Appropriation to pay high Interest for Millions taken up every Year for the Service of the War, till, by a Continuando after this evil Precedent, the Kingdom is become plunged into an immense Debt, to be work'd off by a Prolongation of heavy Taxes on us and our Posterity for a long Tract of Years to come; and we are at length so far exhausted, that it will be impossible for us to sustain the War much longer in this Way; when yet we have the Mortification to reflect, that all this Mischief might have been prevented by an honest and prudent Management at first; for it is plain that five Millions *per Ann.* would have defray'd the whole Expence of the Government from the Beginning, and kept us clear of Debt; and though we have been brought by Degrees to raise a fix'd annual Revenue,

which

which (with the Land and Malt-Tax) amounts to more than that Sum, yet the better Half thereof muſt now be applied to pay Taxes to our Fellow Subjects for Intereſt Money and Annuities, and we are to ſeek for above two Millions *per Ann.* more, to ſupport the War.

But the worſt is yet to come; that deteſtable Art of poiſoning our Conſtitution, by corrupting the Members of the Houſe of Commons with Gifts, Places, and Preferments, was practiſed by them with as much Application, and as ſucceſsfully, as it had ever been in the *Tory* Times; what Sums of Money have been employ'd in that Way is hard to diſcover, but the turning out and bringing into Places, according as Members behaved themſelves in their Votes, was notorious to all the World, and twenty Expectants were kept in Awe for one vacant Place, thoſe that miſs'd it at laſt being ſtill kept in Hopes that their Turn would come next; from whence it came to paſs that, for ſeveral Years together, a great Majority of the Houſe of Commons were led and govern'd at the Pleaſure of the Miniſtry, and voted unanimouſly in whatever they directed; the Miſcarriages of Men in great Truſts, the wrong Methods of managing the War, the miſapplying the publick Money, exorbitant Grants to Favourites, and that ſcandalous ſquandering away of the *Iriſh* Forfeitures to the Value of near a Million, which was afterwards recover'd by an Act of Reſumption; all theſe deſtructive Enormities, which it was the Buſineſs of Parliaments to inquire into and ſee redreſs'd, were ſuffer'd to go on without Controul.

But what will fix a perpetual Mark of Infamy on the Heads of that *Whig* Miniſtry is, that (being under Apprehenſions that they ſhould be laid by after the Peace) they were the Men who enter'd into a Compact with King *William*, that if he would keep them and their Friends in his Miniſtry, they would uſe their Intereſt in the Houſe of Commons to procure him a ſtanding Army of Twenty Thouſand Men; and though in this worſe than *Tory* Attempt, the wiſe and honeſt Men of their Party deſerted them, and they could not carry their Point, yet they ſtruggled hard to keep up as many of the Army as poſſible, and diſperſed Pamphlets to perſuade the ſilly People among their own Party, that Forces kept up from Year to Year by Conſent of Parliament, were not to be accounted a ſtanding Army, and that the great Number of Forces continued by the *French* King, and I know not what other Circumſtances, made it abſolutely neceſſary for a Time; nay, they have inſulted ſince the ſhort Duration of the Peace, and would have it thought they were in the Right, and that none but King *William*'s Enemies were for diſbanding the Army; But all this is odious Language from the Mouth of a *Whig*, with whom it ſhould be a Maxim never to be departed from, not to truſt the Crown with any ſuch Overballance of Power as can enable it to endanger the Liberties of the Nation; the narrow Eſcape we had ſo lately made, might have been a ſufficient Argument againſt ever ſuffering a ſtanding Army for the future; and is it not evident to a Demonſtration, that when the Crown is in the Poſſeſſion of a more immediate Power over the Militia than ever our ancient Conſtitution admitted, and ſhall withal have a regular Army at its Command, that then the People will have nothing at all left for their Defence, but muſt entirely depend upon the meer Goodneſs of the Prince, and the Honeſty of his Miniſters, for the Enjoyment

ment of their Rights? And though it be acknowledged that we had nothing to fear from King *William*, yet it is never good Policy to create ſuch Precedents; and what future King will think himſelf kindly uſed, if a Parliament ſhould refuſe to truſt him with the ſame Confidence? If then, to allow them their moſt plauſible Argument, it had been judged requiſite to have kept up an Army for ſome Time, I am ſure that when I was firſt a *Whig*, we ſhould have accounted it abominable *Toriſm*, to have intruſted the entire Diſpoſal of them to any King whatſoever, and that at leaſt the Money raiſed to maintain them ſhould have been put under the Direction of Parliamentary Commiſſioners.

But our Court *Whigs* were by this Time grown ſo very tender of the Prerogative, that they ſhew'd little Regard for ſecuring the Properties of the People: Many Millions have been advanced upon the Funds of the appropriated Revenues, but ſtill the Receipts and Payments are to paſs through the old Courſe of the Exchequer. What if ever hereafter a King ſhould ariſe, that would not think himſelf ſafe without a ſtanding Army? We don't ſay that our Kings may not by their own Authority raiſe as many Forces as they can maintain, but the Ballance againſt that Power is, that they cannot ſupport them without Parliamentary Aids; but what if ſuch a King ſhould (according to a former Precedent) ſtop the Payments of the Exchequer? He would certainly find Means enough to maintain a good Army, but the Subjects would find themſelves in a poor Condition to diſpute with him for their Rights and Properties: Could any Courtier have maintain'd an Argument againſt the Reaſonableneſs of conſtituting Truſtees by Authority of Parliament, for the receiving in, and Diſtribution of theſe Revenues, which were now become the purchaſed Property of the People? Or can we imagine that the King would have ſcrupled the gratifying the Publick with ſuch a Security at that Time of Day? What then can we ſay or think of the Wiſdom or Honeſty of thoſe *Whig* Miniſters, who, to render themſelves grateful to the Court, and that they might make their own Fortunes, betray'd the Nation into ſo looſe and precarious a Condition, as well in Regard to their Liberties as to their Eſtates?

But we have yet another Piece of Cunning to remark in this Miniſtry: The Houſe of Commons began to fall into the Conſideration that it was fit for them to appoint Inſpectors into the publick Managements; and accordingly they proceeded to conſtitute Commiſſioners for examining the publick Accounts, for ſtating the Accounts of the Army, and for inquiring into the *Iriſh* Forfeitures, *&c.* But theſe crafty Miniſters ſtarted a Notion that it would be diſhonourable and unbecoming Parliament Men to erect new Places of Profit for themſelves, and ſo after a while they perſuaded the Houſe to exclude their own Members from being nominated to thoſe Employments, well foreſeeing that this would be the likelieſt Way to bring them into a Neglect of thoſe Scrutinies, when they were like to get nothing for themſelves; but the Myſtery was, that if the Parliament ſhould come into this right Way of huſbanding the national Buſineſs, it might not only diſcover and deſtroy the profitable Juggling of the Court Managers, but if a competent Number of good Employments ſhould once come into the annual Diſpoſal of the Houſe of Commons, to reward their moſt uſeful and deſerving Members, many would come to be drawn off from their

Dependence

Dependence upon the Court, when they might expect a quicker Advancement by exerting their Fidelity to the National Intereſt in the Houſe: But if this provident Care had been exerciſed ſo far by the Parliament, as that they had from the Beginning appointed Commiſſioners of their own to inſpect the true Muſters of the Army, and to have overſeen the Payment of the Armies, Fleet, and all other Diſburſements relating to the War, I leave it to any thinking Man to conſider, whether the Nation might not have ſaved many Millions in the Expence, and have made much greater Efforts in the Proſecution of the War? I know well that the prerogative *Whigs* have been ready to object againſt ſuch an Interpoſition of the Parliament in the executive Part of the Government, as an Encroachment upon the Prerogative of the Crown; and though I am as far as themſelves from deſiring to alter the true Methods of the Adminiſtration, yet as the raiſing of ſuch vaſt Taxes yearly upon the People, and ſuch a Way of managing War, were Things wholly unknown and unprovided for by our Anceſtors, I can ſee no juſt Reaſon, ſince now the People bear the whole Expence, why their Repreſentatives ſhould not think it their Duty to conſtitute Stewards of their own, to ſee their Money well huſbanded; nor yet are we without former Precedents of our Parliaments having named Commiſſioners to manage the Taxes they have given.

The Project of Exchequer Bills was ſerviceable to the Government at that Time, though the Circulation was contrived in ſuch a Way that the Nation paid dear for it; all which might have been ſaved by raiſing one half Million in ready Money at firſt, which might have maintain'd the circulating Caſh from Time to Time; but then themſelves and their Friends, who had always the Preference of ſubſcribing what they pleaſed (and 'tis believed that much of it was ſupplied with the publick Money) would have loſt the Opportunity of getting many Thouſand Pounds. The keeping up the Fees of the Exchequer, when the multiplied Taxes created ſo vaſt a Receipt, nay the taking Fees for that very Money that was brought in to be recoin'd, was an unreaſonable Improvidence to the Publick, however very gainful to the Officers. Moreover, their ſelling of Places, neglecting many deſerving Men of their own Party (and even the extraordinary Mr. *Johnſon)* that had been Sufferers in the late Reigns, never offering to take off the Sacramental Teſt when it was in their Power, *cum multis aliis*, were Peccadilio's in Compariſon with their greater Faults. After all, it muſt be ſaid in their Commendation, that they were always hearty in the ſupporting King *William*'s Government, but withal that they were ever for doing it in ſuch Ways as they might be ſure to get moſt by it.

Thus theſe Miniſters, and their mercenary or miſguided Party in the Houſe of Commons, became as entirely devoted to the Court as the *Tories* formerly had been (with this laudable Diſtinction however, that the latter ſacrificed our Liberties and all, but the former only our Purſes) and were in their Actions really turn'd *Tories*, though they ſtill affected to be counted as good *Whigs* as ever; and generally the well-meaning People of that Side, throughout the Nation, not ſeeing into their Miſdeeds, nor diſtinguiſhing between the Name and the Thing, continued their good Opinion of them; and it was nauſeous to ſee how their Creatures and Emiſſaries labour'd in *Coffee-Houſes*, and publick Converſation, to give

give favourable Turns to every Thing they did, hide their Faults, and keep up their Reputation with the Party; and though this has been the common Artifice of both Sides to delude their Followers, and engage them heartily to eſpouſe their Intereſts, yet Things will always ſpeak themſelves, and we have ſeen and felt the many Miſchiefs that have been brought upon the Nation, and know under whoſe Conduct Affairs have been managed when we have been made to ſuffer by either Faction in their Turns; both have taken Care to provide well for themſelves, but the *Tories* better for their Friends than the *Whigs*.

The *Tories* had lain under a long Mortification to ſee their Adverſaries rule the Roaſt and themſelves kept out, and this, as it is natural for Men in Affliction, gave them Occaſion to conſider the Misfortune of a Nation when the publick Affairs are unfaithfully managed; many of them, who in their younger Years had been ſeduced by the Leaders of that Faction in the Houſe of Commons, to engage in their wrong Meaſures, were grown older and wiſer, and like thoſe we call'd enlighten'd Cavaliers, ſaw their former Miſtakes, and eſpouſed the Country Intereſt; if ſome did it in Policy to make themſelves popular, I will not doubt but others did it upon Principle; however, the Nation was ſerved by both, and we have Cauſe to rejoice in it, as the Apoſtle did when Chriſt was preach'd out of Contention; and thus the *Tories* themſelves became *Whigs* in Practice, may they never repent the Change! Divers alſo of the old ſtanch *Whigs* kept ſteady to their Principle, and form'd what we call'd the *Flying Squadron*, dividing from the Courtiers on ſuch Occaſions when they ſaw the publick Good neglected; and it is well known how induſtrious the Party were to calumniate, vilify, and render odious the *Harleys*, the *Foleys*, &c. who were accounted the Principals in this (as they reckon'd it) Defection, of whom it may be truly ſaid, they have borne the Reproach of many; however, they may be worthily eſteem'd the Inſtruments of much Good to the Nation in their joining with (thoſe that were ſtill call'd) the *Tory* Party, to ſtop the Career of thoſe corrupted *Whigs*, whereby many a Hundred Thouſand Pound came to be ſaved to the Publick, the forfeited Eſtates of *Ireland* were reclaim'd, and this deſtructive Miniſtry with much ado work'd out at laſt.

By this Time both the Factions had taken their ſucceſſive Turns of Humiliation, and their Heats were pretty well allayed, while in the mean Time the People had found by Experience that (ſpeaking of the Leaders) neither Barrel had proved the better Herring, ſo that they were grown more calm and indifferent in their Affections for Parties than they had been for ſeveral Years paſt, and moſt Men ſeem'd rather to deſire that the publick Affairs ſhould be put into the Hands of the honeſt and moſt moderate Perſons of both Sorts, than that it ſhould fall into either Extreme; and the King himſelf, who had been too much inclined to make his Advantage of Party (though I believe without ever having had any Deſign to invade our Liberties) came into this Diſpoſition towards the latter End of his Reign.

After her preſent Majeſty's happy Acceſſion to the Crown, this moderate Temper continued for ſome Time, till through the Competition of ſome great Men, the Animoſities of the People were again ſtirred up, and made uſe of as an Engine to work about their own ambitious Deſigns. The Queen had made

choice of certain extraordinary Perſons (whoſe Number did not amount to that of the Plural according to the *Greek* Uſage) of whoſe Wiſdom and Abilities ſhe had had many Years Experience, to whom ſhe reſolved to commit the prime Conduct of her Government; theſe therefore may be diſtinguiſh'd by the Name of the Miniſters. There were others (and among them a Chief whoſe Pretenſions and Capacity render'd him ſecond to none, had he but been qualified with more Temper, and leſs Zeal for a Party) who thought themſelves worthy to be admitted into an equal Share of the Queen's Confidence, but not ſucceeding therein, we may remark them by the Appellation of the diſappointed Lords: Both the one and the other had been always of the *Tory* Party, but the Miniſters foreſeeing that the others would have a great Influence upon the *Tories*, ſoon enter'd into a ſecret Correſpondence with the *Whigs*, reſolving to ſecure that Intereſt for their Support againſt all Events; they did indeed carry it fairly with the *Tories* for a Time, bringing ſeveral of them into the Miniſtry and into Places, and join'd with them in procuring the Election of many Members for the firſt Parliament, which by that means came to be compoſed of a great Majority of that Side.

The Miniſters had acted wiſely, they had reſtored the Credit of the Nation, managed the Affairs of the War well, and manifeſted ſo careful a Conduct in every Thing, that hitherto they had given no Occaſion to thoſe that watch'd for their halting: But the diſappointed Lords found out another Way to work, they were become very careful for Religion, and a Bill is brought into the Houſe of Commons to prevent occaſional Conformity, where it paſs'd in two ſucceſſive Seſſions, but was loſt by the Lords; and it was remarkable that though the Miniſters openly concur'd and voted for the Bill, yet they declared their Opinion of it as unſeaſonable, ſecretly diſcouraged it, and artfully contrived to drop it.

The Myſtery of this Project was to raiſe the Spirits of the *Tory* Party, to create in the Queen an Opinion of their formidable Strength, and by Degrees to model the Corporations, weed out the Diſſenters, and at length to diſable them in their electing Members of Parliament; and their Deſign was ſtill more evident, when in the third Seſſion they attempted to tack it to the Land-Tax Bill, that if by that Compulſion they ſhould get it paſs'd, or if the Lords (as they had formerly declared) would rather reject a Money Bill than admit of any Tack, the Queen might be overawed by their Power, and neceſſitated to take them into her Miniſtry: But here they quite loſt themſelves, and broke their Reputation for ever ſince, and the bigotted Party-Men had herein a convincing Inſtance how much their Leaders uſe them as Tools to work their own Ends, for ſeveral of the moſt conſiderable Men of that Side having been taken off by the Miniſters, and gratified with good Places, they left their Party in the Lurch, and voted againſt the Tack. And thus this Noiſy, Miſchief-making, Party-driving, Good-for-nothing Bill came to be utterly loſt.

Now again the Factions are blown up into a Flame; the Danger of the Church cry'd out on one Side, the Danger of High-Church Perſecution on the other; *Rehearſals*, *Reviews*, *Obſervators*, Pamphlets on both Sides, all ſtuffed with fit Matter to keep up the Ferment, and no Care taken to ſuppreſs them; cunning Miniſters know how to find their Account in Party Contentions, 'tis but to join

their

their Power to make one Side much the ſtrongeſt, and then they will be likely to ſupport each other againſt all Oppoſition. Our Miniſters declared openly for the *Whigs*, and this created a new Thing call'd a *Junto*, a Miniſtry within a Miniſtry: Some of this *Junto* had formerly been eminent Leaders of the unanimous *Whigs* in the Houſe of Commons; but they made their Bargain before they would engage in the Work, if the Miniſters would turn out and take in as they pleaſed, then their Party in the Parliament ſhould ſtand by the Miniſters on all Occaſions; however, it was ſome Years before they could work it up to an intire Confidence in each other: Sometimes the Miniſters promiſed to gratify them with ſuch Changes of Hands as they required, and, after the Parliament was up, neglected the Performance: The next Seſſions the *Junto* would be ſure to thwart them by their Friends in the Houſe of Commons; then all was made up again by a new Bargain, which yet was perhaps but half perform'd; then the *Junto* quarrel'd again, upbraided them with Breach of Promiſe, ſought out for Faults to tax them with, and now and then gave them a Pinch in the Houſe of Commons, till they promiſed a full Compliance: And thus it paſs'd through ſeveral Seſſions, ſometimes in League, ſometimes at Daggers drawing, till at laſt an Occurrence happen'd that gave the *Junto* ſuch an Advantage over the Miniſters, that they have ſince led them as in a cleft Stick; and it will be no unprofitable Digreſſion to look backwards to the original Cauſes that brought it about, ſince a great deal of the ill Uſage of the Miniſters will thereby appear.

The brave Earl of *Peterborough* had gone on with a Courſe of ſurpriſing Succeſſes in *Spain*, Cities and Kingdoms were reduced to the Obedience of King *Charles*, even faſter than the Couriers could bring us the Intelligence, and his Competitor muſt have been quite driven out in the ſecond Campaign, had not that King been unhappily diverted from purſuing the right Meaſures that had been concerted, and another General neglected both the ſecuring of *Madrid*, and the getting in Proviſions to ſupport the Army for a few Weeks: After this Miſcarriage the Earl went to *Genoa*, and pawn'd his own Credit to take up Money to preſerve the Army from ſtarving; from thence he proceeded to *Turin*, and form'd ſuch a Scheme for the taking of *Thoulon*, that (morally ſpeaking) it could not have miſcarried, if the principal Part of the Project (which was to begin the Campaign early by entering into *Rouſſilion*, in order to invade *France* on that Side, with an Army to be compoſed of a Detachment from *Savoy*, another of but 5000 from our Forces in *Spain*, the reſt to be made up of Miquelets; and when the *French* ſhould have drawn their principal Forces that Way, then the Duke of *Savoy* was to have march'd to *Thoulon*) had not been diſappointed by the Earl of *Galloway*'s utterly refuſing to ſpare 5000 Men from that Army, on Pretence that he had poſitive Orders from *England* not to divide his Forces; whether he had any ſuch Orders or not, or whether his Orders were to croſs all the Earl of *Peterborough*'s Deſigns (which he effectually did) is not yet plainly diſcovered, but worth the Enquiry of a Parliament in fit Time; this is certain, that when all the World applauded that Earl's Conduct, and whilſt the whole Nation were extreamly pleaſed and gratified with his unparallel'd Atchievements, the Miniſters thought fit to turn him out of all Command, and that they might affront him beyond Example, they even writ to Foreign Princes to diſcountenance

him; whether that they were afraid he ſhould eclipſe the Glory of another, or that too quick a Period would be put to the War, or that the *French* King was ſo alarm'd at the Progreſs of our Arms in thoſe Parts that he began to make Overtures of Peace (as the Earl had more honeſtly than warily let them know) and might probably give us the Advantage of treating the Peace on that Side, to the Diſappointment of thoſe who never intended it ſhould be negotiated in any other Place but *Holland*; or whatever it were, they ſtop'd the Progreſs of our Arms in thoſe Parts, loſt two Kingdoms to the Enemy, deprived their Country of the Services of one who had in ſo ſhort a Time given ſuch a Specimen of an enterprizing Genius, ſuch Proofs of his ſuperior Abilities, ſuch Demonſtrations of a Conduct always ſucceſsful, and never ſubject to Miſtakes or Diſappointments, and had made ſo many and ſo great Conqueſts with a Handful of Men, that he has rarely been equal'd, never exceeded by any General of the preſent or former Times; his Enemies had no better Foundation for their Proceedings againſt him than falſe Reports, Aſperſion, and Calumny; and though after his coming home a Miniſter of State ſent him five Articles of pretended Accuſations, yet one of them was grounded on a mere Miſtake of their own, and the Earl juſtified himſelf in the other four, by producing their own Directions and Orders for what he had done, ſo far had theſe Miniſters forgotten their own Acts and Deeds; and it is ſince evident to the whole Kingdom, that they had nothing at all to lay to his Charge, for when in the next Seſſions he deſired to be heard in his own Vindication, his Adverſaries had no other Shift than to order Multitudes of Papers to be brought in, tiring the Houſe with reading them, ſtill avoiding to enter upon any Matter of Fact, and adjourning it from Time to Time, till they had ſpun out the Seſſions.

I am now led to the Matter of which I was ſpeaking. The Miſmanagement of our Affairs in *Spain* came to be inquired into in the Houſe of Commons, and it was found, that though the Parliament had voted and provided for the maintaining of 28000 Men for the ſecond Year's Operations in *Spain*, there were not actually 9000 of that Quota employ'd in that Country; this Buſineſs was brought on by the *Tory* Party, who preſs'd hard that the Houſe ſhould prepare an Addreſs to the Queen, roundly to repreſent this fatal Miſcarriage, and to pray her Majeſty to lay before them the Occaſion of it; the Court *Whigs* knew then no better but that it was their Buſineſs to ſtand by the Miniſters in every Thing, and therefore they labour'd to mitigate the Matter, and that the Addreſs might only be to pray that due Care might be taken to prevent the like Faults for the future; they ſpeech'd it out till late, and ſtruggled hard to get the Debate adjourn'd for ſome further Time, which at laſt they carried but by nine Votes (for it muſt be noted, that there have always been ſome of the true Old *Whigs* that will not baulk their Principle to vote through thick and thin, like the Moderns in ſuch notorious Caſes) but after all it appear'd, that the Mercenaries had fought this Battle on the wrong Side for Want of their Orders; the *Junto* wanted at this Time ſo fair an Opportunity to bite the Miniſters, and force them into a Compliance with what they had been long bargaining for, and therefore directed their Creatures by all Means to let the Addreſs paſs as ſmart as the *Tories* would have it; ſo when this Debate came on again, the Warriors were grown

as

as tame as Lambs, and the Addreſs went without any more than a little faint ſhewiſh Oppoſition: The Miniſters were frighten'd out of their Wits, here was a Gap open'd that led into a Diſcovery of all the foul Play that had been acted in the *Spaniſh* Affairs, they fly to the *Junto*, ſue to them for Peace, promiſe every Thing if they will but help them out of this Plunge; an Anſwer to the Addreſs is trim'd up (in the Queen's Name) to palliate as much as poſſible, but too narrow to hide the Miſcarriage from any one that was not willing to be blind to it, and the Nation is told plainly that one third of our Army has always been allow'd for Officers Servants; (a fine Cheat for *Whigs* to countenance or acquieſce in) however the *Junto* had gain'd their Point, and now the Party in the Houſe were to let this paſs for Satisfaction, and ſo the Miniſters were brought off from this Difficulty. Thus the ſame Men who at firſt ſet themſelves with all their Might to defend the Miniſters in a Matter wherein the Nation had been notoriouſly abuſed, preſently, when they are bid, leap over the Stick the other Way, and join in a Complaint againſt the ſame Miniſters for the ſame Fault, and then at the Word of Command leap back again as you were, all's well done, nobody to be blamed. How mean an Opinion would the honeſt *Whigs* through the Nation have of the Men they put their Confidence in, if they ſaw how little Regard they have to the true Intereſts of their Country, and how eaſy they are to betray it to ſerve a Turn!

They had been long diſſing at a Secretary of State, and now the Miniſters durſt not deny them any Thing, and out he muſt, though to the great Regret of the good Queen, who had had manifeſt Proofs of his great Ability and Fidelity, yet they had the Hardineſs to exact a Promiſe from her Majeſty that ſhe would not ſee him; and becauſe he had faithfully diſcover'd to the Queen ſome Miſmanagements of the Miniſters, that would be of ill Conſequence if not redreſs'd in Time, the Party gave out that he had been working underhand to throw out the very Miniſters themſelves, whereas the utmoſt of his Aim could be but to reform or ballance; for to think of diſplacing and diſgracing them at that Time of Day, was fit for no Man in his Wits: But this was a trifling Slander in Compariſon to what they made it the Buſineſs of their Emiſſaries to load him with. He had himſelf entertain'd a Suſpicion that one of the Clerks of his Office held a treaſonable Correſpondence with the Enemy, and in order to diſcover it, he writ to the Poſt-maſter on the other Side to ſend him back a certain Packet of Letters, wherein he found a Letter of this Clerk's written to a Miniſter of State in *France*; he firſt acquainted her Majeſty alone with it, and then appointed a Committee of Council to meet at his Office, ſent for the Clerk, and then ſurpriſed him at once by producing and reading the Letter before his Face; the Clerk was committed, arraign'd, pleaded Guilty, and was executed for the Treaſon: The Party uſed all their Endeavours, and had their Creatures in publick Converſation to make the World believe that the Secretary himſelf was privy to this traiterous Correſpondence; ſeven Lords were deputed from that Houſe to examine the Clerk in Priſon, and it is remarkable that they were all of one Side: Surely they that knew the Manner in which the Secretary ſurpriſed him, muſt believe in their Conſciences that no Man durſt treat a Perſon with ſuch Severity, if he knew it to be in the Criminal's Power to accuſe himſelf; but the Secretary's Innocence was amply

vindicated,

vindicated, when the Clerk at his Execution deliver'd a Paper to the Ordinary of *Newgate*, declaring, That his Maſter was wholly ignorant of this treaſonable Correſpondence, till he made the Diſcovery himſelf, and thank'd God that he gave him the Grace not to do ſo vile an Action for the ſaving his own Life, as ſome would have put him upon; but the Ordinary was not permitted to publiſh this Paper (as is uſual) and ſo it was ſuppreſs'd for a Time, till Care was taken to print it from a Copy that had been given to another Hand, and then *Paul Lorrain* got Leave to publiſh it alſo. I have been the larger in this Narrative, that all well-meaning *Whigs* may be truly inform'd, that though themſelves and their Principles abhor ſuch Practices, yet there are great Men among their Leaders that ſtick at nothing that they think will ſerve their own Intereſts, and deſtroy thoſe they hate, and the ſame Men that could ſo lately both accuſe and acquit the Faulty in one Breath, were now as ready to attempt the Ruin of their Enemy by Subornation, and to ſtifle and ſuppreſs ſo clear a Vindication of his Innocence. Nor is it leſs worthy the Notice of the *Whigs*, that this very Gentleman who has been render'd ſo odious in their Eſteem, if his Conduct ſhall be impartially conſider'd, it will be found that his Actions have ſhewn him much more a Patriot and a true *Whig* than his Adverſaries; it was their deſerting the true Intereſt of their Country, and running into and ſupporting all the Miſmanagements of the late Reign, that made him join with thoſe that were call'd *Tories* (though I am ſure they deſerved the good Opinion of all true *Engliſhmen* on thoſe Occaſions) to reſcue the Nation from the Rapine of that corrupt Miniſtry; and, as St. *Paul* became all unto all that he might gain ſome, if this Gentleman has employ'd the Dexterity of which he is ſo great a Maſter, to draw off the beſt Men of that Party from the Extreme which they had formerly fallen into, and to win them into the true Intereſt of the Nation, his voting with them, pleaſing them, and gaining their good Opinion in order to good Ends, are ſo far from Faults, that they deſerve the higheſt Applauſe, and both Parties ought to look upon him as the happy Inſtrument that is content to ſacrifice his own Eaſe, to paſs through good Report and bad Report, and to labour conſtantly to deſtroy Faction, and to reconcile the honeſt Men of all Sorts who really deſign the Good of their Country: I am ſure his bringing off ſo many of the High-Party upon the laſt Struggle for the Occaſional Conformity Bill, and the loſing it by the Tack, ought to be look'd upon by the Diſſenters as ſuch a convincing Proof of his Inclination to keep them eaſy, that they ſhould never ſuffer themſelves to be deceived by the Impoſitions of thoſe, who, to ſerve their own Turn, would perſuade them to think him their Enemy.

It will alſo be needful to ſay ſomething of another Perſon, whom, together with the former, they have been pleaſed to make the Objects of their Slander and Calumny: This is a certain Lady, related to and introduced into her Majeſty's Service ſome Years ſince by a very great Lady who had long engroſs'd the Bounty and Beneficence of her Sovereign; but when the young Lady had by her virtuous Qualities and prudent Behaviour gain'd alſo ſome Share in her Royal Miſtreſs's Favour and Eſteem, the Patroneſs began to look upon her as a Competitor, but by how much the more the Jealouſies of the latter increaſed, by ſo much the more did the former labour to extinguiſh them by a ſubmiſſive Demeanor, and avoiding all poſſible Occaſions of Offence, otherwiſe than what would always be

ſo

ſo taken as long as ſhe ſhould continue to receive any Marks of the Queen's Favour, and even in theſe ſhe beſought her Majeſty to be more ſparing towards her, rather than thereby to increaſe the other's Uneaſineſs; but the great Lady was of a Temper not to be mollify'd, the Thoughts of any Competition in the Queen's Favour, though in a Degree much inferior to what herſelf continued to enjoy, could not be borne, no real Fault could be found, therefore ſomething muſt be invented to raiſe her powerful Enemies; the *Junto* were told that ſhe did them ill Offices to the Queen, was the entire Confident of the late Secretary (ſhe is indeed his near Relation) and abetted him in his (no body knows what) Intrigues againſt them; they lift hard to get her out, but the Queen had too great a Confidence in her Innocence and Integrity to be prevail'd upon to part with her; however, the great Lady preſumed to turn her out of her Lodgings at *Kenſington*, with leſs Decency than became the Regard due to her Royal Miſtreſs, and the Mouths of the Party were open'd to traduce and render her odious among the *Whigs*, who are perſuaded to believe her to be the worſt of *Tories*, though at the ſame Time ſhe is married to the Son of one of the beſt *Whigs* in the Nation, and hath never engaged herſelf in either Faction: Thus from the private Animoſity of a Miniſterial Lady, a modeſt, diſcreet, inoffenſive, virtuous Gentlewoman, is ſet up for the very Mark of Reproach and Indignation of the *Junto* and their Friends, and the Queen herſelf to be diſreſpectfully treated through her Sides.

By this Time the Miniſters and the *Junto* were grown into the higheſt Degree of mutual Confidence, and, what with the entire Command which the former had over the Members who enjoy'd Civil and Military Offices, and the ſtrong Influence which the latter had over the miſled unanimous *Whigs*, they had ſo large a Majority in the Houſe of Commons, that they had great Aſſurance of carrying every Thing there according to their own Minds: The Lord High Admiral (who had managed that high Truſt with unexceptionable Conduct) muſt be laid by, and the Nation burthen'd with a Penſion of 3000*l. per Annum.* for no other Reaſon but that one of the Principals of the *Junto* might be placed at the Head of the Admiralty; ſurely Men will think themſelves great, ſtrong, and powerful, when the Parliament, Army, Navy, and Treaſury of a Kingdom are at their Devotion; and we had Reaſon to think ſo, when a certain very great Man, whoſe general Behaviour had always been remarkably ſoft, eaſy, courteous, and cool to all, could now preſume to diſpute the Diſpoſal of a ſingle Regiment in the Army with his Sovereign, and to ſuch a Degree of Animoſity, as to depart from her Preſence in Diſguſt, without returning till the good Queen (may I ſay) ſubmitted and yielded the Point to him. But this was ſoon exceeded by a higher Step of Inſolence; I have noted before that the Queen would not be perſuaded to give up the perſecuted Lady, ſo now they meditate on a Way to force her from her Arms, and depending upon their Strength in the Houſe of Commons, reſolve to procure an Addreſs to her Majeſty from that Houſe, to pray her to remove this harmleſs Lady from her Preſence, which had certainly been carried on if the Queen had not concern'd herſelf to ſtop it, by letting ſome honeſt Gentlemen of the Houſe know, that if ſhe knew the Lady to be guilty of any Crime, ſhe ſhould be as ready to part with her as they to deſire it, but ſhe hoped that thoſe who had any Regard for herſelf, would never uſe her ſo hardly, as to conſent to an

Addreſs

Addreſs to pull from her a Servant whom ſhe eſteem'd, without convicting her of the leaſt Crime; this indeed prevail'd at laſt to break this audacious Attempt. I muſt yet tell you of another Step larger than this, and even ſo high that it wanted but one of the Top; in a Word, they had projected to get the great Man created General for Life.

It was Time now for our good Queen to look about her, and having loſt the Support of her dear Conſort, the Anxiety of her Mind was become ſo great, that ſhe was even overwhelm'd with Grief, till ſhe found ſome faithful Adviſers to open her Mind to; and ſurely they had been much to blame if they had not ſedulouſly applied themſelves to conſult ſuch Meaſures as might render their Sovereign ſafe and eaſy, and reſtrain the Power and Ambition of ſome Men that were grown too great. It falls out indeed at an unhappy Conjuncture with reſpect to our Affairs both at home and abroad, that there ſhould be any Occaſion for an Alteration of the Miniſtry, but as I have ſhewn you, from Facts that are well known, the real Cauſe and Foundation from whence all ariſes, you muſt needs be convinced, that what has already, or may further be done therein, proceeds not from Caprice, or from a greater Inclination to the *Tories* than to the *Whigs*, or from a mere affected Novelty to change Hands, when all's well already; (as the Party vainly noiſe it through the Nation) but from an inevitable Neceſſity of giving ſome ſpeedy Cheque to the formidable Power of a few Men, who have given Indications too evident to be ſlighted, that they have enter'd into Confederacies, and taken Reſolutions to govern both Queen and Nation according to their own Pleaſure: And becauſe the great Men of the *Whig* Side have ſo deeply engaged themſelves with the Miniſters in theſe dangerous Intrigues, and divers of them have rendered themſelves too obnoxious to be longer confided in, it therefore became unavoidable to have Recourſe to ſuch who have indeed ranged themſelves on the other Side, but have ſeen the Error of Extremes, and are willing to enter into healing and moderate Meaſures; nor is there the leaſt Reaſon to doubt, but that all thoſe of the *Whig* Party who ſhall abandon the ill Deſigns of the *Junto*, and heartily concur (according to their own Principle) in the Promotion of the publick Good, will be as freely admitted to Employments, and as well regarded as ever; nothing being more deſired than a Coalition of the honeſteſt Men of both Sides to ballance the overgrown Power of the Miniſters, and to manage the Affairs of the Government in ſuch Ways as may moſt conduce to the Eaſe and Satisfaction of her Majeſty, and to the Welfare and Proſperity of the Nation.

The Miniſters and the *Junto* ſoon diſcern'd the Cloud that was gathering over their Heads, and as quickly beſtir'd themſelves to provide for Shelter againſt the Storm. 'Tis eaſy to imagine at whoſe Inſtances our good Allies the States of *Holland* order'd their Envoy here to deſire her Majeſty not to change her Miniſters; 'tis true that this Meſſage was deliver'd with as much Modeſty as the Subject Matter would bear, but perhaps Monſieur *Vryberg* may be noted for the firſt Foreign Miniſter that ever was charged with ſuch an Affair, and it would have look'd with ſomething a better Grace, if he had been inſtructed to have made this Sort of Interceſſion by Way of Conference with ſome of the Queen's Miniſters, who probably might have been order'd to give him ſuch an Anſwer as would have ſatisfied his Maſters, without his applying directly to herſelf in a

Buſineſs

Buſineſs which could not poſſibly be void of ſome Offence, though her Majeſty would take every Thing as well intended that came from a State for whom ſhe has ever had ſo ſincere a Regard, and who have ſo ſignally exerted themſelves for the Good of the common Cauſe.

Their next Attempt was to play the *Bank* upon her Majeſty; this was contrived by procuring the Governor, with ſome of the Directors (and we may gueſs who ſent them, and gave them their Errand) to requeſt certain great Lords to repreſent to her Majeſty, that the Apprehenſions of a Change in the Miniſtry had mightily diſturb'd the Trading People in the City, ſhock'd Credit, and they fear'd, if a Stop were not put to it, would cauſe a Run upon the *Bank*, and diſable them from ſerving the Government; the Meſſage was deliver'd, and it was deſired that her Majeſty would be pleaſed to permit them to receive her Anſwer from her own Mouth; accordingly they were appointed to attend the next Morning (and this they have ſince been pleaſed to call a being ſent for) and had a moſt gracious Anſwer from her Majeſty. I am unwilling to reflect ſo hardly as the Thing deſerves upon Men whom I eſteem ſo conſiderable in themſelves, and ſo uſeful to the Publick, but yet it is fit their Principals ſhould know that they have not well deſerved of them by their meddling in this Affair, which (as I ſhall ſhew anon) did not at all concern them, if they manage their Bank (as I really believe they do) prudently and honeſtly, and may poſſibly at ſome Time or other turn to their Diſadvantage. What if a Parliament ſhould come to be of the Opinion (as ſome have ſuggeſted againſt them) that they may really become dangerous to the Government? or elſe that it may be dangerous for the Government to have ſo great a Dependance upon them? Would it not be ridiculous for all the other Bankers of the City to petition the Queen to take Care of their Credit? Is it not the Duty of a Body of Men join'd in a Bank, though they deal with the Government, yet to be as careful as private Men not to launch out beyond the Power of their Purſe, but to keep themſelves ever in a Condition to anſwer all Calls? 'Tis known that the Bank of *England* has a real Fund of Five or Six Millions; is it Senſe to imagine that the Change of a Miniſtry ſhould ſhake ſuch a Credit? The People have a well grounded Confidence that they may truſt their Caſh upon ſuch a Security, and under the Direction of honeſt Men, and the Bank may reaſonably make Uſe of ſome competent Part of the Money ſo left in their Hands, to employ it for their own Advantage in the Way of Banking, which is to deal in Plate, Jewels, or other ſuch valuable Commodities as will always command ready Money; to diſcompt Bills of Exchange, to purchaſe or lend upon Tallies, or other publick Credit in near Courſe of Payment, or what may (as that Buſineſs now runs) be daily diſpoſed of for Caſh; they ought withal never to launch out in this Kind of Dealing ſo far as to leave themſelves unprovided of ſuch a conſtant Stock of ready Money as they find by Experience to be much more than ſufficient to keep up the Circulation of their Specie Notes; now if they do really manage in this Manner, they will be always provided againſt all Runs upon them, upon whatſoever Occaſion they may happen, and conſequently had nothing to fear from any Change in the Miniſtry: But if they have forborne to call in from their own Members all ſuch Sums of Money as they have lent to the Government upon the Funds

appropriated to themſelves, or any other Funds of diſtant Payment, and have made uſe of the People's running Caſh for that Purpoſe (which is beſt known to themſelves) they may indeed be apprehenſive that their Credit will be in Danger from any Event that may occaſion a haſty Call; but at the ſame Time they muſt bear to be told, that in ſuch a Caſe they will not deal honeſtly with thoſe who lodge their Caſh in their Hands, in confidence that it always lies as ready to anſwer their immediate Occaſions, as if they had it in their own keeping; for if ever ſuch a Run upon the Bank ſhould happen, as might ſlacken their punctual Compliance with all their own Bills whenſoever demanded, 'tis not enough to tell theſe People that their Money is ſecure, or that they ſhall have it in a Week or a Month hence; ſuch a Diſappointment might break Hundreds who had Bills of Exchange or other nice Credit to comply with. Where then can be the Wiſdom of this their Application to the Queen? Would they in ſo publick a Manner give Occaſion to the World to ſuſpect that they have indeed made too bold with the People that put Confidence in them? This were the ready Way to haſten thoſe People to call for their Money; but the Citizens have (and I believe very juſtly) a much better Opinion of them; or did they do it to gratify ſome powerful Men, who might hope that a Deputation to repreſent the Fears and Jealouſies of ſo conſiderable a Body would awe her Majeſty from purſuing ſuch Meaſures as ſhe thought beſt for herſelf and the Kingdom, but which they might fear would break their own Deſigns, and leſſen their Authority: Either Way could bring very little Reputation to the *Bank*; and ſurely thoſe Gentlemen ought more maturely to have conſulted the true Intereſt of their Society, before they had ſuffered themſelves to be made the Inſtruments of a Party in ſo abſurd a Manner to impoſe upon their Queen and Country.

Another Artifice to diſturb the Minds of the People was, to perſuade them that this Change of the Miniſters will fall the Stocks, Foreigners will draw their Money out of our Publick Funds, and both publick and private Credit will be ruin'd, and this they tell you is already evident; but if theſe Matters are ſet in a true Light, they will all appear to be nothing but Amuſements and Bugbears to frighten ignorant and unthinking People. The true Standard of the Worth of any Thing is its intrinſick Value; if a higher Price be ſet upon it, that is but imaginary, not real Worth. If there be a certain Knowlege that the Principal Stock is improved by Management, juſt ſo much is the intrinſick Value raiſed; if it be as certainly known that the Principal is leſſened by Loſſes, the intrinſick Value is fallen in the ſame Proportion; but as long as this Profit or Loſs ſhall remain doubtful or uncertain, the Principal Stock muſt always be accounted the intrinſick Value, becauſe the Expectancy is precarious, and may prove better or worſe than the Expectation, and conſequently any Variation from this Way of Valuing will always be but imaginary, never the real Value of any Thing; it is indeed a common Saying, *Valet quantum vendi poteſt*,

Juſt as much Money as 'twill bring,
Is the true Worth of ev'ry Thing.

But theſe are Maxims invented by Knaves to cheat Fools. To conſider then the true

true Worth of *India* and *Bank* Stock; as theſe Companies do make a Yearly Dividend of Profit, the real Value of theſe Stocks can be accounted for no otherwiſe than by the Principal Money paid in, with an Addition of ſo much of the Annual Dividend as has accrued ſince the laſt Payment: I will not pretend to be ſo perfect in the Myſtery of Stock-Jobbers as to know exactly how much *per Cent.* has been actually paid in by the Subſcribers, but I take it from the general Voice, that thoſe Stocks continue ſtill to be ſold conſiderably above the intrinſick Value, ſo that the great Noiſe that is made about the falling of Stock has been a mere Impoſition, and a palpable Untruth; for though we daily ſee that theſe Stocks are run up and down by the new Science of Stock-Jobbing, yet this can never be truly ſaid to operate any thing upon the real intrinſick Value, which can never be moved otherwiſe than by the known Profit or Loſs upon it: We know that the Management of the *Bank* is profitable, and that the Funds ſettled for the Payment of their Intereſt is competent, and as ſecure as any other Poſſeſſions in the Kingdom, for whatſoever over-turns one, muſt over-turn all; but if ſome People will be frighten'd at Shadows, or in Diſguſt ſhould ſell their Stocks for leſs than the real Value, what Reaſon is there for a Government to be moved at this, more than at ſuch angry Children who throw away their Bread and Butter?

Well, but Foreigners will withdraw all the Money they have put into our Stocks and publick Funds: I ſay they cannot, for the Money muſt lie where it is. O! but they will ſell it all off; with all my Heart, then *Engliſhmen* muſt buy it, and the Sums that they yearly carry out of the Nation for their Intereſt or Annuities will remain here and circulate among ourſelves. This, weak though it be, they may think ſufficient to puzzle the Ignorant, and ſerve their Turn well enough, if it does but ſet the People a grumbling.

Now for our publick and private Credit; a new Miniſtry, ſay they, will certainly deſtroy both, bring all Things into Confuſion, and diſable us from carrying on the War. I hope not; but, in the mean time, what do we owe to thoſe Miniſters that have brought the Nation into ſuch a Condition, that, as they think, ſhe cannot ſubſiſt without a Dependance upon them and their Creatures? However, if our future Parliaments will give as good Funds, and as good Bargains as they have done, how can they tell but that the People (and the Foreigners among the reſt) will throng as hard to get in their Money as they uſed to do? But they tell us the money'd Men are on their Side, and they will lend no more; no, not when they do not know how to employ their Money ſo well in any other Way? I believe yet, if there ſhould be ſome froward Children (as I noted before) that would throw away their Bread and Butter, we ſhall find more hungry ones that would catch it up and eat it. But what if our new Miniſtry ſhould do better for us than they have done, and find Ways and Means to raiſe the needful Supplies within the Year? This ſurely would heighten our publick Credit, and put us into a Condition to live of ourſelves, without having ſo much Occaſion to borrow, and to mortgage the Nation to future Generations; a moderate general Exciſe added to a juſt Land-Tax would do all, and there is a Neceſſity for us to come to it at laſt, or ruin ourſelves if we go on in the borrowing Way. What do they mean by deſtroying private Credit? Shall not we be able to find Truſt for our daily Bread? Or

will the Merchants or wholeſale Traders refuſe their beſt Chapmen, unleſs they come with ready Money in their Hand? Woe be to bad Paymaſters then, yet the Nation may be comforted in this, that then we ſhall have fewer Bankrupts; be it as it will, I am of the Opinion that let who will be in the Miniſtry, Men of Subſtance and Probity will never want as much Credit as they deſire, and they that have neither, if they ſhould ever get it, will never be able to keep it: A certain Writer (juſt as if he were an humble Servant of the Party on all Occaſions) is reading us a large Lecture on this Topic, *Credit*; he trims her up like a gay Lady, and tells us ſhe can do Miracles and cack Wonders; he had better have compared her to a loving *Spaniel Bitch*, that will never leave a Maſter who uſes her well, but if he gets up to ride her, ſhe ſinks under him, ſhe can do no more than ſhe can do. But what if under this Title of private Credit they mean alſo the Paper Credit, and would have us think that Trade could not ſubſiſt without it for Want of a ſufficient Quantity of Specie Money to circulate Payments? But this, like the reſt, is all Fallacy, for neither Bank nor Bankers give out their Bills till the Money is actually lodged in their Hands, and though theſe Bills may paſs through twenty Hands before one comes to fetch the Money, yet there is not one Penny more or leſs employed in Trade than would have been if this Money had been paid from Hand to Hand; the whole Buſineſs is ſimply no more than this, Men in Commerce muſt always owe Money to ſome, and have it to receive from others, and if they make a Bank their common Caſhier, their mutual Occaſions of receiving and paying meet there as in a Center, and they are enabled by Means of the Bank Bills to make their Payments to each other by Aſſignment, without the Trouble of telling the Money, and the Bank's Security for the Payment creates a more general Acceptance and Currency than the Bills of private Men; becauſe Banks always pay at the firſt Call, when a good Man may make you come two or three Times for the Money; and thus Banks, and Paper Credit, are a good Eaſe and Conveniency to Tradeſmen, but add nothing to the Increaſe or Diminiſhing of Trade or Money. After all, when the Citizens ſhall have any Reaſon to doubt the infallible Punctuality of the Bank or Bankers, they may blame themſelves for any Inconvenience they may ſuffer, becauſe they might have prevented it by taking the Pains to keep their own Caſh as their Grandfathers did; it is true, ſuch a Turn of Caution and good Huſbandry might have hinder'd the Profit of the Bankers, but it concerns not at all the Government, who have no Reaſon to trouble themſelves whether the trading Citizens manage their Buſineſs wiſely or otherwiſe. Our Party-Politicians alſo had better let the World rub on in its own Way, than make a Noiſe about Things which they don't well underſtand; and it is becauſe the Clamour about them has been very great, that I have thought it worth while to ſay ſo much as might undeceive ſuch as have entertain'd wrong Notions thereof, and convince them from the Nature and true Reaſon of the Things, that Court Changes can no more leſſen their real Value, than they can that of our other Subſtance; and when theſe groundleſs Fears are abated, People will reſume their former good Opinion of them, at leaſt, thoſe that continue their Intereſts, and do not mind Stock-Jobbing, will find their Stocks in theſe Companies to be employ'd to as much Advantages as ever.

But

But theſe are not all the falſe and malicious Suggeſtions that the *Junto*-Party have invented, to inflame the Minds of their credulous Admirers; they tell them nothing leſs is intended than a total Change of Hands, all *Whigs* to be turn'd out of the Miniſtry, and the *Tories* to rule all; then the Diſſenters muſt expect another Occaſional Conformity Bill, nay even their precious Liberty of Conſcience will be taken away: We ſhall ſoon ſee whether they have any Ground for ſuch Reports, or whether they are altogether fictitious and falſe; let honeſt Men but take Notice of, and remember the Perſons who make it their Buſineſs to talk up theſe Stories in Converſation, that, when they ſhall ſee the Event to be otherwiſe, they may know who are the Tools of the Party, and never more ſuffer them to impoſe upon their Credulity; in the mean Time I dare aſſure them that they have none of theſe Things to fear, and that her Majeſty is as firmly reſolved againſt all Extremes as they can wiſh, that ſhe will bear equal Regard to Men that behave themſelves well of either Side, and deſires that the Names of Parties and Factions may be buried in Oblivion, and that we may have no other Mark of Diſtinction among us than that of Knaves from honeſt Men; that they will find ſuch of the *Tories* (as People ſtill call them) as ſhall be admitted into the Miniſtry, will come into moderate Meaſures, and when any of them act otherwiſe they will be laid by; and that the Queen has declared, as a Principle ſhe will always ſtand by, that ſhe will never ſuffer herſelf to be prevail'd upon to make the Diſſenters uneaſy by an Occaſional Conformity Bill, or any Thing like it; and that ſhe will inviolably maintain the Toleration they now enjoy.

Nor will the Party ſtop here; but to ſhew that they have no Limits to their Scandal, they give out, that nothing leſs is deſign'd by theſe Changes, but that ſuch Men may be put into Power as will work about another Revolution, and bring the Pretender in upon us; they tell us too of a Spunge that ſhall wipe out all the publick Debts, and cancel the appropriated Funds. *Fortiter calumniare, aliquod adhæreat*, is an old Maxim which they practiſe as freely as any People ever did before them; they know that nothing can more expoſe Men to the Odium of the Nation than ſuch Imputations, and therefore they labour to fix them on their Enemies, without the leaſt Regard to Truth: But ſuch Things can't be brought about without ſome previous Indications; it will be then Time enough to ſuſpect ſuch villainous Deſigns, when any Thing like them appears; and, God be thank'd, there is ſo general a Diſpoſition in the People of this Kingdom (notwithſtanding their Party Feuds and Diviſions) to ſupport her Majeſty's Title to the Crown, the Succeſſion in the Houſe of *Hanover*, and their own Rights and Properties, that we have no Reaſon to diſturb ourſelves with ſuch Apprehenſions, or think it in the Power of a few Miniſters, if they had the Will, to attempt them; and I am in no Doubt but that we ſhall ſee ſuch Men in the new Miniſtry as will ſoon convince the Nation, by their Actions, that they will ſhew as much Zeal for the preſent Government, more Duty to her Majeſty, and leſs Regard to their own private Intereſt, than their Predeceſſors; in the mean Time, we need take no more Pains to anſwer theſe Calumnies, than the Parſon did to confute the Cardinal, and that was to tell him in ſhort, *Bellarmin* thou lyeſt. They have told us that theſe Changes would ſhock our Allies, and force

us into a diſhonourable Peace, but we have ſeen the quite contrary; and then we are to be perſuaded that theſe Claſhings among ourſelves have encouraged our Enemies to break off the Treaty; I hope for the better ſtill, and that in the next, more Regard will be had to the Trading Intereſt of *Great-Britain*, than theſe Miniſters had ſhewn in the former Preliminaries.

The laſt of their Clamours which I ſhall here take Notice of, is that againſt diſſolving the Parliament. A Parliament, ſay they, that have given ſuch vaſt and effectual Supplies to ſupport the War, and done every Thing that could be expected from them to ſhew their ſteady Zeal to the Queen and Government; in all this they did but their Duty, and why ſhould we fear that the next will not do it as well? But it muſt be ſaid withal, that the *Junto* had wrought up ſo great a Majority into Engagements to ſtand by them on all Occaſions, by voting unanimouſly in every Thing that concern'd the Miniſtry, that it was from thence they took the Confidence to make thoſe large Steps I have formerly mention'd; and therefore 'tis no Wonder that they are ſo extremely fond of this Parliament, and ſo much afraid of its Diſſolution; take away this, and we know their Strength is departed from them; if they can but get this Parliament to ſit, they have Hope, and 'tis the only Hope they have left, that their Party will ſtill ſtick together, and be ſtrong enough to retard the Supplies till they have forced a Kind of Neceſſity upon the Queen to undo all that has been done, and ſubmit herſelf to their Dominion again; and perhaps her Majeſty may think that a ſufficient Reaſon utterly to deprive them of that Hope; of what Uſe is that Right of the Prerogative to diſſolve Parliaments, if it may not be exerciſed on ſuch Occaſions? No Wrong can be done to the Subject by it, for their Right of Election remains free to them, and they may chuſe as many of the ſame Members again as they think fit. After all, I muſt own that I ſhould be glad that the chuſing a new Parliament could be avoided at a Time when the People on both Sides are in ſo high a Ferment; I know alſo that a great many good Men, equally zealous for their Queen and Country, would be extremely gratified if it could be forborne; and I can't doubt, but that ſuch a Number of the true old-principled *Whigs* (ſuch as voted for the Bill againſt Officers ſitting in the Houſe) would come over into her Majeſty's juſt Meaſures, that they would leave the *Junto*-Party very thin and impotent; but I freely ſubmit to the Wiſdom of my Superiors.

I will, Sir, own to you, that I have always eſpouſed the true *Whig* Principle; that is, to be heartily affected to the Court and Miniſtry when they act uprightly for the publick Good, and as heartily to oppoſe them when they do otherwiſe; and you will ſee that I regard the Thing itſelf ſo much more than the bare Name of it, which ſome Men have aſſumed only to work their own Ends, that I have as freely animadverted on the late Proceedings of ſome of my own Party as you have done upon yours; but ſtill I deſire you will take Notice, that as the Number of the *Whigs* is made up for the moſt Part of Men of Thought and Induſtry, who underſtand their Principle, and are careful to preſerve Liberty and Property, I eſteem them to be generally honeſt and well-meaning People, and to intend the publick Good; but then, when their Leaders have proved otherwiſe, they have been too apt to be deceived, and miſled by them through the Confidence and good Opinion they have of them, being blind to their Faults,

and

and conſtantly ſtanding by them in Oppoſition to thoſe they account *Tories*, even though the Former ſhould purſue wrong Meaſures, and the Latter be in the Right.

On the other Side, I take the Generality of the *Tories* to conſiſt moſtly of a looſer and leſs thoughtful Sort of People, who look no further than the Outſide of Things, and take up with Notions they don't underſtand, condemning the very ſame Thing in others which they have practiſed themſelves; they are mightily influenced by the High-flying Clergy, and dance after their Pipe in every Thing, and we ſee what a Madneſs they are run into for the ſilencing an Incendiary: What a Noiſe do they make with their nonſenſical Addreſſes and furious inſolent Sermons? We know that the Queen has both an Hereditary and Parliamentary Title, but without the Latter ſhe had not now ſo happily fill'd the Throne: What do they mean then by crying up the Hereditary, and ſlighting the Parliamentary Title? And what Nonſenſe is it in them to lay ſo great Streſs on the Former, and yet at the ſame Time to profeſs their Adherence to the Succeſſion of the Houſe of *Hanover*, which can pretend to no Claim but by Act of Parliament? But, if their own ignorant Partizans don't ſee, we know what the Contrivers intend by it; for one of their own Writers has told us plainly, that 'Hereditary Right, and the natural Allegiance due to it, is a ſtubborn 'Thing, and will not bend even to an Act of Parliament, nor to a Thouſand 'Uſurpations.' This is plain enough without a Comment. Why do they make ſuch an Outcry againſt Rebellion and rebellious Principles, when (except the notorious *Jacobites* who herd with them, and what has lately appear'd on their own Side) the whole Nation is full of Duty, Loyalty, and hearty Affection to her Majeſty? To what End do they cry out againſt Republicans, when at this Day there is not the leaſt Appearance of any Party that affect any Change of the eſtabliſhed Government? For my own Part, I am ſuſpicious that the Non-jurors and the High-Church Clergy, who think their eccleſiaſtical Domination too much clip'd by our preſent Conſtitution, are at the Bottom of all theſe Out-cries, that if poſſible they might ſtir up their giddy Devotees to bring in the Pretender, with whom they may imagine that they could make their own Terms. Such falſe and malicious Suggeſtions as the above-mentioned do indeed ſhew the true Spirit of *Toriſm*; but then we muſt do ſo much Right to others who are reckon'd of that Party, as to acknowledge that there are many Gentlemen among them, who though they may have a more than needful Concern for the Monarchy and the eſtabliſh'd Church, are yet zealous for the ſupporting her Majeſty's Title and the *Hanover* Succeſſion, and do ſincerely approve the Revolution Principles, and abhor the ſlaviſh Doctrine of unlimited paſſive Obedience: And theſe do, in reſpect to Civil Government, ſo nearly mean the ſame Thing with the honeſt, well-meaning, diſintereſted *Whigs*, that if theſe two Sorts would but let fall their mutual Jealouſies, and unite themſelves in all thoſe Things that apparently concern the publick Good, the Nation might be ſo happy as to ſee a ſpeedy End put to our Factious Diviſions, and the deſigning Grandees on both Sides would find themſelves left without Followers to ſhift for themſelves.

'Tis moſt certain that all good Men mean well, and that their Animoſities againſt each other, on Account of their differing Sentiments, ariſe more from the

Prejudices

Prejudices of Education and Converſation, than from a thorough Examination, and well-grounded Knowledge of the Points in Controverſy; and the Strife between them ſeems indeed to be more about Words than the Things themſelves, ſo that the admitting but a few modeſt and eaſy Diſtinctions would go a great Way towards reconciling their various Opinions: To inſtance in ſome Particulars; the *Tories* value themſelves highly upon their Principles of Loyalty to Princes, and ſay they are not to be reſiſted, but muſt be obey'd actively or paſſively; thus far the *Whigs* agree with them, and allow that lawful Authority is not to be reſiſted; that Civil Government is the Ordinance of God, for the procuring and conſerving the Peace and Quiet of human Societies; that 'tis the indiſpenſible Duty of all Chriſtians to live peaceably and quietly under their Princes and Magiſtrates, to reverence their Perſons and eſteem them ſacred, and if in any Caſe they cannot obey them actively, yet they are bound to obey them paſſively in every Thing relating to their juſt Power; this, and nothing leſs, is what they think ſufficient to anſwer the End of humane Government: But then the *Laudean* Churchmen have, from theſe true Principles, taught by the Scriptures, and believed by every good Chriſtian, extorted extravagant Conſequences no where warranted by the ſacred Writings, and utterly deſtructive of the Rights of Mankind, and contrary to the common Dictates of Reaſon and the Laws of Nature; they would perſuade us that all Kings are *Jure Divino* placed above the Laws, and accountable to no Power on Earth for their Miſgovernment, that we are bound to ſubmit ourſelves to them with an unlimited Paſſive Obedience, and if they ſhould violate all the Laws of Liberty and Property, and ſhould attempt to take from us our Eſtates, Wives, Children, nay our Lives, merely to gratify their own Will and Pleaſure, we are not to make the leaſt Reſiſtance on Pain of eternal Damnation. This now is ſuch a Doctrine of Slavery that it perverts the very End for which God Almighty inſtituted Government, and is ſo contrary to his Divine Attributes of Wiſdom, Juſtice, and Goodneſs, that, though it may paſs for good *Mahometaniſm*, I am ſure there is no Chriſtianity in it: The Scriptures indeed give us a Deſcription of what wicked Kings would do, ſuch as God gave to his People in his Anger, and took away in his Wrath, and their Tyranny is denounced as a Curſe upon the *Iſraelites* for rejecting their God, but is no where approved, nor were the People bound to ſubmit to it; the one Inſtance (beſides many others) of the ten Tribes rejecting *Rehoboam*, and making *Jeroboam* their King, and that this is ſaid to be from the Lord, is ſufficient to confute Gainſayers: All Hiſtory is full of Examples of the People's reſcuing themſelves from the Tyranny and Oppreſſion of their bad Princes whenever they were able; the *Huguenots* in *France*, the *Dutch*, and the *Scots*, have in theſe later Times taken up Arms againſt their lawful Princes when they oppreſſed them in their Civil and Religious Rights, and yet they have been approved therein by all good Proteſtants. The *Whigs* therefore ſay, that the Precepts of the Apoſtle enjoin ſuch an Obedience as is due to all lawful Government, and claim not the leaſt Pretence to Reſiſtance, but in ſuch extreme Caſes when the Prince breaks through the Fundamental Laws of his Country, and ſets himſelf to deſtroy Liberty, Property, Religion, and all that is near and dear to the People, then they believe that Chriſtianity does not require Free-born Subjects to ſubmit themſelves

to

to become Slaves, but that they may uſe ſuch Power as God has given them, to defend and preſerve themſelves, and to reſtore the Laws and Liberties of their Country; this muſt be admitted by all who approve of the late happy Revolution, wherein there ſeems a Deſign of Providence to expoſe the great Sticklers for Paſſive Obedience and Non-reſiſtance, who, when they began to feel the Rod of Perſecution upon their own Backs, ſoon forgot their own Doctrines, were the firſt that invited the then Prince of *Orange* to come over with an Army, and join'd heartily with the *Whigs* to reſiſt the late King *James*, and reſcue the Nation from the impending Ruin; and thus we have ſeen that how much ſoever theſe Parties have differ'd in Words, they both agree in the Neceſſity of the Thing; and for thoſe that have ſince ſtrain'd their Inventions to perſuade the World that marching with an Army againſt the late King *James*, firing upon his Forces at *Reading*, and driving him out of the Kingdom, was no Reſiſtance, but ſtill good Paſſive Obedience, their ridiculous Sophiſtry deſerves no other Anſwer but Contempt. But the *Tories* think this Notion of Reſiſtance encourages Treaſons and Rebellions, for every one may think himſelf a competent Judge when the King miſgoverns, and conſequently may oppoſe him: We ſay no, 'tis not Acts of private Injuſtice or mere Errors in Government that can warrant a People to reſiſt the Authority that God has placed over them; here we own Paſſive Obedience to be a Chriſtian's Duty, and contend for it as much as themſelves; but when a Prince ſhall exerciſe repeated Acts of Violence and Oppreſſion upon his People, ſhall diſpenſe with the known Laws, and ſet himſelf to overturn the Conſtitution, and to make his own Will and Pleaſure the only Rule of his Government, and all this is as viſible to the whole Nation as the Sun that ſhines at Noon, then, and never till then is the Time (if no other Means be left) for the People to have Recourſe to the laſt Remedy; and herein I believe all conſiderate unprejudiced Men of the *Tory* Party agree with us; nor is there any *Whig* (that I know of) who will not heartily ſubmit to the Chriſtian Doctrine of Obedience, as clear'd up by the preſent pious and learned Archbiſhop of *York*, in his excellent Sermon preach'd before the Houſe of Lords on the 30th of *January*, $\frac{1692}{1700}$. wherein he aſſerts that 'The ſtanding Laws of every Country are the Rule 'of the Subjects Obedience, and not merely the Will of the Prince.'

Again, the *Tories* commend themſelves for ſteady Supporters of Monarchy, and upbraid the *Whigs* for Men of Republican and Antimonarchical Principles. Theſe Terms indeed render them as directly oppoſite in their Opinions as Liberty is to Slavery, and yet, when what each of them mean by theſe Terms is fairly explain'd, I believe it will appear that the honeſt and judicious Men on both Sides are equally inclined to ſupport and oppoſe the ſame Kinds both of Monarchical and Commonwealth Governments. Politicians have diſtinguiſhed Monarchy into abſolute and limited; abſolute Monarchy is where the Prince in his own Perſon is above all the Laws, and governs alone by his own Will and Pleaſure, the Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates of all his Subjects (or rather Slaves) being entirely at his own Diſpoſal, and he gives Laws and takes them away at his Pleaſure, his ſingle Will being the only Law, and his People muſt ſubmit to whatever Taxes he requires: The Emperor of the *Turks*, the King of *Perſia*, and other Eaſtern Princes govern after this Manner, and the *French* King, with

ſome other *European* Princes, who have ſuppreſs'd the Authority of their Parliaments, come little ſhort of it. What they call a limited Monarchy is, where the King bears a Royal Grandeur, Dignity, and Majeſty equal with the other, and enjoys the ſupreme Adminiſtration of the Government, but has not in himſelf Authority to make, abrogate, or diſpenſe with the ſtanding Laws of the Kingdom, or to raiſe Taxes upon the People, but the Parliament or States of the Kingdom participate with him in the Power of Legiſlation; and they have a Right to inquire into any Miſmanagement of the Government, and to puniſh ſuch Miniſters or Officers as have acted contrary to the Laws, or done any Thing to the Detriment of the publick Weal, in which Caſes the King may not interpoſe or pardon the Delinquents; and thus the Liberties and Properties of the People are defended and ſecured to them by the Laws. This Form of Government, with ſmall Alteration, was introduced into moſt of the Kingdoms of *Europe* by the *Gothic* People, in ſome the King was elective, in others hereditary, but not always confined to the immediate Succeſſion of Birth-Right. A Republick or Commonwealth is where the Power of both Legiſlation and Adminiſtration is placed in many, choſen among the Subjects for their Wiſdom or Merit, without any ſingle Perſon or King to be Supreme or Head of the Government. Now our modern Flatterers of Royal Power, becauſe our Conſtitution is call'd a Monarchy, have taken the Advantage of the Word to attribute to our Kings the ſame Powers that are taken by an abſolute Monarch, and have magnified his Authority above the Laws, which is a palpable Abſurdity, for then there can be no Limitation; but we know that ours is (and has been ſo accounted from Time immemorial) a limited Monarchy, and they that argue againſt it do avert the very Foundation of the Nation's Rights, and deſerve not to live in the Kingdom. A limited Monarchy then and a Commonwealth do both aim at the Preſervation of the Liberty of the Subject, and if the Ancients could have foreſeen how much the Word Monarchy would have perverted its Companion, perhaps they might have thought it as fit to have call'd this Kind of Government a regal Commonwealth, and we ſee at this Day the *Polanders* ſtile themſelves a Commonwealth, though they put a King at the Head of it; this then is the only Republick we love, and the abſolute is the only Monarchy we hate; and in this (as I ſaid at firſt) I believe all the honeſt and judicious among both *Whigs* and *Tories* mean the ſame Thing: 'Tis true our Fathers tried the Experiment of a Commonwealth without a King, but it was found ſo diſagreeable to the Genius of this Nation, that the People rather choſe to ſet up a Broomſtick and ſubmit to it, than to be without a ſingle Head or Supreme in the Government; and it appear'd plainly in the Convention-Parliament, that the Number of thoſe was very inconſiderable who ſhew'd any Inclination to change our limited Monarchy into a direct Commonwealth, ſo that the Reflection upon the *Whigs* at this Day is wholly malicious and groundleſs on that Account.

In like Manner our religious Conteſts are more about Ceremonies and Church-Diſcipline than the Worſhip of God, which conſiſts in Spirit and Truth, and therein I am afraid all Parties will be found too much wanting. God created Man in a State of Innocence, Uprightneſs and Spiritual Union with his Maker, but through the Diſobedience of our firſt Parents this Heavenly Condition was

loſt,

loſt, and the Curſe of Sin, Death and Hell entail'd upon all their Poſterity; hence it is that every Man, who ſeriouſly examines his own Heart, finds by Experience that his Will and Affections are depraved, ſo that his chiefeſt Love and Deſire are turn'd away from the Supreme Good, and placed upon the Creatures and worldly Enjoyments; the ſole End of Religion then is to reform and correct our evil Natures and corrupt Inclinations; in order to which, God in his infinite Mercy hath given us Divine Helps and Means ſufficient to recover us out of this undone State and Condition, and to conduct us to his heavenly Kingdom; the firſt Foundation of all was his Promiſe to ſend his only Son, who in the Fulneſs of Time came into the World, took upon him our Nature, became acquainted with our Infirmities, and was made like unto us in all Things, Sin excepted; having performed the Will of his Father upon Earth, he gave himſelf up unto Death as a Sacrifice to appeaſe the Wrath of God for the Sins of all Mankind; after his Reſurrection from the Dead he ſent forth the Holy Spirit, and ſhed abroad the Love of God in the Hearts of the Faithful, and gave them his Grace to enable them to live Righteouſly and Godly in this preſent evil World, then he aſcended into Heaven, where he ſits at the Right-Hand of God the Father, making Interceſſion for us, till he ſhall come again at the laſt Day to judge both the Quick and the Dead, according to their Deeds done in the Body; and as God has thus given us his Son, he hath truly with him given us all Things, all ſecondary Helps and Means for our Encouragement to perſevere in the Way of ſpiritual Religion, ſuch as the Holy Scriptures, the Ordinances, Church Fellowſhips, and Communion of Saints, Paſtors and Teachers, with all other heavenly Gifts and Graces, for the edifying the Body in Love, and Building up in the moſt holy Faith. This then is ſuch a Syſtem of Religion, as I think all Chriſtians do agree in; and though all reaſonable Men hold for a Maxim that the End is always more worthy than the Means neceſſary to the attaining it, yet ſuch is the miſerable Apoſtacy of profeſſed Chriſtians, that both Clergy and Laiety of all Sorts have manifeſted a much greater Zeal for the Means or outward Form of Religion, than for the End, which is the changing our depraved Nature and ſanctifying the Soul; they have wrangled, fought, and contended ſo long and ſo bitterly about the Shadow, that they ſeem to have loſt the Virtue, Power and Subſtance of it; nay, to ſuch a Degree of Profaneneſs are Men grown, that it is too frequent to hear ſome ſwear and execrate for their Church; but we ſeldom ſee the fierceſt Contenders for Religion ſhew any in their Lives and Converſations, whilſt the ſober practical Chriſtian finds he has enough to do to watch againſt the Infirmities of his own Nature, to maſter his own Will, and to mortify his carnal Affections and ſinful Inclinations, and is ſo ſenſible of his own Unworthineſs, that he is much readier to judge and condemn himſelf than others; he falls not out with his Brethren by the Way, but is full of Meekneſs, Tenderneſs, Love and Compaſſion, and bears Good-will and univerſal Charity to all Chriſtians, without Regard to their different Forms of Worſhip: How little of this Temper do we ſee in the Conduct of many who pretend to be Miniſters of the Goſpel of Peace, and yet fill their Sermons with Reviling, Slander and Invective, to ſtir up Men's Minds to Wrath and Diſcord?

May we not then from their Works conclude that theſe have no Savour of the Things of God, but are of the ſame Spirit with ſuch whom our Saviour denominated Wolves in Sheep's Cloathing, and that they are of their Father the Devil, whoſe Works they do? It is high Time for the Multitude to open their Eyes and ſee whither theſe Guides are leading them, and for the Government to awake, and provide ſuch Laws as may ſtop all Mouths and Pens from weakening our Conſtitution, betraying our Liberties, expoſing the Revolution, and undermining the Queen's Parliamentary Title and the Proteſtant Succeſſion. But theſe high-flying Clergymen would place themſelves in a Station above the Reach of human Laws, they tell us they are *Jure Divino*, God's Heritage, a Royal Prieſthood, touch not mine Anointed, *&c.* We ſee they would be flying as high as Popery itſelf, if we would let them: But though theſe glorious Titles are predicated of the Divide Spiritual Goſpel-Church and Miniſtry, let not theſe Men be too forward to attribute them to themſelves, till they firſt convince us that they have no Ambition to exceed the Bounds of the Goſpel Diſpenſation; it is not enough for them to tell us that they are the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles, unleſs withall they ſhew us that they are acted and guided by the ſame Spirit that dwelt in the Primitive Chriſtians. We freely yield to them, that the Offices of Chriſtian Biſhops, Paſtors, *&c.* are of Divine Inſtitution, but then let them diſtinguiſh with us between what is Divine, and what is but Human, in the Exerciſe and Appendices of thoſe Offices; many Powers and Emoluments have been added to them which were not known or thought of in the Days of the Apoſtles, ſuch as lordly Titles, temporal Poſſeſſions, Juriſdictions and Immunities, with the divers Forms, Powers, Liturgies and Ceremonies of national Churches, and the Dominion of the Clergy over the Laiety; theſe Things may be uſeful to Religious Societies ſo far as they conduce to their Support, Decency and good Order, but are not indeed any Part of true Spiritual Religion, no more than the Garment is a Part of the Body, and may be enlarged or diminiſhed, put on, or put off, as the differing Circumſtances of Time and Place, and the Inclinations of the Prince and People may require: In ſhort, we ought to diſtinguiſh between the Political Churches of Nations, which are ſubject to be ſet up and pull'd down, limited and reformed by the Authority of the Chriſtian Magiſtrate, and the inviſible Church of Chriſt, which conſiſts of all ſuch of the whole Body of Chriſtians, who worſhip God in Spirit and Truth, whoſe Powers and Privileges are not carnal, but ſpiritual, and can never be altered or taken away; God grant that all Men of Good-will, of whatſoever Perſuaſion, may be found of this Number, without which all our Zeal for the outward Forms of Religious Worſhip will ſtand us in no Stead; in this I am ſure all ſincere and virtuous and pious Chriſtians agree with each other, and for the reſt, they do but profane the venerable Name of God by their Pretences to Religion; and if ſuch ſhould come to be made legal Biſhops and Paſtors of Political Churches, they might yet have no Part or Portion in the Royal Prieſthood or in God's Heritage.

I am very ſenſible that my Argument has led me to ſpeak of Things which may touch ſome great Men whom I yet honour in my Heart, but all the Reſpect I was able to ſhew on ſuch an Occaſion was to forbear their Names; the

the Facts I have mention'd are known to be true, 'tis therefore their own Actions that reflect the Cenſure, not the Relation; I have the utmoſt Averſion to detract from the Merit of ſuch who have deſerved well of their Country, but when any Man has done the moſt glorious Actions, has deſervedly gain'd an univerſal Eſteem both at home and abroad, and has obtain'd both the greateſt Riches and the higheſt Honours that his Country is capable to confer, he ought ſtill to conſider on his Part, that he has done but his Duty, that he has been bountifully rewarded, and to remember that he is ſtill but a Subject, and the greateſt of Subjects owe the ſame Regard to the good Pleaſure and juſt Commands of his Sovereign as the meaneſt Peaſant in the Kingdom; we know that the greateſt and wiſeſt of Men are ſtill ſubject to human Infirmities, and may have ſtronger Temptations to ambitious Exceſſes than ſuch as move in lower Spheres; in ſuch a Caſe, the beſt of our Wiſhes in his Behalf ſhould be, that he may be reform'd by ſome ſeaſonable Reproof, and be preſerved from falling into any ſuch Extreme as might cancel the Merit of his paſt Services, and in the mean Time, though we are willing to bear a large Meaſure of Reſpect and Good-will for him, yet our indiſpenſible Duty and Love to our moſt excellent Queen and our Country ought always to engage our chiefeſt Regard to them.

Thus, Sir, I have taken the Occaſion of your Letter, to convince the honeſt Men on both Sides, that they have been all along deceived and cheated through the Opinion and Confidence they have had of their reſpective Parties, who have proved to us like a Whip-ſaw, which ſoever Extreme is pull'd, the Nation is ſtill miſerably ſawn between them. 'Tis Time for us then to grow wiſer, and for all ſuch as ſincerely deſire the publick Good and Welfare of their Country, to bury their Animoſities, and labour to reconcile their imaginary Differences, that they may no longer ſuffer themſelves to be made Uſe of as Tools, and to be play'd againſt one another by crafty and deſigning Men, who regard them no farther than as they can make them ſubſervient to their own Purpoſes. It would be a great Happineſs to the Nation, if in Cities and Corporations both Sides would meet together in a Friendly Manner, to conſult of their Elections for Repreſentatives in Parliament, and unite in making choice of Men of the greateſt Integrity and Probity, without any Conſideration of their Party; a Man that is wiſe, honeſt, and independent, will never be led by any Party to a Compliance in ſuch Matters as he thinks detrimental to his Country; they know the Temper and Qualifications of Gentlemen who live in their Neighbourhood, but ſuch as are wholly Strangers to them, and live at a Diſtance, they will have Reaſon to ſuſpect as ſet up to ſerve, not their Country, but themſelves or their Patrons: Pity it is to ſee, that People who have ſo noble a Privilege as that of uſing their own Freedom and Judgment in chuſing the Makers and Conſervators of their Laws and Liberties, ſhould throw it away and ſacrifice it to the Solicitations and Recommendations of Men in Power, or, which is worſe, ſell it to thoſe that bid moſt; would the free People of *Great-Britain* but once exert their own Power to reform the Houſe of Commons, by electing a Majority of virtuous and diſintereſted Members, we might ſoon expect to ſee the publick Managements reform'd, and ſuch an Improvement might be made of the invaluable Bleſſing we enjoy in her preſent Majeſty, as would root out our Factions, heal our Breaches,

and

and ſo equally ſettle the Bounds of Prerogative and Liberty, that no Room ſhould be left for claſhing about them for the future; our late Kings have had ſo ſtrong Inclinations to extend their Power to gain all the Advantages they could upon the People, that thoſe Courts have always had ſeparate and diſtinct Intereſts of their own to carry on, which (as I have before ſhewn) was the firſt Cauſe of all our Diſcords; but our preſent Queen has never manifeſted the leaſt Regard to any Intereſt divided from that of her People, and has indeed no other Thing ſo much at Heart as the Eaſe and Tranquillity of her Subjects; this then is the happy Conjuncture, wherein nothing but our own Diviſions and Folly can hinder us from making our Queen ſafe and eaſy, and our valuable Rights as ſecure as our Hearts can deſire, and leaving them ſo to our Poſterity; and 'tis for that End only, that I have taken this Pains to ſtir up my Countrymen to be wiſe for themſelves, and to beware of the Impoſitions and ſpecious Pretences of their guileful Managers.

For yourſelf, Sir, though we are equally Strangers, and like ſo to remain, yet your happier Style ſhews me your ſuperior Capacity, and my own Inability to contract, like you, my Matter into a narrow Compaſs; but if I have been able to expoſe the Faults of ſuch who have been the unhappy Occaſion of the preſent Diſtempers of the Nation, and to vindicate the Proceedings of thoſe who are endeavouring to reform what has been amiſs, and to put the publick Affairs into a better Way, I hope the Sincerity of my Intentions will atone for my Prolixity and the Weakneſs of my Performance. I conclude then with a Precept of the Ancients, fit to be obſerved in theſe Times, and with aſſuring you that I am,

SIR,

Publica privatis ſecernite, Sacra Profanis.

Yours and my Country's

Very humble Servant, &c.

FAULTS on both SIDES: Part the Second. Or an ESSAY upon the original Cauſe, Progreſs, and miſchievous Conſequences of the Factions in the CHURCH: Shewing, That the CLERGY, of whatſoever Denomination, have always been the Ring-Leaders and Beginners of the Diſturbances in every State; impoſing upon the Credulity of the LAITY, for no other End than the accompliſhing their own Selfiſh Deſigns, at the Expence of the Peace and Tranquillity of the NATION. Faithfully produced from the moſt eminent Authorities. Sincerely intended for allaying the Heats and Animoſities of the People, and perſuading all honeſt, well-meaning Men, to compoſe their Party-Quarrels, and unite their Hearts and Affections for promoting the Publick Good, and Safety of their QUEEN and COUNTRY. By Way of Letter to a New Member of Parliament. 1710.

Nec quenquam jam ferre poteſt Cæſarve priorem,
Pompeiuſve Parem.——————Lucan.

SIR, *Oxford, Dec.* 5, 1710.

SINCE my Return home I have frequently recollected, with the greateſt Satisfaction, ſeveral Paſſages of that learned and inſtructive Converſation which I often had the Honour of enjoying in your Company, during my Stay in *London*; more particularly, Sir, the Diſcourſe we had concerning the preſent Poſture of Affairs both in Church and State, and the miſchievous Conſequences which are likely to attend the Nation, by that great Height and Violence to which all Parties are now fomented, if ſome Methods are not ſpeedily thought of by your Honourable Houſe, for the compoſing of theſe Differences, by looking into the very Source from whence they aroſe, and adminiſtring, with the ſtricteſt Juſtice, upon the *Guilty* of all Parties, *the due Reward of their Deeds.*

'Tis Matter of the moſt ſurpriſing Admiration, to ſee Men carried away into ſuch Party-Prejudices by the Bulk and Groſs as you very well obſerved, without

ſo

ſo much as the leaſt Inquiry into the real *Faults on both Sides*, or making a true Judgment, by avoiding the Extremes of all Parties, and comparing Matters of Fact, which is undoubtedly the only Way of repreſenting all popular Objects in a clear Light; but inſtead of this, the Leaders of each Clan run themſelves aground with a precipitated Kind of Madneſs and inveterate Hatred of each other's Perſon, upon the bare Account of entertaining ſome different Opinions; which, in ſhort, is ſuch a monſtrous Piece of Ridicule, that we may with the ſame Equality of Juſtice quarrel one with another about the Variety of our Complexions, or any other natural Infirmity.

I ſhall now, Sir, ſince you have often requeſted it of me, ſhew the Folly of this inequitable Way of Procedure, by tracing the *Faults of the Clergy of both Sides*, during the ſame Space of Time in which the *Political Faults* have been ſurvey'd; and ſince *RELIGION* is the Subject of our preſent Contention, I hope my Deſign will meet with a candid Approbation among all Parties, when I ſincerely declare that I have no other Proſpects in View but what are intended for the allaying of our Heats and Animoſities, and perſuading all honeſt, well-meaning Men to compoſe their Party-Quarrels, and unite their Hearts and Affections for promoting the publick Good, and Safety of our moſt gracious *Queen* and Country.

In Proſecution of my Deſign, I ſhall firſt give you (in the Words of the learned and judicious M. *Bayle**) an Account of the Behaviour of a turbulent Biſhop, even in the moſt early Days of Chriſtianity, what Sentiments were at that Time entertain'd of him, and the dreadful Conſequences that attended his raſh and inconſiderate Zeal.

'*ABDAS*, a Biſhop in *Perſia*, in the Time of *Theodoſius* junior, was, thro' 'his inconſiderate Zeal, the Cauſe of a very terrible Perſecution which was 'raiſed againſt the Chriſtians, who enjoy'd a full Liberty of Conſcience in *Per-* '*ſia*, when this Biſhop took upon him to pull down one of the Temples where 'the *Perſians* worſhip'd the Fire. †The *Magi* made their Complaints to the 'King,

---

* *Vide* M. *Bayle*'s Dict. Artic. of *Abdas*, Vol. I.

† *The* Magi *made their Complaints to the King*] It was *Iſdegerdes*, if we rely upon *Theodoret*; but according to *Socrates*, the Perſecution began only under *Varanes*, Son and Succeſſor of *Iſdegerdes*. *Baronius* dares not determine which of the two is the right. The *Magi* may be properly call'd Prieſts, for it was their Buſineſs to take care of holy Matters, and to prevent all manner of Innovation in Religion. *Theodoret* compares them to a Whirlwind, which raiſes the Waves of the Sea; ſuch was their Function in the Storm that toſs'd ſo violently the Church of *Perſia*, for the Space of thirty Years. *Socrates* tells us, That they made uſe of ſeveral Impoſtures to put a Stop to the Progreſs of the Chriſtian Religion, when they ſaw that the Love *Iſdegerdes* had conceived for the holy Biſhop *Maruthas*, gave them Reaſon to fear, that he would forſake their Religion. They were ſo bold as to hide a Man underground, in the Temple where the King uſed to worſhip the Fire; and they order'd him to cry out, when the King ſhould come in, *That Prince ought to be dethroned, who has been ſo impious as to believe, that a Chriſtian Prieſt is a Friend of God.*

If what is moſt falſely ſaid by impious Men were true, *viz.* That Religion is a mere human Invention, ſet up by the Sovereigns to keep Subjects within the Bounds of Obedience,

'King, who ſent for *Abdas*, and after a mild Cenſure order'd him to rebuild 'that Temple. *Abdas* refuſed to do it, though the Prince declared to him, That 'in

---

dience, how could it be deny'd, that Princes are the firſt who have been taken in their own Snares? For Religion is ſo far from making them Maſters of their Subjects, that on the contrary it ſubmits them to their Subjects: inaſmuch as they are obliged to profeſs the Religion of their People, and not that which ſeems to them to be the beſt: But if they are reſolved to profeſs a Religion different from that of their Subjects, they run the Hazard of loſing their Crown. We ſee how the *Perſian Magi* threaten'd their King, though he had only careſs'd one Biſhop. It has been ſaid, that the laſt King of *Siam* was dethroned for having too much favour'd the Chriſtian Miſſionaries. The ſame *Socrates*, who mentions the Artifices made Uſe of by the *Magi*, to put a Stop to the Propagation of the Goſpel, tells us likewiſe, that after the Death of *Iſdegerdes*, they inſpired his Son with ſuch a Spirit of Perſecution, that a horrid Cruelty was exerciſed againſt the Chriſtians. They had endeavour'd, but in vain, to inſpire his Father with the ſame ſpirit, for he was like to embrace the Goſpel; though *Socrates* is to blame for not owning ſincerely, that the raſh Action of Biſhop *Abdas* afforded the *Magi* a very plauſible Pretence. All the Church Hiſtorians are not guilty of the Unſincerity for which I blame *Socrates*; for *Theodoſius* does ingenuouſly confeſs, that the Biſhop, who pull'd down a Temple, occaſion'd the dreadful Perſecution of the Chriſtians in *Perſia*. He does not deny but that the Zeal of that Biſhop was unſeaſonable; but he maintains, that his refuſing to rebuild ſuch a Temple is worthy of Admiration, and deſerves a Crown: For methinks, ſays he, it is as great an Impiety to build a Temple to the Fire, as to worſhip it.

For my own Part, I am of Opinion, That no private Men, whether they be Metropolitans or Patriarchs, can at any Time be diſpenſed from this Law of natural Religion. The Damage that has been done to one's Neighbour ought to be made up by Reſtitution, or ſome other Way. Now *Abdas*, a mere private Man, and a Subject of the *Perſian* King, deſtroy'd what did belong to others, and was ſo much the more privileged, becauſe it belong'd to the prevailing Religion; he was therefore indiſpenſibly obliged to obey the Orders of his Sovereign, by reſtoring what he had deſtroy'd: And it was no good Excuſe to ſay, That the Temple which he was order'd to rebuild was deſign'd for the Uſe of Idolators; for he was not to put it to that Uſe, and he could not be anſwerable for the Abuſe of thoſe whom it did belong to. Would it be a good Reaſon for robbing a Man, to ſay he ſpends his Money extravagantly! Let him do ſo; you are not anſwerable to God for the Follies he commits: Let him enjoy what is his own; what Right have you to it? Beſides, could there be any Compariſon between the Deſtruction of a Temple, without which the *Perſians* would have remain'd as great Idolators as they were before, and occaſioning the Deſtruction of many Chriſtian Churches? *Abdas* ſhould therefore have prevented this laſt Evil by the firſt, ſince the Prince put it to his Choice. Laſtly, can any Thing render the Chriſtian Religion more odious to all the Nations of the World, than to ſee, that after they have inſinuated themſelves, as only deſiring the Liberty of teaching their Doctrine, they are ſo bold as to deſtroy the Temples conſecrated to the Religion of the Country, and refuſe to rebuild them when the Sovereign commands it? Is it not to give Occaſion to ſay; Theſe Men deſire at firſt a mere Toleration, but in a little Time they will pretend to ſhare with us all Employments and Places of Truſt, and then become our Maſters: At firſt they think themſelves very happy if they are not burnt, afterwards very unhappy if they have fewer Privileges than thoſe who are of the eſtabliſh'd Religion; and then again miſerable, if they are not the only prevailing Party. During a certain Time they are like *Cæſar*, who would have no Maſter; and then they are like *Pompey*, who would have no Partner.

The Perſecutors of the *French* Proteſtants did maliciouſly inſpire *Charles* IX. with ſuch a Thought. It is ſaid, that Prince made Uſe of theſe Words, ſpeaking to the Admi-

'in Caſe of Diſobedience, he would cauſe all the Chriſtian Churches to be 'pull'd down; which he did, and all the Faithful were deliver'd up to the 'Mercy of the Prieſts, who being vex'd at the Toleration that had been grant-'ed, fell upon them with great Fury. *Abdas* was the firſt *Martyr* who loſt his 'Life on this Occaſion; if we may ſo call a Man, who by his Raſhneſs ex-'poſed the Church to ſo many Misfortunes. The Chriſtians, who had already 'forgot one of the moſt eſſential Parts of Chriſtian Patience, had Recourſe to a 'Remedy which occaſion'd another Deluge of Blood; they implored the Aſ-'ſiſtance of *Theodoſius*, which kindled a long War between the *Romans* and '*Perſians*. It is true, that the latter were worſted: But was there any Certain-'ty that they ſhould not overcome the *Romans*, and that being fluſh'd with 'Victory, inſtead of perſecuting only the Chriſtians in *Perſia*, they would not 'exerciſe a general Perſecution in all the other Churches? The Fury of the 'Perſecutors could ſcarce be ſatisfy'd in the Space of thirty Years: Thus we 'ſee what Miſchiefs the inconſiderate Zeal of a private Man may occaſion.'

Thus, Sir, have I faithfully laid before you the Article M. *Bayle* gives us of *Abdas*, together with his own Remarks, and am not inſenſible that though I have choſen this Example of an inconſiderate and raſh Zeal to introduce my preſent Deſign, that upon firſt Sight our Clergy will fall foul upon me for ſo doing; becauſe they reckon M. *Bayle* an Enemy to all reveal'd Religion; which will be a Demonſtration of that Vice I am endeavouring to correct in them. 'Tis not my Buſineſs here to inquire into M. *Bayle*'s Principles, but ſuppoſing him to be ſuch a Perſon as they would repreſent him to the World, yet muſt nothing that he ſays be regarded? This is indeed the true and fatal Cauſe of all our former, and preſent Uneaſineſſes, in being carried away wholly by Prejudice, and not allowing the leaſt Time for Recollection.

I ſhall now proſecute my intended Deſign without making the leaſt Reflection, leaving Matter of Fact to ſpeak for itſelf; the Inſtance of *Abdas* already recited is ſufficient to ſhew the diſmal Effects brought about by an inconſiderate Zeal in the early Days of Chriſtianity, and it being needleſs to look any further into re-mote Parts, I will now confine myſelf to *Engliſh* Examples, and refer to the Authors themſelves, for the Proof of what I aſſert.

The firſt Inſtance I ſhall produce, is the Behaviour of the Clergy in King *Henry* II's Time, thus deliver'd by that learned and impartial Hiſtorian * Sir *Bulſtrode Whitlocke*; ——'In the ſixth Year of his Reign, King *Henry* looks 'to the Prerogatives of his Crown, infringed by the Clergy, whoſe Power he 'had found too great in the Buſineſs between his Mother and King *Stephen*; 'and he doubted how they might deal with his Poſterity. The Lay Nobility 'laid more Weights, informing the King, That the Clergy hinder'd the Exe-'cution:

---

ral *Coligni*. 'Such are the unavoidable Inconveniencies which they expoſe themſelves to, 'who maintain ſo warmly, that the Power of the ſecular Arm ought to be made Uſe of 'for the Eſtabliſhment of Orthodoxy.' Such were the Principles of *Abdas*: For what would he not have done with Force of Arms againſt the Idolators under a Chriſtian Em-peror, ſince under a heathen Prince, who tolerated the Chriſtian Religion, he pull'd down a Temple for which the Heathens had a very particular Veneration?

* Whitlocke's *Memorials*, fol. p. 47, & ſeq. *lately publiſh'd by* W. Penn, Anno 1709.

'cution of Juſtice, held their Dominion a-part; and, being exempt from ſecu-
'lar Puniſhments, committed many enormous Acts, and no Redreſs to be had.
'That ſince his Reign, about 100 Manſlaughters had been committed by Men
'in Orders.

'The ſeventh Year, the King had preferred *Thomas Becket*, a Creature and
'Servant of his, to be Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*; whom he expected ready
'to advance all his Affairs, made him Chancellor, and gave him the Education
'of the Prince. The Clergy had got their Juriſdiction much enlarged and
'ſtrengthen'd. The King calls a Parliament, and propoundeth, That ſuch of
'the Clergy as ſhould be convicted of any heinous Offence ſhould loſe the Pri-
'vilege of the Church, and be puniſh'd by the Civil Magiſtrate as other Subjects
'were.

'The ninth Year, *Becket* and the other Biſhops and Clergy oppoſed this, being
'againſt the Liberties of the Church. The king demanded, if they would ſub-
'mit to the Laws and Cuſtoms which the Biſhops, in the Time of Henry I. did
'obſerve, *i. e.* * *To acknowledge the King as ſupreme Judge in Eccleſiaſtical Affairs,*
'*granting him the Power of redreſſing all Grievances complain'd of by the Laity*, &c.
'They anſwer'd they would; their Order, the Honour of God, and Holy Church,
'in all Things ſaved. The King, diſpleaſed with this Reſervation, breaks up
'the Parliament, denies *Becket* Acceſs to him, takes from him what he could, and
'countenances thoſe who oppoſed him.

'The Pope and Cardinals writ to *Becket* to reconcile this Jar, and to make
'Peace with his Lord the King, and to promiſe to obſerve his Laws without Ex-
'ception; which *Becket* did promiſe to the King, who thereupon calls a Par-
'liament at *Clarendon*, where they were charged to reduce the Laws of *Henry* I.
'the King's Grandfather, into Writing: Which being done, the King willed
'the Archbiſhop and Biſhops to ſet to them their Seals, which the reſt were
'content to do, but *Becket* refuſed it. At length the reſt perſuaded him, and in-
'timated Danger, by the King's Servants ruſhing up and down with threatening
'Countenances: Whereupon *Becket* took his Oath to obſerve the King's Laws
'without any Reſervation. Then taking the Writing into his Hand, he ſaid to
'the Clergy, *Brethren, ſtand faſt, you ſee the Malice of the King, and that we are*
'*bound to beware:* And ſo the Council ended, but not the King's Diſpleaſure;
'whom only he found to bear up againſt him, who had ſo much favour'd him.

'He therefore proceeds to diſgrace him, and to advance the Archbiſhop of
'*York* above him, writes to the Pope to make him Legate; but he refuſed, and
'ſent his Legation to the King, ſo as he ſhould do nothing to grieve *Becket*.
'But the King, in Indignation, ſent back the Pope's Grant, as an Indignity to
'him.

'*Becket* repents of his Oath at *Clarendon*, ſuſpends himſelf, and doth Penance
'till the Pope ſent him an Abſolution: Then he endeavours to go to *Rome* with-
'out the King's Leave, contrary to the Law made at *Clarendon* (but by contrary
'Winds brought back) which more exaſperated the King. Then he is ſum-
'mon'd to a Parliament at *Northampton*: Suits in Law go againſt him, he is

* *Vide* Whitlock's *Memorials*, fol. p. 40.

'call'd to Account for the King's Monies, and pleads his Acquittance for all 'Receipts. The King urged to have Judgment againſt him, and he is ſummon'd 'to appear.'

'In the Morning of his Appearance, he ſaith the Maſs of *Stephen* the Pro-'to-Martyr, and comes to Court in his *Pontificalibus*, carrying the Croſs; for 'which he was blamed by the other Biſhops, who offered to pull it out of his 'Hand, but he held it faſt.

'The Archbiſhop of *York*, his ancient Adverſary, rebukes him ſharply for 'coming thus as to a Tyrant or Heathen Prince; and told him *the King had a* '*Sword ſharper than his Croſs.* *Becket* reply'd, *the King's Sword wounds car-*'*nally, but mine ſtrikes ſpiritually, and ſends the Soul to Hell.*

'*Becket* inveighs at the Proceedings againſt the Spiritual Father of the 'King, and of all his Subjects, eſpecially by the Sons of the Church; and he 'appeals to the Pope. The Parliament cried he was a Traytor, that having 'received ſo many Benefits from the King, he refuſed to do him earthly Honour, 'and to obey his Laws which he had ſworn to: And the Biſhops renounced 'their Eccleſiaſtical Obedience to him, cited him to *Rome*, and condemned 'him as a perjured Man and a Traytor. Being charged to anſwer, he re-'fuſed to ſtand to the Judgement of the King, or any other Perſon; ſaying '*they were bound to obey God and him, rather than any earthly Creature.* Then 'he departed, and diſguiſing himſelf got into *Flanders*, and ſo to *France*.

'Preſently King *Henry* ſends to the King of *France* not to countenance *Becket*, 'a Rebel againſt his King; yet the King of *France* ſends to the Pope in '*Becket*'s Behalf.

'King *Henry* ſends divers Biſhops and Lords Commiſſioners to the Pope, to 'inform him of *Becket*'s Cauſe; which they did, and of his Crime and Pee-'viſhneſs very fully: But they not being able to prevail with the Pope, came 'away in Diſcontent. Then *Becket* brought to the Pope the Laws made at *Cla-*'*rendon*; which being read before him, the Cardinals, and the reſt of the Clergy, 'they condemned them, and all that obeyed or favoured them, being ſmart 'againſt the Church Privileges.

'King *Henry* ordains, that if any bring Letters of Interdiction from the Pope, 'he ſhall forthwith be executed as a Traytor; that no Clergyman ſhall paſs 'over Sea without Licenſe; forbids Appeals to *Rome*, and *Peter-Pence*; baniſheth 'all *Becket*'s Kindred, and adheres to the Anti-Pope; this exaſperates Pope '*Alexander*, who writes to the Clergy of *England* to oppoſe the King; excom-'municates his ſpecial Miniſters who adhered to the *German* Faction, *Alexan-*'*der*'s Enemies, and thoſe who had entered upon the Goods of the Church of '*Canterbury*.

'*Becket* having now been a conſiderable Time abroad, the fourteenth Year the 'Pope writes to ſome Biſhops, to admoniſh the King to deſiſt from intruding 'upon the Liberties of the Church, and to reſtore Archbiſhop *Becket*.

'The Biſhops write a long Anſwer to the Pope, giving him an Account of 'the King's Anſwer to their Meſſage, and the Reaſons of his Proceedings.

'The King of *France* mediates with King *Henry*, when in *Normandy*, to be 'reconciled to *Becket*: King *Henry*, to pleaſe his Brother of *France*, made an

'end

'end of the Difference with the Clergy. And the King of *France*, with King 'Henry and *Becket*, meet: He at the King's Feet ſaith, *he will refer all to his* 'Royal Order, *God's Honour only reſerved.*

'King *Henry* in Choler ſaid, "Whaſoever diſpleaſeth this Man, he would 'have it to be againſt God's Honour: But that you may ſee I will not reſiſt 'God's Honour, and him, look what the greateſt and moſt holy of all his 'Predeceſſors have done to the meaneſt of mine: Let him do the ſame to 'me, and it ſhall ſuffice."

'*Becket* reply'd peremptorily: So that the King of *France*, and all with him, 'were ſatisfied of the King's Proceedings, and of *Becket*'s Forwardneſs; yet at 'length they were reconciled: And afterwards the King wrote a Letter to his 'Son, the young King *Henry*, commanding him to reſtore *Becket* to his *See.*

'*Becket*, returning to *England*, ſuſpended the Archbiſhop of *York* for crown-'ing the young King without his Leave within his Province, and againſt 'the Pope's Command: He had Letters alſo to ſuſpend other Biſhops that 'officiated at the Coronation.

'The Biſhops reſort to the King in *Normandy*, acquaint him with *Becket*'s 'Proceedings; and that he was grown ſo imperious, that there was no living un-'der him: Wherewith the King was ſo much moved, that he is ſaid to utter theſe 'Words; *In what a Miſerable State am I, that cannot be quiet in my own King-'dom for O N E only Prieſt! Is there no Man that will rid me of this Trouble?* 'At which Words, ſome report, four Knights, gueſſing at the King's Mind, 'went into *England* to the Archbiſhop; others ſay, they were ſent to him from 'the King to take off the Suſpenſion from the Biſhops, and to wiſh him to take 'his Oath of Fealty to the young King.

'Theſe four Knights came to the Archbiſhop, and finding him peremptory, 'and not regarding their Maſter the King, they entered in their Armour into 'the Church, whither *Becket* was withdrawn, and the Monks at Divine Ser-'vice: There they reviled the Archbiſhop, called him Traytor, and gave him 'many Wounds, and ſtruck out his Brains, that his Blood beſprinkled the 'Altar.

'He died with much Courage, committing the Cauſe of the Church, with his 'Soul, to God and the Saints. The Circumſtances and Hatred of the Deed 'made Compaſſion and Opinion to be on his Side. The Murderers durſt not go 'back to the King, but within four Years all of them died miſerable Fugitives.

'The King of *France* and the Earl of *Blois* inform the Pope of this wicked 'Fact, and excite him to unſheath St. *Peter*'s Sword, and take Revenge for '*Becket*'s Martyrdom.

'The Archbiſhop of *Sens* writes to the Pope, "That he was appointed 'over Nations and Kingdoms, to bind their Kings in Fetters, and their Nobles 'with Manacles of Iron; that all Power, both in Heaven and Earth, was given 'to his Apoſtleſhip: Bids him look how the Boar of the Wood hath rooted 'up the Vineyard of the Lord of *Sabaoth*;" and then rails bitterly againſt 'the King imbruing the *Sanctum Sanctorum* with Blood, and tearing in Pieces 'the Vicegerents of Chriſt, *&c.* concluding with an Exhortation, that he would 'arm all the Eccleſiaſtical Power for Revenge.

'The

'The King employed the ableſt Men he could chuſe, to declare his Innocence to the Pope, and how grievouſly he took the Matter; yet the Pope denied Audience to his Ambaſſadors, and the Cardinals refuſed Conference with them: But they wrought ſo by Apologies and Remonſtrances, and dealt ſo, as they kept off the higheſt Cenſure, daily threatened and expected. They gravely urged the Miſchiefs that might follow in the Church, if a King of ſo great a State and Stomach ſhould be driven to take deſperate Courſes.

'The Pope ſent two Legates into *Normandy* to interdict the King, but he appeal'd to the Preſence of the Pope, and ſo diſappointed them: And returning into *England*, he commanded that no Brief Carriers ſhould be permitted to croſs the Seas, without giving Security of good Behaviour to the King and Kingdom.

Thus have I faithfully given you the whole Relation of what paſſed between this *Prince* and *Archbiſhop*, from his firſt Riſe, to his deplorable Fall; we proceed next to the Behaviour of Archbiſhop *A B B O T* in the *Convocation* at the Beginning of King *James* I's. Reign.* This Convocation goes under the Name of *Overal*'s Convocation; it is very probable that this *Convocation* was called, to clear ſome Doubt that King *James* might have had, about the Lawfulneſs of the *Hollanders* throwing off the *Monarchy* of *Spain*, and their withdrawing, for good and all, their Allegiance to that Crown: Which was the great Matter then in Agitation in moſt Courts of *Chriſtendom*.

It appers plainly by ſome of thoſe *Canons*, that high-flown Notions of *Prerogative* and *Abſolute Obedience*, which became afterwards into Faſhion, were not much known at that Time: At leaſt the Clergy were not of that Opinion. It is true, this was the firſt Time that a King *de Jure* and *de Facto* was ever mentioned as a Point of Divinity, or a Doctrine of the Church: Though it had been taken Notice of before, and that but once, as a Matter of Law, in an Act of Parliament of *Henry* VII. But theſe *Canons* did never receive the *Royal Approbation*, and therefore are in the ſame Caſe as if they had never been.

King *James* thought theſe Points too nice to be much touch'd upon, and was highly diſpleaſed with the *Members* of that *Convocation*, for meddling in Matters which he thought were without their Sphere. Thereupon he writ the following angry Letter to the Archbiſhop (then Dr. *Abbot*) which I had the good Fortune to light upon, *viz.*

Good Dr. ABBOT,

'I Cannot abſtain from giving you my Judgment of your Proceedings in your Convocation, as you call it; and both as *Rex in Solio*, and *unus Gregis in Eccleſia*, I am doubly concern'd. My Title to the Crown no body calls in Queſtion, but they that neither love you nor me; and you gueſs whom I mean. All that you and your Brethren have ſaid of a King in Poſſeſſion (for that Word, I tell you, is no worſe than that you make uſe of in your Canon) concerns not me at all; I am the next Heir, and the Crown is mine by all

'Rights

* Welwood's *Memoirs*, 12°. p. 31. & ſeq.

'Rights you can name, but that of Conqueſt; and Mr. *Sollicitor* has ſufficiently 'expreſs'd my own Thoughts concerning the Nature of Kingſhip in general, 'and concerning the Nature of it, *ut in mea Perſona:* And I believe you were 'all of his Opinion; at leaſt none of you ſaid ought contrary to it, at the Time 'he ſpake to you from me: But you know all of you, as I think, that my Rea-'ſon of calling you together, was to give your Judgments how far a Chriſtian 'and a Proteſtant King may concur to aſſiſt his Neighbours to ſhake off their 'Obedience to their once Sovereign, upon the Account of Oppreſſion, Tyranny, 'or what elſe you like to name it. In the late Queen's Time this Kingdom was 'very free in aſſiſting the *Hollanders* both with Arms and Advice, and none of 'your Coat ever told me, that any ſcrupled about it in her Reign. Upon my 'coming to *England*, you may know that it came from ſome of yourſelves to 'raiſe Scruples about this Matter: And albeit I have told my Mind con-'cerning *Jus Regium in Subditos*, in *May* laſt, in the *Star-Chamber*, upon the 'Occaſion of *Hales*'s Pamphlet; yet I never took Notice of theſe Scruples till 'the Affairs of *Spain* and *Holland* forced me to it. All my Neighbours call on 'me to concur in the Treaty between *Holland* and *Spain*; and the Honour of 'the Nation will not ſuffer the *Hollanders* to be abandon'd, eſpecially after ſo 'much Money and Men ſpent in their Quarrel: Therefore I was of the Mind 'to call my Clergy together, to ſatisfy not ſo much me, as the World about us, 'of the Juſtneſs of my owning the *Hollanders* at this Time: This I needed not 'have done; and you have forced me to ſay, I wiſh I had not. You have 'dipped too deep in what all Kings reſerve among the *Arcana Imperii*, and 'whatever Averſion you may profeſs againſt God's being the Author of Sin, 'you have ſtumbled upon the Threſhold of that Opinion, in ſaying upon the 'Matter, that even Tyranny is God's Authority, and ſhould be reverenced as 'ſuch. If the King of *Spain* ſhould return to claim his old Pontifical Right to my 'Kingdom, you leave me to ſeek for others to fight for it: For you tell us up-'on the Matter before-hand, his Authority is God's Authority if he prevail.

'Mr. Doctor, I have no Time to expreſs myſelf farther in this Thorny Buſi-'neſs. I ſhall give you my Orders about it by Mr. *Sollicitor*; and until then 'meddle no more in it, for they are Edge Tools, or rather like that Weapon, 'that is ſaid to cut with the one Edge, and cure with the other. I commit you 'to God's Protection, good Doctor *Abbot*, and reſt

Your Good Friend,

JAMES *R.*

That * Hiſtorian, who is now by our Clergy almoſt reckon'd *Canonical*, gives the following Character of Archbiſhop *Abbot*, who though he made ſuch a Stir and Buſtle, was as unfitly qualified for what he undertook as it was poſſible for any Perſon to be: And as the Hiſtorian very juſtly obſerves, 'He had ſat too 'many Years in the See of *Canterbury*, and had too great a Juriſdiction over 'the

* *Lord* Clarendon's *Hiſtory*, 8vo. Vol. I. Part I. Page 88.

'the Church, though he was without any Credit in the Court from the 'Death of King *James*, and had not much in many Years before. 'He had 'been Head or Maſter of one of the pooreſt Colleges in *Oxford*, and had Learn- 'ing ſufficient for that Province. He was a Man of very moroſe Manners, and 'a very ſour Aſpect, which in that Time was call'd Gravity; and under the 'Opinion of that Virtue, and by the Recommendation of the Earl of *Dunbar*, 'the King's firſt *Scotch* Favourite, he was prefer'd by King *James* to the 'Biſhoprick of *Coventry* and *Litchfield*, and preſently after to *London* (and from 'thence to *Canterbury*) before he had been Parſon, Vicar, or Curate of any 'Pariſh Church in *England*, or Dean, or Prebend of any Cathedral Church; and 'was in Truth totally ignorant of the true Conſtitution of the Church of '*England*, and the State and Intereſt of the Clergy; as ſufficiently appear'd 'throughout the whole Courſe of his Life.'

Such were the Qualifications of this *Ignoramus* Biſhop, who was yet thought a vere proper *Tool of a Party*, that through the Neceſſities of impair'd Fortunes had given Demonſtrations ſufficient of their Endowments being upon an Equality with the *Archbiſhop*'s, and from the Acquirements of Noiſe and Nonſenſe, join'd to a ſordid Self-Intereſt (though with the old Text ready in their Mouths of *Liberty, Property, and the Welfare of the Nation lying next their Heart*) theſe new Governors muſt break through all, to get into the State-Saddle, in which how long they would ſit, any Man of a reaſonable Capacity might prognoſticate from their aukward mounting; and indeed to ſuch ſurpriſing Turns may very well be applied that judicious Invocation of the *Poet*,

Proteſt us mighty Providence,
What would theſe Madmen have?
Firſt they would bribe us without Pence,
Deceive us without common Senſe,
And without Power inſlave.

Let us now ſurvey the Management of Archbiſhop *Laud*, his Succeſſor.

King *Charles* I. came to the Crown under infinite Diſadvantages; and yet the Nation might have hoped that their Condition would be mended under a Prince of ſo much Virtue, as indeed he was, if the Seeds of Diſcontent, which were ſown in his Father's Time, had not every Day taken deeper Root, and acquired new Growth, through the ill Management of his Miniſters, rather than any wilful Errors of his own.

Some of them drove ſo faſt, that it was no Wonder the Wheels and Chariot broke: And it was in great Part to the indiſcreet Zeal of Biſhop *Laud*, who had got the Aſcendant over his Maſter's Conſcience and Councils, that both the *Monarchy* and *Hierarchy* owed afterwards their Fall.

To trace this Matter a little higher; there aroſe in the preceding Reing two oppoſite Parties in the Church, which became now more than ever exaſperated againſt each other; the one headed by *Abbot*, the other by *Laud*; *Abbot* was a Perſon of too eaſy a Temper, being not well turned for a Court, and either could not, or would not ſtoop to the Humour of Times: And now and then by an unſeaſonable

ſeaſonable Stiffneſs, gave Occaſion to his Enemies to repreſent him as not well inclined to the Prerogative, or too much addicted to a *Popular Intereſt*, and therefore not fit to be employed in Matters of Government.

On the other Hand, as Biſhop *Laud* was a Man ſo much ſuperior in Learning that they are not to be named together, ſo much greater was his Ambition and natural Parts, for he nicely underſtood the Art of pleaſing a Court; and finding no ſurer Way to raiſe himſelf to the firſt Dignities of the Church, than by acting a quite contrary Part to that of Biſhop *Abbot*, he gave into every Thing that ſeemed to favour the *Prerogative* of the Crown, or enforce an *Abſolute Obedience* upon the Subject.

The King's urgent Neceſſities, and the Backwardneſs to ſupply them, had forced him upon unwarrantable Methods of raiſing Money; and the Readineſs the *Roman Catholicks* expreſſed to aſſiſt him in his Wants, did beget in him at firſt a Tenderneſs towards, and afterwards a Truſt and Confidence in them; which was unhappily miſtaken by his other Subjects, as if he inclined to their Religion.

Among other Means of raiſing Money, that of *Loan* was fallen upon; which met with great Difficulties, and was generally taken to be illegal. One *Sibthorp*, an obſcure Parſon, in a Sermon preached at *Northampton* Aſſizes, was for making his Court by aſſerting not only the Lawfulneſs of this Way of Impoſing Money by *Loan*, but that it was the indiſpenſible Duty of the Subject to comply with it. At the ſame Time Dr. *Manwaring* preached two Sermons before the King at *Whitehall*, in which he advanced theſe Doctrines, I. 'That the King 'is not bound to obſerve the Laws of the Realm, concerning the Subjects 'Rights and Liberties; but that his Royal Word and Command, in Impoſing 'Laws and Taxes without Conſent of Parliament, does oblige the Subjects 'Conſcience upon Pain of Eternal Damnation. II. That thoſe who refuſed 'to pay this Loan did offend againſt the Law of God, and became guilty of 'Impiety, Diſloyalty and Rebellion, and that the Authority of Parliament is 'not neceſſary for raiſing of Aids and Subſidies.

Abbot indeed was averſe to theſe Doctrines; and for an Advantage againſt him, *Sibthorp*'s Sermon, dedicated to the King, was ſent him by his Majeſty's Order to licenſe, which he refuſed, and ſent back his Reaſons; which *Laud* anſwered, and licenſed both *Sibthorp*'s and *Manwaring*'s Sermons. Upon this, *Abbot* was confined and ſuſpended from his Function; the Adminiſtration of which was committed to *Laud*, and ſome others of his Recommendation. Some Time after *Abbot* dying in Diſgrace, *Laud* ſucceeded him in the See of *Canterbury*, while in the mean Time Things went on from bad to worſe, and haſtened to a *Criſis*.

The two firſt Parliaments King *Charles* had called, preſſing him hard for Redreſs of *Grievances*, and puſhing on the Reſentments begun in the preceding Reign; he was prevailed with not only to diſſolve them, but to leave the Nation without Parliaments for twelve Years together; and this contrary to the Advice of his beſt Friends and Counſellors, who foreſaw the ill Conſequences that might follow if an unluckly Juncture of Affairs ſhould neceſſitate him to call one: Which ſoon fell out in the worſt Manner that could be, *viz.*

The *Scots* had long been four'd by the Incroachments they complain'd Men made upon their Rights and Liberties, particularly as to the Matter of *Church-Government*. *Laud*'s Zeal for a Liturgical Uniformity between the two Nations proved the fatal Torch that inflamed both Kingdoms: Being the ſooner kindled, becauſe there had been ſo much Fuel laid up for many Years, that the leaſt Spark was ſufficient to fire the Pile.

Anno 1637, the *Scots* had not only in a tumultuous Manner refuſed the *Liturgy* compoſed and ſent them by *Laud*, but aſſumed afterwards to themſelves the Liberty and Power of holding a *General Aſſembly* of their Church, and therein to aboliſh *Epiſcopacy*, and commit ſeveral other Things judged to be inconſiſtent with the Duty of Subjects: Upon which they were declared *Rebels*; and the King thought his Honour concerned in reducing them to Obedience by the Sword.

Inſtead of venturing to call a Parliament, to enable him to proſecute this Deſign, he was neceſſitated to level Money another Way. Great Sums were raiſed by *Loan* and *Benevolence*, to which the *Roman Catholicks* and the *Laudean* Faction contributed moſt. Thus ſupplied, the King marched to the *North* with a gallant Army; and the *Scots* came as far as the Borders in a Poſture of Defence, and to prevent the Extremity of what might happen, they preſented his Majeſty with their humble *Supplication and Remonſtrance*, ſetting forth their 'inviolable Fidelity to the Crown; and that they deſired nothing more, but the peaceable Enjoyment of their Religion and Liberties; and that all Things might be ſettled by a free Parliament, and general Aſſembly.' At length, through the Interceſſion of the moderate Party about the King, and ſome of the higheſt Rank in both Kingdoms, his Majeſty was pleaſed to comply with the Deſires of the *Scots*, by a ſolemn *Pacification*, ſign'd in View of both Armies near *Berwick*, in *June* 1638.

This Treaty was but ſhort-lived, and ill-obſerved on either Side. The ſame Men that counſel'd the King to the firſt, puſh'd him on to a ſecond *War* againſt the *Scots*. Parliaments had now been for ſome Years diſcontinued, and there appear'd no great Inclination in the King to call any more, if this Emergency had not fallen out: But his preſſing Neceſſities, and this new War, obliged him once more to try the Affections of his People in a Parliamentary Way.

Accordingly a Parliament met in *April* 1640, at the Opening of which the King acquainted them with the Affronts he had received from the *Scots*, and demanded a Supply to reduce them to their Duty by Force of Arms. Both Houſes ſhew'd a Willingneſs to relieve the King's Wants, and offer'd him a conſiderable Supply; but with this Condition, *That their Grievances might be firſt redreſs'd*, which were mightily increaſed ſince the laſt Diſſolution: Not only ſo, but the *Scots* had Friends enough in the Parliament to hinder any great Matter that ſhould be concealed againſt them; and the Majority both of Lords and Commons were but little inclined to a War of *Laud*'s Kindling.

The King, thus diſappointed, diſſolved this Parliament within the Month of their ſitting; and made what Shifts he could to raiſe a new Army againſt the *Scots*: And they being reſolved not to be behind in their Preparations, enter'd *Eng-*

land with a numerous Army, compoſed for the moſt Part of *Veteran* Officers and Troops, that had ſerved in *Germany*, under *Guſtavus Adolphus*, and taking *Berwick* and *Newcaſtle* puſhed their Way as far as *Durham*.

The King came in Perſon to *York*, and found himſelf inviron'd with perplexing Difficulties on all Hands; the Nobility and Gentry that attended him expreſs'd on all Occaſions their Diſlike of the Cauſe, and the War they were engaged in: The *Scots* ſtood firm to their Ground, being fluſh'd with Succeſs; and the King was follow'd from the South with Petitions from *London*, ſeveral Counties, and a conſiderable Number of Lords, deſiring him to 'call a new Par-'liament, as the only effectual Means to quiet the Minds of the People, and com-'poſe the preſent War without Bloodſhed.

The King, to extricate himſelf out of this Labyrinth, ſummon'd the *Great Council of Peers* to meet at *York*, and concert proper Meaſures for this Juncture: They unanimouſly adviſed him to enter into a Treaty with the *Scots* at *Rippon*, and ſummons a Parliament to meet at *Weſtminſter*; with both which Advices the King complied, and immediately iſſued out Writs for the Meeting of a Parliament in *November* 1640, and adjourn'd the *Scots* Treaty to *London*.

No Age ever produced greater Men than the Members of this Parliament: They had Abilities and Inclinations ſufficient to have render'd both the King and Nation happy, if *England* had not been through a Chain of concurring Accidents ripen'd for Deſtruction. At their firſt Meeting a Scene of *Grievances*, under which the Nation had long groan'd, was laid open, and all Topicks made uſe of to diſplay them in the livelieſt Colours. The many Cruelties and illegal Practices of the *Star-Chamber*, and *High Commiſſion Court*, that had alienated People's Minds from the *Hierarchy*, were now inſiſted on to throw down thoſe two *Arbitrary Tribunals*, and with them, in ſome Time after, the Biſhops out of the Houſe of Peers, and *Epiſcopacy* itſelf out of the Church. It was not a few of either Houſe, but indeed all the great Patriots, that concurr'd at firſt to make Inquiry into the *Grievances* of this Reign: Sir *Edward Hide*, afterwards Earl of *Clarendon*; the Lord *Digby*; the Lord *Falkland*; the Lord *Capel*; Mr. *Grimſtone*, who was choſen afterwards Speaker of the Houſe of Commons that brought in King *Charles* II. and was Maſter of the Rolls; Mr. *Holles*, ſince Lord *Holles*; all which ſuffer'd afterwards on the King's Side; and in general, moſt of thoſe that took the King's Part in the ſucceeding War were the Men that appear'd with the greateſt Zeal for the Redreſs of Grievances, and made the ſharpeſt Speeches upon theſe Subjects. The Intentions of the Gentlemen were certainly noble and juſt, and tended to the equal Advantage of King and People: But the Fate of *England* urged on its own Ruin Step by Step, till an open Rupture between the King and Parliament made the Gap too wide ever to be cloſed again. Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, Earl of *Strafford*, and Archbiſhop *Laud*, had too great a Share in the Miniſtry, to eſcape being cenſured; and they were the firſt that felt the Effects of a Popular Hatred. They, with Duke *Hamilton*, firſt adviſed the King to call this Parliament; and all three fell by it, tho' not at the ſame Time.

As a farther Specimen of *Laud*'s turbulent and inconſiderate Raſhneſs in ſacrificing a whole Nation to his boundleſs Ambition, it will not be amiſs to inſert his Advice to the King, when in Conference with the Earl of *Strafford* and the Lord *Cottington*.

'* Mr. Secretary *Vane*'s Notes about the Earl of *Strafford*'s Advice to King 'Charles, to bring over an Army from *Ireland*, to ſubdue *England*.

The Title of them was,

No Danger of War with Scotland,
If Offenſive, not Defenſive.

King. How can we undertake offenſive War, if we have no more Money?

Strafford. Borrow of the City a Hundred Thouſand Pounds: Go on vigorouſly to levy Ship-Money. Your Majeſty having tried the Affection of your People, you are abſolved and looſe from all Manner of Government, and to do what Power will admit. Your Majeſty having tried all Ways, and being refuſed, ſhall be acquitted before God and Man. And you have an Army in *Ireland* that you may employ to reduce this Kingdom to Obedience; for I am confident the *Scots* cannot hold out five Months.

Laud. You have tried all Ways, and have always been denied: It is now lawful to take it by Force.

Cottington. Levies abroad there may be made for Defence of the Kingdom: The lower Houſe are weary of the King and Church. All Ways ſhall be juſt to raiſe Money by, in this inevitable Neceſſity, and are to be uſed, being lawful.

Laud. For an Offenſive, not a Defenſive War.

Strafford. The Town is full of Lords. Put the Commiſſion of Array on Foot; and if any of them ſtir, we will make them ſmart.

To ſuch Counſellors this unhappy Prince owed all his Misfortunes! I ſhall conclude this Head with obſerving, that as Archbiſhop *Laud* was nothing inferior to the Earl of *Strafford* in Parts, and much his ſuperior in Learning; ſo it is as hard to determine which of the two made a nobler Defence at their Trial. *Laud*'s Fate has been the ſame with that of moſt great Men, to be repreſented to Poſterity in *Extremes*; for we have nothing writ of him, but what is either *Panegyric* or *Satire*, rather than Hiſtory.

That he was brought to his Trial, and found guilty, during the Heat of a Civil War, and when all Things were tending to Confuſion, was nothing ſtrange: Nor was Serjeant *Wild*'s Introduction at the Opening of his Charge any Thing but what might have been expected at ſuch a Time, when he told the Lords, That *it might be ſaid of the Great Cauſe* of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, as it was in a like Caſe, *Repertum eſt hodierno die facinus, quod nec Poeta fingere, nec Hiſtrio fonare, nec minus imitari potuerit*; but it was indeed ſtrange, and none of the leaſt of this great Man's Misfortunes, that three Years before he ſhould be declared by the Houſe of Commons a Traytor *nemine contradicente*, at a Time when there was not the leaſt Miſunderſtanding between the King and Parliament, being within the firſt Month after they ſat down: and which was yet ſtranger, that no body was more ſevere upon him, than ſome of thoſe that afterwards took the King's Part againſt the Parliament, and were at laſt the chief Inſtruments of his Son's

* Whitlock's *Memorials*, Vol. II. p. 41.

Son's *Reſtauration.* Whoever reads Sir *Harbottle Grimſtone*'s Speech upon voting his Impeachment, or *Pym*'s upon carrying it up to the Lords, will be apt to think, that ſcarce any Age has produced a Man whoſe Actions and Conduct have been more obnoxious to Obloquy, or given greater Occaſion for it.

There was one Thread that run through his whole Accuſation, and upon which moſt of the Articles of his Impeachment turn'd; and that was, his Inclination to Popery, and Deſign to introduce that Religion: Of which his immortal *Book* againſt *Fiſher* the Jeſuit ſufficiently acquits him. And yet not Proteſtants only, but even *Roman Catholicks* themſelves were led into this Miſtake; otherwiſe they would not have dared to offer one in his Poſt a *Cardinal's Cap*, as * he confeſſes they did twice. The introducing a great many pompous *Ceremonies* into the Church, the *licenſing* ſome Books that ſpoke favourably of the Church of *Rome*, and refuſing to *licenſe* ſome others wrote againſt it, were the principal Cauſes of his being thus miſrepreſented: And indeed his Behaviour in theſe Matters, as likewiſe in the *Star-Chamber* and *High Commiſſion Court*, can hardly be accounted for; and particularly his *Theatrical* Manner of conſecrating *Katherine Creed* Church. I ſhall cloſe all, agreeing with the † *Hiſtorian*, that notwithſtanding all theſe Faults, and in Spite of Malice, 'He was a 'Man of great Parts, and very exemplary Virtues, allay'd and diſcredited by 'ſome unpopular natural Infirmities; the greateſt of which was (beſides a 'haſty, ſharp Way of expreſſing himſelf) that he believed Innocence of Heart 'and Integrity of Manners, was a Guard ſtrong enough to ſecure any Man in his 'Voyage through this World, in what Company ſoever he travel'd, and thro' 'what Ways ſoever he was to paſs: And ſure never any Man was better ſup-'plied with that Proviſion. He was always maligned and perſecuted by thoſe 'who were of the *Calvinian* Faction, and who, according to their uſual Maxim 'and Practice, call every Man they do not love *Papiſt*; and, under this ſenſeleſs 'Appellation, they created many Troubles and Vexations. He was certainly at 'Heart paſſionately concern'd for the Church: He had uſually about him an 'uncourtly Quickneſs, if not Sharpneſs, and did not ſufficiently value what Men 'ſaid or thought of him; by which Means a more than ordinary Prejudice and 'Uncharitableneſs was always contracted againſt him.'

Thus, Sir, have I laid before you three conſiderable Inſtances of the Clergy's being the original Cauſe of the Diſturbances in this Nation, and I hope I ſhall eſcape free from the Imputation of Partiality, ſince I have been equally juſt to their Virtues and their Vices.

Without any Reflection, let any Man but ſoberly conſider the Behaviour of *Thomas a Becket* to King *Henry*, and though there was *Faults on both Sides*, yet I am certain *Becket*'s unparallel'd Inſolence will meet with no one's Approbation.

And as to Archbiſhop *Laud*, I dare appeal to the moſt ſtrenuous of his Defenders, that I have done him ſtrict Juſtice. I muſt own, that I think we may properly compare the Uſe of the Clergy to the Elements of *Fire* and *Water*, viz. *That they are good Servants, but bad Maſters*; and the Precedents of theſe two Gentlemen are not very tempting for Futurity to proceed upon, ſince both of them ſacrificed their Lives to the Caprice of their Ambition.

I

* Vide Biſhop *Laud*'s Diary. † *Clarendon*'s Hiſt. vol. I. p. 90, *&c.*

I ſhall now examine the Conduct of that factious Crew of *Wolves* in *Sheeps Cloathing*, who under a Pretence of *Religion* deſtroy'd that very Authority by which it was ſupported; and, under Diſguiſe, thought they might eſcape the Cenſure of being reckon'd Enemies to the Church by ſiding with Biſhop *Abbot*, whoſe Misfortunes were drawn upon him, by not diſcerning their Hypocriſy; and in King *Charles* the Firſt's Time, notwithſtanding their continual Clamour and Outcry for the Preſervation of their *Religion*, and ſerving of the *Lord*, they had no other Deſigns in View but to uſurp themſelves into an Eſtabliſhment; and to whom may be juſtly applied that Remark of the judicious Mr. *Bayle*, 'Theſe Men deſired at firſt a mere *Toleration*, but in a little Time they 'pretended to ſhare with us all Employments and Places of Truſt; at firſt they 'thought themſelves very happy in the peaceable Enjoyment of their Lives and 'Fortunes; afterwards, when they had got to ſome Head, they were very un-'happy if they had fewer Privileges than the eſtabliſh'd Church; and then 'again miſerable, if they were not the prevailing Party. During a certain Time 'they were like *Cæſar*, who would have no Maſter; and at laſt they copied '*Pompey*'s Example, who would have no Partner.' To which Degree they did at length arrive, and how they behaved themſelves under their ſhort-lived and tyrannical Uſurpation, ſhall be my next Buſineſs to examine.

As a Specimen of their Chriſtian *Moderation* and *Temper*, I ſhall firſt produce a ſevere Edict againſt Toleration, and without any other Reflection leave them to chew upon the Cud of their own Underſtanding, and ſoberly to weigh and determine if they can think themſelves now miſuſed, ſince I here make their own Actions both Judge and Jury in the Caſe.

A LETTER of the Miniſters of the City of LONDON, preſented the Firſt of JANUARY, 1645, to the Reverend Aſſembly of Divines ſitting at WESTMINSTER, by Authority of Parliament, againſt TOLERATION.

To our Reverend, Learned, and Religious Brethren, the Prolocutor, and the reſt of the Divines aſſembled, now ſitting at Weſtminſter, *by Authority of Parliament, theſe preſent.*

Reverend and Beloved Brethren,

WE are exceeding apprehenſive of the Deſireableneſs of the Church's Peace, and of the Pleaſantneſs of Brethrens Unity, knowing that when Peace is ſet upon its proper Baſis, *viz.* Righteouſneſs and Truth, it is one of the beſt Poſſeſſions, both delectable and profitable; like *Aaron*'s Ointment, and the Dew of *Hermon*. It is true, by reaſon of different Lights, and different Sights among Brethren, there may be diſſenting in Opinion; yet, why ſhould there be any ſeparating from Church Communion? The

The Church's Coat may be of divers Colours; yet, why ſhould there be any Rent in it? Have we not a Touchſtone of Truth, the good Word of God? And when all Things are examined by this Word, then that which is beſt may be held faſt; but firſt, they muſt be known, and then examined afterwards. If our diſſenting Brethren, after ſo many importunate Intreaties, would have been perſuaded (either in Zeal to the Truth, or in ſincere Love to the Church's Peace and Unity among Brethren, or in Reſpect to their own Reputation, by fair and ingenuous Dealing, or in Conſcience to their Promiſe made to the *Miniſters* of *London*, now five Years ſince, or any ſuch-like reaſonable Conſideration) at laſt, to have given us a full Narrative of their Opinions, and Grounds of their Separation; we are perſuaded, they would not have ſtood at ſuch a Diſtance from us, as they now do: But they choſe rather to walk by their own private Lights, than to unboſom themſelves to us, their moſt affectionate Brethren, and to ſet themſelves in an untrodden Way of their own, rather than to wait what our covenanted Reformation, according to the Word of God, and Examples of the beſt reform'd Churches, would bring forth. But the Offence doth not end here; it is much that our Brethren ſhould ſeparate from the Church, but that they ſhould endeavour to get a Warrant to authorize their *Separation* from it, and to have Liberty (by drawing Members out of it) to weaken and diminiſh it, till (ſo far as lies in them) they have brought it to nothing, this we think to be plainly unlawful; yet this, we underſtand, is their preſent Deſign and Endeavour. Wherefore *(Reverend Brethren)* having had ſuch large Experience of your Zeal of God's Glory, your Care of his afflicted Church, your earneſt Endeavours to promote the compleat Reformation of it, and of your ready Concurrence with us in the Improvement of any Means that might be found conducible to this End; we are bold to hint unto you theſe our enſuing Reaſons, againſt the *Toleration* of Independency in this Church.

I. The Deſires and Endeavours of a *Toleration* for *Independency* are, at this Time, extremely unſeaſonable and prepoſterous; for,

1. The Reformation of Religion is not yet perfected and ſettled among us, according to our Covenant. And why may not the Reformation be raiſed up, at laſt, to ſuch Purity and Perfection, that *truly tender Conſciences* may receive abundant Satisfaction, for aught that yet appears?

2. It is not yet known, what the Government of the *Independents* is, neither would they ever yet vouchſafe to let the World know what they hold in that Point, though ſome of their Party have been too forward to challenge the *London* Petitioners, as *led with blind Obedience, and pinning their Souls upon the Prieſt's Sleeve*, for deſiring an Eſtabliſhment of the Government of Chriſt, before there was any Model of it extant.

3. We can hardly be perſuaded, that the *Independents* themſelves (after all the Stirs they have made amongſt us) are, as yet, fully reſolved about their own Way, wherewith they would be concluded, ſeeing they publiſh not their Model, (though they are nimble enough in publiſhing other Things) and profeſs Reſerves, and new Lights, for which they will (no Doubt) expect the like *Toleration*,

ration, and ſo *in infinitum*. It were more ſeaſonable to move for *Toleration*, when once they are poſitively determined how far they mean to go, and where they mean to ſtay.

II. Their Deſires and Endeavours are unreaſonable and unequal, in divers Regards.

1. Partly, becauſe no ſuch *Toleration* hath hitherto been eſtabliſh'd (as far as we know) in any Chriſtian State, by the Civil Magiſtrate.

2. Partly, becauſe ſome of them have ſolemnly profeſs'd, that they cannot ſuffer *Preſbytery:* And anſwerable hereunto is their Practice, in thoſe Places where *Independency* prevails.

3. And, partly, becauſe to grant to them, and not to other *Sectaries*, who are free-born as well as they, and have done as good Service as they, to the Publick (as they uſed to plead) will be counted Injuſtice and great Partiality; but to grant it unto all will ſcarce be clear'd from great Impiety.

III. *Independency* is a *Schiſm*; for,

1. *Independents* do depart from our Churches, being true Churches, and ſo acknowledged by themſelves.

2. They draw and ſeduce our Members from our Congregations.

3. They erect ſeparate Congregations, under a ſeparate and undiſcover'd Government.

4. They refuſe Communion with our Churches, in the Sacraments.

5. Their Miniſters refuſe to preach among us as Officers.

6. Their Members, if at any Time they join with us, in hearing the Word and Prayer, yet they do it not as with the miniſterial Word and Prayer, nor as Acts of Church Communion.

Now we judge that no *Schiſm* is to be tolerated in the Church; * σχίσματα, 1 *Cor.* i. 10. 1 *Cor.* xii. 25. † διχοστασίας, *Rom.* vi. 17. with 1 *Cor.* iii. 3. *Gal.* v. 20.

IV. Many Miſchiefs will inevitably follow upon this *Toleration*, and that both to Church and Commonwealth.

Firſt, To the Church; as,

1. Cauſeleſs and unjuſt Revolts from our Miniſtry and Congregations.

2. Our People's Minds will be troubled, and in Danger to be ſubverted, as *Acts* xv. 24.

3. Bitter Heart-burnings among Brethren will be fomented and perpetuated to Poſterity.

4. The godly, painful and orthodox Miniſtry, will be diſcouraged and deſpiſed.

5. The

* Schiſm. † Diviſions.

5. The Life and Power of Godlineſs will be eaten out by frivolous Diſputes and vain Janglings.

6. The whole Courſe of Religion, in private Families, will be interrupted and undermined.

7. Reciprocal Duties, between Perſons of neareſt and deareſt Relations, will be extremely violated.

8. The whole Work of Reformation, eſpecially in Diſcipline and Government, will be retarded, diſturbed, and in Danger of being made utterly fruſtrate and void, whilſt every Perſon ſhall have Liberty, upon every trivial Diſcontent at *Preſbyterial* Government and Churches, to revolt from us, and liſt themſelves in ſeparated Congregations.

9. All other *Sects* and *Hereſies* in the Kingdom will be encouraged to endeavour the like *Toleration.*

10. All other *Sects* and *Hereſies* in the Kingdom will ſafe-guard and ſhelter themſelves under the Wings of *Independency*; and ſome of the *Independents*, in their Books, have openly avow'd, that they plead for *Liberty of Conſcience* as well for others as themſelves.

11. And the whole Church of *England*, in ſhort time, will be ſwallow'd up with Diſtraction and Confuſion: And, *God is not the Author of Confuſion, but of Peace*, 1 Cor. xiv. 33.

Secondly, To the Commonwealth. For,

1. All theſe Miſchiefs in the Church will have their proportionable Influence upon the Commonwealth.

2. The Kingdom will be woefully weaken'd by Scandals and Diviſions; ſo that the Enemies of it, both domeſtical and foreign, will be encouraged to plot and practiſe againſt it.

3. It is much to be doubted, leſt the Power of the Magiſtrate ſhould not only be weaken'd, but even utterly overthrown, conſidering the Principles and Practices of *Independents*, together with their Compliance with other *Sectaries*, ſufficiently known to be Anti-Magiſtratical.

V. Such a *Toleration* is utterly repugnant and inconſiſtent with that *Solemn League and Covenant*, for Reformation, and Defence of Religion, which not only both Houſes of Parliament, but alſo Perſons of all Sorts in both Kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*, have ſubſcribed, and with Hands lifted up to the moſt high God, have ſworn: Which Covenant, likewiſe, both you and we, and thoſe that moſt earneſtly purſue the Eſtabliſhment of this *Toleration*, have made (or ſhould have made) *in Preſence of Almighty God, the Searcher of all Hearts, with a true Intention to perform the ſame, as we ſhall anſwer at that great Day, when the Secrets of all Hearts ſhall be diſcloſed.* For,

1. This is oppoſite to the Reformation of Religion, according to the Word of God, and the Example of the beſt reform'd Churches, *Article* 1.

2. It is deſtructive to the three Kingdoms neareſt Conjunction, and Uniformity in Religion and Government, which might lead us and our Poſterity after us, as Brethren, to live in Faith and Love, *Art.* 1.

3. It is plainly contrary to that Extirpation of *Schiſm, and whatſoevr ſhall be found contrary to ſound Doctrine, and the Power of Godlineſs*, which we have ſworn *ſincerely, really, and conſtantly to endeavour, without Reſpect of Perſons*, Art. 2.

4. Hereby we ſhall be involved in the Guilt of other Men's Sins, and thereby be endanger'd to receive of their Plagues, *Art.* 2.

5. It ſeems utterly impoſſible (if ſuch *Toleration* ſhould be granted) that *the Lord ſhould be one, and his Name one, in the three Kingdoms*, Art. 2.

6. This will palpably *hinder the Reformation of Religion*; inevitably *divide one Kingdom from another*; *and* unhappily *make Factions and Parties among the People, contrary to this League and Covenant:* Of which evil Offices, whoſoever ſhall be found guilty, are reputed, in the Words of the Covenant, *Incendiaries, Malignants, or evil Inſtruments, to be diſcover'd, that they may be brought to publick Trial, and receive condign Puniſhment*, Art. 4. and 5.

Theſe are ſome of the many Conſiderations, which make deep Impreſſion upon our Spirits againſt that great *Diana* of *Independents*, and all the *Sectaries*, ſo much cry'd up by them, in theſe diſtracted Times; *viz. A Toleration, a Toleration. And, however, none ſhould have more rejoiced than ourſelves, in the Eſtabliſhment of a brotherly, peaceable, and Chriſtian Accommodation; yet, this being utterly rejected by them, we cannot diſſemble, how, upon the foremention'd Grounds, we deteſt and abhor the much endeavour'd Toleration.* Our Bowels, our Bowels are ſtir'd within us; and we could even drown ourſelves in Tears, when we call to mind, how long and ſharp a Travel this Kingdom hath been in, for many Years together, to bring forth that bleſſed Fruit of a pure and perfect Reformation: And now, at laſt, after all our Pangs, Dolours, and Expectations, this real and thorough Reformation is in Danger of being ſtrangled in the Birth, by a lawleſs *Toleration*, that ſtrives to be brought forth before it.

Wherefore *(Reverend and Beloved Brethren)* we could not ſatisfy ourſelves, till we had made ſome Diſcovery of our Thoughts unto you about this Matter; not that we can harbour the leaſt Jealouſy of your Zeal, Fidelity or Induſtry, in the oppoſing and extirpating of ſuch a Root of Gall and Bitterneſs, as *Toleration* is, and will be, both in preſent and future Ages; but that we may, what lies in us, endeavour mutually to ſtrengthen one another's Reſolutions againſt the preſent growing Evils; and that our Conſciences may not ſmite us another Day for ſinful Silence, or ſluggiſh Deficiency in any Point of Duty tending to the Glory of Chriſt, Honour of the Truth, Peace of the Church, Perfection of Reformation, Performance of our Covenant, and Benefit of preſent and ſucceeding Generations.

Subſcribed by us,

From *Sion-College, London, Dec.* 18, 1645.

Your affectionate Brethren, and Fellow-Labourers in the Work of the Miniſtry, to whom Truth and Peace is very precious.

The foregoing *Manifeſto*, Sir, is a ſufficient Demonſtration of the Behaviour of thoſe *Sectaries*, who ever, when in Power, put in Practice the very Reverſe of

of what they before inculcated: And notwithſtanding all their ſpecious Pretences are no other than as the *Vipers* in our Conſtitution; for which Reaſon no Eye can be too watchful, or Law too ſtrict, that ſhall be made againſt them, ſince it is much ſafer Dealing with an open Enemy than a Hypocrite. Thoſe few among them, whoſe Conſciences are *truly ſcrupulous*, ought in all Reaſon to enjoy the Benefit of her Majeſty's moſt gracious *Indulgence*, but for the *Body* of them, the *Church of* England ſhould guide themſelves by this unerring Maxim, *That in having once treacherouſly undermined and ſubverted the eſtabliſh'd Government of this Kingdom*, the Blame juſtly lies againſt them; but if we permit them to play the ſame Game over again, *the Sin is moſt certainly at our own Door:* And if it ſhall be thought proper in this Seſſion to deprive them of what they always had Recourſe to, ſome Years paſt, as an Aſylum for whatever Villainies they have tranſacted (by reviving the *Occaſional Bill)* no Arguments can be more fitly made Uſe of than the foregoing ones, brought by themſelves againſt the *Independents*.

Thus does it plainly appear how prejudicial to the Nation, as well as fatal to themſelves, it has ever been, when the Clergy have pretended to interfere in the *Political Adminiſtration*, that being a Province into which they have not the leaſt Buſineſs to inquire; and nothing would be more highly reſented by them, than if the *Parliament* ſhould undertake the Management and Regulation of their *Eccleſiaſtical Canons* and *Conſtitutions*; but at the ſame Time nothing is more reaſonable than this would be, for if they will not keep within their own *Sphere*, but be continually dictating to that *great Aſſembly* what Laws they ſhall make and what not, by the ſame Rule they ought from thence to be limited what Doctrines are moſt proper for them to preach.

As all Mankind muſt agree that Archbiſhop *Laud* was the greateſt Divine in the Age he lived, at the ſame Time they muſt acknowledge him the worſt Politician; which Error drew as many Inconveniencies upon the Church, as *Abbot*'s not being ſufficiently qualified for ſo great a Poſt as he fill'd; more eſpecially in ſucceeding a Perſon of Dr. *Bancroft*'s Abilities, and whoſe Death the * Hiſtorian declares could never be enough lamented. 'He underſtood the Church 'excellently, and had almoſt reſcued it out of the Hands of the *Calvinian* Par-'ty, and very much ſubdued the unruly Spirit of Nonconformiſts, countenanced 'Men of the greateſt Parts in Learning, and diſpoſed the *Clergy* to a more ſolid 'Courſe of Study, than they had been accuſtom'd to; and if he had lived, 'would have quickly extinguiſh'd all that Fire in *England* which had been 'kindled at *Geneva*; and that Infection would eaſily have been kept out, which 'could not afterwards be ſo eaſily expell'd.'

Such are the Men who will be had in everlaſting Remembrance, and whoſe Memories will ever ſmell ſweet in the Noſtrils of Poſterity. And as an equal Parallel to Archbiſhop *Bancroft*, I think I may ſafely name that perfect Model of Apoſtolical Piety, the late learned, and never to be enough lamented Biſhop *Beveridge*, who to thoſe Souls committed to his Charge was continually, with the moſt Brotherly Affection, preaching, rebuking, and exhorting them to attain

* *Clarendon*, vol. I. p. 88.

that *Crown of Glory laid up for the Righteous.* Herein conſiſts the true *Office* and *Authority* of the *Prieſthood*; and the following of his Example is what I moſt earneſtly recommend to the whole Body of our *Clergy*, and that laying aſide all other Diſputes than what affect the fundamental Principles and Doctrines of the *Chriſtian Religion*, they ſhould, in their paſtoral Care, be continually watching over, and directing their Flocks to *follow the Lamb whitherſoever he goeth.* Then with him ſhall they enter into the Joy of their Lord, be made Partakers of immortal Glory, and ſhine as Stars in the Firmament!

Theſe are the Patterns highly worthy of Imitation! who invite us to practiſe the great Duties of Brotherly Love and Charity, far ſuperior to the Treatment we now give one another, by ſtigmatizing ourſelves with Appellations equally as falſe as odious; and as my Lord *Clarendon* has very juſtly obſerved in Archbiſhop *Laud*'s Character, that the *Calvinian* Faction in his Time made uſe of that ſenſeleſs Appellation, of traducing every well-meaning Perſon with the Name of *Papiſt*, who expreſs'd a more than ordinary Zeal for the Church of *England*; ſo equally heinous is it on our Side, to aſperſe thoſe who are call'd *Low-Church-Men* as being directly in the *Preſbyterian* Intereſt, when nothing is more certain than that they have not only the leaſt Tendency to, but on the contrary have the juſteſt Abhorrence of any ſuch Principles.

'Tis now Time to haſten to a Concluſion, which I ſhall do after having made a ſhort Application to Dr. *Francis Atterbury*, who, I underſtand, is choſen *Prolocutor* of the Convocation. If that venerable Aſſembly meets, I hope they will anſwer the Ends of their Inſtitution, and do ſomething in reality for the Good of the Church, by not only diſcountenancing all irreligious Tenets, but puniſhing the Authors of them: Which will be much more commendable than their former Behaviour, in continually quarrelling one with another, the *Lower-Houſe* aſſerting their Power and Privilege againſt the *Upper*, and by continual Replies and Defences on *both Sides* ſpun out a long uſeleſs Controverſy, which, inſtead of being of the leaſt Service to Religion, was wholly deſtructive of it; of this the Dean of *Carliſle* knows himſelf to have been but too guilty. It would, Sir, be the greateſt Piece of Service you could do, to perſuade him to apply thoſe extraordinary Talents, with which he is endow'd, to more ſolid Studies than he has hitherto been accuſtom'd; and to convince him, that turning *Examiner*, and writing *Epigrams* upon *Flavia*'s Fan, do not at all ſuit with the Dignity of the *Sacerdotal Function.* As to the ungenteel Treatment Mr. *Hoadley* has lately met with from him, by Slander and Calumny under an *Anonymous* Covert, I ſhall not take the leaſt Notice, Mr. *Hoadley* being beſt able to defend himſelf; which indeed he has ſo well done, that I dare believe there never will be any Reply; but if there ſhould, Mr. *Dean* may depend upon having all his *Siftings*, Windings, and Evaſions, fully laid open and repreſented in their true Light.

To conclude, I will not enter into any Detail of the Doctrines of *Paſſive Obedience* and *Non-Reſiſtance.* I am ſorry to ſee our Diſputes run ſo high upon thoſe Points; it is moſt evident, that the Aſſertors of an *Unlimited Obedience* are always forced to give Ground; and that the Patrons of *Reſiſtance*, by inculcating their Doctrine with ſo great a Vehemency, do a real Miſchief to the Publick, by creating

creating Uneaſineſſes in the Minds of the People: For as a late * Author has judiciouſly remark'd, 'The Impreſſion of Self-Preſervation is ſo ſtrong upon Human Nature, as not only to ſupercede all other Proviſion, but to render it inſignificant: 'Tis no Caſe in the Conduct of Human Life, that can be improved by any Reaſoning, what a Man is to do when he is driven by a Sword to the Wall.'

Upon the whole, ſince Dr. *Sacheverell* and Mr. *Hoadley* are the Marks at which all our preſent Controverſies are level'd, I muſt freely declare my Sentiments, that I think the one has rail'd ſcurrilouſly, and the other writ judiciouſly in Defence of the Church of *England*.

I ſhall cloſe all with the excellent Judgment of the † Archbiſhop of *York* in theſe Matters (being entirely of his Opinion) which plainly demonſtrates that the Clergy ought not to concern themſelves with political Affairs. 'As the 'Laws of the Land are the Meaſures of our Active Obedience, ſo are alſo the 'ſame Laws the Meaſures of our Submiſſion; and as we are not bound to obey, 'but where the Laws and Conſtitution require our Obedience, ſo neither are we 'bound to ſubmit, but as the Laws and Conſtitution do require our Submiſſion. If 'a Preacher in the Pulpit ſhould preſume to give his Judgment about the Management of Publick Affairs, or to lay down Doctrines as from *Chriſt* about the Forms 'and Models of Kingdoms and Commonwealths, or to adjuſt the Limits of the 'Prerogative of the Prince, or of the Liberties of the Subject in our preſent Government: I ſay, if a Divine ſhould meddle with ſuch Matters as theſe in his 'Sermons, I do not know how he can be excuſed from the juſt Cenſure of meddling with Things that nothing concern him. This is indeed a practiſing in State 'Matters, and is uſurping an Office that belongs to another Profeſſion, and to 'Men of another Character; and I ſhould account it every whit as indecent in 'a Clergy-Man to take upon him to deal in theſe Points, as it would be for 'him to determine Titles of Land in the Pulpit, which are in Diſpute in *Weſtminſter-Hall*.'

Now, *SIR*, heartily wiſhing that what I have ſaid may have the deſired Effect for which it was ſincerely intended, by contributing in ſome Meaſure towards the Healing our preſent Animoſities, I ſubſcribe myſelf,

Your moſt Obedient,

Humble Servant, &c.

A

* The Vindication and Advancement of our National Conſtitution, *&c. p.* 19.
† *Vide* his 30th of *Jan.* Sermon before the Lords, *Anno* 1700. *p.* 20.

A VINDICATION of the *Faults on both Sides*, from the Reflections of the *Medley*, the *Specimen-Maker*, and a Pamphlet entitled *Moſt Faults on one Side*. With a DISSERTATION on the Nature and Uſe of Money and Paper-Credit in Trade, and the true Value of Joint-Stocks, maintaining the Aſſertions of the Author, in Relation to thoſe Matters. By the Author of the *Faults on both Sides*. 1710.

——Si quid noviſti rectius iſtis,
Candidus imperti, ſi non his utere mecum.

I Cannot but acknowledge my great Satisfaction, to obſerve that my Endeavours in the abovemention'd Eſſay have met with ſo general an Acceptance; and the more, ſince it may be diſcover'd from ſuch a Diſpoſition in the People to entertain a Diſcourſe of that Nature, with a more general Liking than the partial Writings of either Side, that there is not indeed ſo great a Bigotry and Adherence to the Factions among us, but that the great Diſturbances and Agitations which appear at this Time to be wrought up to a formidable Height through the Nation, will be appeaſed, and the Angry People on both Sides will return to their Duty, and acquieſce in the Wiſdom of their Superiors, when they ſhall ſee (what good Men confidently hope, whatever leſs confiding Men may fear) that thoſe great Men, to whom her Majeſty has committed the Conduct of her Affairs, will apply their utmoſt Care and Diligence to promote the publick Good in every Part of their Adminiſtration, and to carry ſo even an Hand between the oppoſite Parties, as not to gratify the Expectations of the Violent Men on one Side, nor to abridge the other of any Rights, Privileges, or Favours which they now enjoy: Nor is it a leſs happy Preſage, that ſo popular a Book has paſt hitherto without any Thing that bears the Appearance of a fair Anſwer to it, 'Tis true, indeed, that a Party-Paper call'd the *Medley* has been meddling with it, and another Gentleman has been pleaſed to employ himſelf to find Faults in the *Fault Finder*.

But the Firſt is, indeed, more a Medler than a Maker; he is not a fair Antagoniſt, he trafficks all in Quotations without Argument or Concluſion; one knows not what he would be at, the Spirit of his Paper is all *High Whig*, and yet when I ſay what is commendable of the *Whigs*, and cenſure the *Tories*, he ſtill cites both with an Air of Diſlike; he is a Dab at the Underſtanding of our Buſineſs and Credit, but I believe I ſhall ſhew that he knows nothing of the Matter, when

when I come to ſpeak of thoſe Things to more worthy Inquirers; he is admirable at his ſhort Turns of ſheer Wit, and has all Manner of Miſrepreſentation at Command; in ſhort, 'tis worth no ſerious Man's while to trace him in his Mazes; he abounds in Stories, and tells them pretty enough to tickle ſuch as can't diſtinguiſh in his Alluſions to Perſons and Things, between a faint Reſemblance in ſome Circumſtances, and no Manner of Similitude in the original Motives and Conſequence of the Action; for the ſame Fact may be highly commendable in one, which is wicked in another, according to their different Deſign in the End; but general Characters may be made to fit any Body in ſome Particulars, and perhaps his Story of *Galigai*, in the worſt Inſtances, may be more agreeably applied to another *(Quondam)* great Favourite-Lady than to the Perſon he means; all People won't hold Pace with him in all his ſtrain'd Applications either of Malice or Flattery: But I am gone out of my Way to touch at theſe Things, and I muſt take Care of engaging myſelf too far with a Perſon of this Gentleman's great Accompliſhments, for though he miſtakes me for ſome great Man, yet the World may know him to be a Man of the *Belles Lettres*, a Wit, a Declaimer, a Mythologiſt, a Poet, and a learned Hiſtorian: I pretend to none of theſe excellent Talents, I ſee and acknowlege him to be above my Match, ſo I will leave him, and content myſelf to deal in plain Truths, and undeniable Facts, and treat of ſuch Matters as may conduce to the Good of my Country, which yet may be remembred to Poſterity when the Vapours of hot Brains are diſſolved into Air. However, at my parting with this Gentleman, I'll preſume to entertain my Readers with one Story too, which (barring all Reflection) may perhaps ſeem as oppoſite as ſome of his. 'Tis not full an Hundred Years ago, when a certain grave Divine, who enjoy'd a Benefice in *Hertfordſhire*, had bred up a Son to the Church; the young Man coming home from the Univerſity had a Mind to ſhew his Accompliſhments in his Father's Pulpit, but he was ſo full of his Scholaſtick Conceits, and ſcatter'd his flaſhy Wit at ſuch a Rate, that the good old Man, being no longer able to bear him, call'd out aloud, *come down Coxcomb, come down*; and aſcending the Pulpit himſelf, preached an edifying Sermon to his Pariſhioners.

I ſhall alſo have ſomething to ſay in Anſwer to the other Author, but I will beg that Gentleman's Patience till I have firſt applied myſelf to give Satisfaction to ſome worthy Perſons, Men of Trade and Buſineſs, who have in Converſation expreſs'd their Diſlike of my Notions concerning Money, Paper-Credit, and Stocks; and if thoſe Gentlemen will bear with me to obſerve to them that buſy Men are more apt to form their Judgment of ſuch Matters from the immediate Uſe and Convenience which they find thereby, than give themſelves Leiſure to examine into the true Nature and Effect thereof, I hope I ſhall be able to convince them that they may be no leſs deceived in their differing Sentiments now, than moſt People were formerly in the Opinion that the Denomination of the Species of our Coin ought to have been raiſed above the old Foot. I ſhall endeavour therefore, in the following Diſſertation, to explain thoſe Matters in ſuch a Way as may rectify their Judgments, and reform the erroneous and ſuperficial Ideas which People have long entertain'd thereof. Let it then be conſider'd:

That

That even Money in Specie (much leſs Paper-Credit) is not the Subject of, but an Incident and an Attendant on Trade; for Trade may be carried on, if not ſo conveniently, yet effectually, by Barter: And as all Trade terminates in the ultimate Vent and Conſumption of Commodities, if the Expence of a Country will be ſufficiently ſupply'd where there is no Money to be had, 'tis evident that Trade is not leſſen'd in Reſpect of that Country through the Want of Money; and we have a notorious Inſtance of this in the Trade of our own *American* Colonies and Plantations, where formerly in all, and in ſome to this Day, Payments are made in the Product of the Country: And even in Countries where Money is plenty, all Trading is but as it were a general Barter for Commodities, for he that ſells to one is continually buying of another, and if Men knew their mutual Debts and Credits (which, as I have ſaid, are beſt diſcover'd by the Uſe of Banks) it would appear that a far leſs Sum is requiſite to circulate the Groſs of Trade than People have generally imagin'd; and this is evident, beyond Contradiction, by the Management of the *Dutch*, who lock up the great Bulk of their Money in the Bank of *Amſterdam*, and make their Payments by transfering from one Man's Account to another in the Bank Books, ſo that in Proportion to their vaſt Dealing, there is no-where ſo ſmall an Appearance of Money in Specie, as in the greateſt Trading Country in the World; our own Experience alſo, that the Trade of the Nation was effectually carried on while the Money was in recoining, is a farther Confirmation of this Notion.

But this Argument will yet be ſet in a clearer Light, by obſerving that the primary Deſign, and proper End of Silver and Gold, is Treaſure, and 'tis from thence that they acquire their univerſal Value and Eſteem, ſo that Men will part with all other Commodities in Exchange for them, with this View, that beſides that they will enable them to purchaſe whatſoever they ſtand in need of, what they can ſave to lay up will always be ready to ſerve their future Occaſions. 'Tis true that Men ſoon found out Ways of improving and increaſing their Treaſure by purchaſing Lands, lending at Intereſt, and employing it in Trade, but how oft ſoever theſe Ways of Cultivation are iterated, ſtill the acquiring of Treaſure is propoſed as the ultimate End.

Money then is no more than Silver and Gold, ſtamp'd by the publick Authority, to warrant the Weight and Fineneſs of the ſeveral Species, and it was becauſe of the univerſal Conſent in the Worth and Eſteem of theſe fine Metals, that Money became the Medium and Inſtrument of Commerce through all Civilized Nations; but its Operation is no other but a ſhort Way of accounting the Goods deliver'd, the Money paid, the Account is ended; and the Money takes the ſame Turn in the Receiver's Hand, he parts with it in the ſame Manner to even his Account for the next Commodity he buys or ſtands indebted for; and thus the whole Trade of a Nation is managed, the Merchants buy of the Gentlemen, Farmers, Miners, and Manufacturers all the Product of the Country which they can find Vent for in Foreign Markets; the Gentlemen, Farmers, Miners and Manufacturers, buy (through the Hands of the Shopkeepers) and conſume the Commodities which the Merchants import; if then we could ſuppoſe that the whole Body of Merchants ſhould trade in a joint Company, and the whole Body of Shopkeepers ſhould do the ſame, there would need no more

Money

Money to move this whole Engine of Trade than what would ſuffice to ballance the Account between them. Nor will it be from our Purpoſe to add this farther Obſervation, That if the Commodities which a Country ſends into foreign Parts ſhall produce a greater Value than what will purchaſe all the foreign Commodities which that Country requires for its Home Expence, the Over-Ballance muſt of Conſequence be brought Home in Money or Bullion, which will then become ſo far an Increaſe of the national Treaſure, diſtributed into the Hands of ſuch of the Subjects as have beſt exerted their Skill and Induſtry to gain it; it will then alſo follow, that thoſe who gain moſt will be able to gain the largeſt Share of the national Trade, though not to increaſe it, becauſe as is noted before, nothing but the Increaſe of Conſumption can truly increaſe Trade; for though Men that have Money may buy up Commodities to keep them for a Market, and thereby ſecure the future Profit thereof to themſelves, yet thoſe Commodities muſt lie dead in their Hands till Expence calls them out.

It muſt yet be acknowledged, that there is a more immediate Uſe and Neceſſity for Money in the minute Parts of Dealing, for though the Reaſon of this Argument will hold as to that too, yet the Aſſignment of ſmall Payments is not practicable, wherefore People muſt always keep themſelves provided with Shillings and Pence to pay for daily Labour, and for Family Expences; and it is in this Way that what we call Plenty or Scarcity of Money is chiefly perceived, and yet it will eaſily be admitted that a ſmall Portion of the Money of a Nation will ſuffice to circulate this Sort of Dealing.

Furthermore, let it be conſider'd that the Trade of a Nation is principally acquired and carry'd on by the Induſtry of the Inhabitants, to procure Variety and Quantities of vendible Commodities from the Product of the Lands, Manufacturies, Fiſheries, Shipping, and navigable Commerce, and whoſoever abound in theſe are enabled to carry on a greater Trade than they that abound in Money without them; and this will appear plainly by a Compariſon between the two Republicks of *Hamburgh* and *Genoa*, the former has a ſmall Territory, and not more than a Competency of Money, and yet enjoys a great Trade; the latter has a much larger Dominion, is immenſely rich in Money, and yet it drives but a ſmall Trade, becauſe it affords but a few Commodities.

It is indeed but too true, that there is a ſenſible Diminution of the Trade of this Kingdom, but to imagine that this happens through a Scarcity of Money, or becauſe ſo much is employ'd in Stocks or in Loans to the Government, is but a vulgar Error, for our Manufacturers have always continued to make as much Goods as they could vend, and our Merchants have never ceaſed to export as many Commodities as foreign Markets would take off; but the true Reaſon is the Stop of the *Spaniſh* Trade, together with the great Obſtruction of Trade in general, through the long Continuance of the Wars, and other publick Calamities, in our own and foreign Nations: People are reduced to Neceſſities, whereby the Expence of Commodities is much leſſen'd; and when the Merchant finds a ſlow Vent abroad he ſtops his Hand in buying, and then the Manufacturer ſlackens in his making, and thus the Circulation of Money among the common People is obſtructed, and this cauſes the Complaints of the Scarcity of Money,

when there may be vaſtly more than enough to carry on Trade to the higheſt Pitch, if there were but Encouragement to draw it out.

Let us next examine the Paper-Credit, by which we mean no more than the Bills or Notes of Banks or Bankers which they give out to pay at Demand, and we ſhall find theſe to be no other than Attendants upon Money, and as they paſs from Hand to Hand, every Man takes them upon Confidence that the Money lies always as ready at his Command as if it were in his own Cheſt, and whenever he finds himſelf diſappointed therein, the Banker loſes his Credit, and for the future his Bills will ſignify no more than waſte Paper. It is plain therefore that Banks and Bankers are obliged both in Prudence and Juſtice to be very cautious in their Dealing, and whenever they adventure to lend other Men's Money, that they do it upon the moſt valid Securities, and with a certain Proſpect that they can command it at a ſhort Warning, and by ſuch a Management this Kind of Buſineſs may become beneficial to themſelves and a Convenience to Trade; but whenever they run out and engage themſelves beyond the Power of their Stock, and Traders give in to it ſo far as to produce a precarious Credit, this is ſo far from a Convenience, that it becomes a Miſchief; and as in the Time of our clip'd Money, People were leſs ſcrupulous to receive it whilſt they could as eaſily pay it away again, and pleaſed themſelves in the Opinion that Money was very plenty; (though if the Government had not been ſo indulgent to make up the Loſs at the publick Charge, they would have repented their Imprudence in not refuſing it at firſt) ſo Paper-Credit was lately very plenty among us, Payments were made eaſy, and all Things went ſmooth and pleaſing, till People entertain'd Suſpicions and Jealouſies, and then the wary Men call'd for their Money to ſecure it in their own Cheſts, and this has cauſed ſo much Uneaſineſs among Traders: The national Stock of Money is not leſſen'd, neither is Paper-Credit, nor ever will be, provided always that it be ſuch as People like, but they are afraid of a precarious Credit, and they have Reaſon, it is a Vice in Trade fit to be diſcouraged, and it is good to have it ſhock'd ſometimes, that Bankers may be warn'd to keep within Compaſs, and Traders may have a Care of being too credulous, they know Buſineſs may be done very well without it; *Briſtol*, *Exeter*, and other conſiderable trading Places in this Kingdom know little or nothing of it, and we never hear any ſuch Noiſe of the deſtroying of Credit from them; and if the *London* Traders ſhould think it beneath them to take Example from Places of ſo much leſs Figure than themſelves, ſurely they need not think themſelves too wiſe to be inſtructed by the *Dutch* in their niceſt Managements of Trade, but among them they will find no ſuch Precedent.

I have aſſerted, *That Banks and Paper-Credit add nothing to the Increaſe or Diminiſhing of Trade, and that there is neither more or leſs Money employ'd in it than would be if the ſame Sums had been actually paid from Hand to Hand.* Now againſt this I have heard it argued that daily Experience ſeems to evince the contrary; for, ſaid they, 'If four Men lodge each a thouſand Pounds in a Banker's 'Hands, he is thereby enabled to ſupply a Merchant that has an immediate Oc-'caſion for one thouſand Pounds, and hopes to have it repaid him again before 'the four ſhould draw out three thouſand Pounds of their Money, and for this

'very

'very Loan he only gives out a Note of his Hand, ſo that by this Means the 'Merchant is enabled to carry on his Trade to the Value of one thouſand Pounds 'more than his own Stock, and this Banker's Bill, without the Payment of one 'Penny, does in all Reſpects anſwer the End of ſo much Money, and conſe-'quently this Sort of Paper-Money muſt certainly conduce much to the In-'creaſe of Trade.' I have put the Objection as far as I think it can be carry'd, and yet I believe the Argument will appear very ſlight and ſuperficial when it comes to be conſider'd.

1. That if the Banker has no proper Stock of his own in the World to make good the thouſand Pounds to his Principals in Caſe of Loſs, he is a Knave to adventure upon the lending of other Men's Money.

2. If he takes not what he believes to be valuable and ſufficient Security from the Borrower, he is a Fool.

3. I never ſaid that it was not very helpful to Trade to borrow Money at Intereſt, and this is in Reality the ſame Thing, with this Difference (if it may be ſo call'd) that the Perſons who lodge the Money loſe, and the Banker gets the Intereſt; and if there were no Bankers, this Occaſion in Trade would be ſupply'd as well, for all People who can give undoubted Security will find Men enough to lend them Money for a gainful Premium, as we ſee by Experience in ſuch Places where there are no Banks.

They will perhaps continue to object, 'That the Bankers give out their Bills 'for more Money than is in their Poſſeſſion, and then they have the ſame Ope-'ration as an Increaſe of the Species.' I anſwer to this, That they muſt either have it in Specie, or the Money is in being, and they know where to command it (which is the ſame Thing in our Argument) or elſe they run into a precarious Credit, which is a Cheat in the Bottom, and ought to be avoided as much as the paſſing of clip'd Money: But further, Men ſeldom or never borrow in this Way but for a very ſhort Time, and that only to anſwer ſome preſent Neceſſity, but not to depend upon for the carrying on their Trade, and ſo the Bulk of Trade is not (in their Notion) increaſed by it.

Again, they inſtance 'The Government's iſſuing out Exchequer-Bills to a much greater Value than the Proviſion made to change them, and thus they ſupply the Place of Money, and do in Effect increaſe it.' Now here it is to be noted, that the Dealing of the Publick is in a quite different Way from the Management of Trade by buying and ſelling, theirs is in Effect borrowing Money of the Subjects at Intereſt or other advantageous Terms, to ſupport the National Charge, and it is true that Exchequer-Bills have been ſerviceable to the Government; yet neither will their Argument hold in this Inſtance, for, with reſpect to the People, they never did, nor ever will operate any otherwiſe, but (like other Paper-Credit) according to the Opinion the World entertains of them; they began with Difficulty and Diſcount, but when it was found that thoſe which had paſſed through the Exchequer were exchanged for ready Money to all that deſired it, every Body was ſatisfied, and they grew into ſo general an Eſteem that they came to be circulated with a ſmall Proportion of

ready Money, and it is much fitter to admit of ſuch an Advantage, or to give Way to an implicit Credit that may redound to the Benefit of the Publick, than to allow the ſame to the Subjects; but though ſuch Expedients may with prudent Management become helpful for a Time, yet it will be a Fault for any Miniſtry to depend upon them for the Support of the Government, for when the People ſhall come to conſider them as precarious, and that they do not certainly command ready Money, they will diſeſteem them, as we ſee in the preſent Exchequer-Bills, which are fallen to a Diſcount of three *per Cent.* ſo that to explain the Matter rightly, it is now no other but that thoſe that buy them know they gain an Intereſt of nine *per Cent.* for lending their Money upon the Funds appropriated to them. After all, the true Way, in my humble Opinion, to make them uſeful to the Government, and their Credit laſting among the People, would be, to iſſue them to no greater Value than the Taxes payable within the Year, and no more than half a Million to bear Date on the ſame Day, charging them with daily Intereſt till paid, and when the firſt half Million is brought into the Exchequer from the Taxes, to make Publication that thoſe who are poſſeſs'd of the Bills of the firſt Date ſhall fetch their Money, the Intereſt ceaſing from that Day; thus when one or two Payments are punctually made, it is not to be doubted but thoſe that bear Intereſt will be eſteem'd better than Money, becauſe of the daily Increaſe, and thoſe that become Specie will paſs currently through many Hands before the Money is called for, by which means ſuch a Credit will grow up in the Exchequer, as that probably at the Year's End a Stock may remain in Hand ſufficient to circulate two or three Editions of the next Year's Bills to be iſſued in the ſame Manner.

I now hope that the foregoing Reaſoning may be ſufficient to induce judicious Men to agree with me in the following Concluſions.

That Vendible Commodities, and not Money, are the Foundation of Trade.

That Trade cannot be increaſed by any other Means than Induſtry to procure, and Markets to take off vendible Commodities.

That a little Money well managed will be ſufficient to carry on a great Trade, and this Kingdom has abundantly enough to anſwer that Purpoſe.

That Paper-Credit is really uſeful to Trade, and that thoſe Banks or Bankers who always keep Money enough by them, or within Command, to anſwer all their Bills, will never loſe their Credit nor injure their Creditors; but thoſe that do not, run into a precarious Credit, which ought to be looked upon as a common Cheat, and to be diſcouraged to the utmoſt. And conſequently,

That I have ſufficiently maintain'd my Aſſertion, that neither Banks nor Paper-Credit add any thing to the Increaſe of Trade, and that there is not more or leſs employ'd in Trade by that means, than would be if the Money were actually paid from Hand to Hand.

I am further cavil'd at for ſaying, 'That neither Bank nor Bankers give out 'their Bills till the Money is actually lodged in their Hands.' Unwary I, that had not the Foreſight to add, *or Money's Worth*, that ſure had taken away all Occaſion from ſuch cunning Objectors; but let's come to Demonſtration, if they will tell us where the Bank or Bankers grow that will lend their

Bills

Bills without any Security, I'll ſend them Cuſtomers enough. But Mr. *Medler* thinks I mean that *the Banks of* Amſterdam, Venice, Genoa, *&c. keep every Farthing of Money in Bank that their Bills of Credit amount to.* Perhaps I may be better informed in the various Managements of Banks than he is, I know that ſome neither receive in nor pay out either Money or Bills; ſome receive in Money but pay out none; ſome do both receive in and pay out, and alſo give out Bills, as the Bank of *England* and the *London* Bankers, but whether theſe keep every Farthing in Readineſs to pay off their Bills, I ſhall not take upon me to aſſure him, but refer him to make the Inquiry of themſelves; but I am ſure they ought always to be provided of the full Value of Money, or what will command it at a ſhort Warning, or elſe they do not deal fairly by thoſe that truſt their Money in their Hands; and I can aſſure him that the Conſtitution of the Bank of *Amſterdam* (and divers others) is ſuch as that they can never defraud their Creditors in this Way; that Bank ſubſiſts upon a Principal Stock of Money and Bullion depoſited by the Proprietors at its Eſtabliſhment, and no Man is permitted to pay in one Penny more to it; and this Capital is only transfer'd from one Proprietor's Account to another in the Bank Books, as they have Occaſion to give Order from Time to Time, and this is what is there called paying Money in Bank, but they never pay out any Money in Specie, unleſs any Proprietor demands out his whole Stock, but this is not to be expected whilſt the Money in that Bank is always current for more than the Specie; thus they can never lend out or make Uſe of one Penny of the Money intruſted to their keeping, and know no ſuch Thing as the giving out Bills of Credit, and conſequently the full Value of all that has been depoſited there is believed to remain intire to this Day: I know that it has been ſurmiſed as if the States had made bold with a Part of this Treaſure to ſupply the publick Occaſions, but as there has never been the leaſt Proof, or real Ground for ſuch a Suggeſtion, it ill becomes any Man to be the Promoter of ſo vile an Aſperſion upon a Sovereign Magiſtracy.

Again, they urge as a pregnant Inſtance of the Miſchiefs brought upon Trade by the late Staggering of Paper-Credit, 'That the Want of Money immediately 'appeared ſo exceſſive, that People were forced to give at the Rate of twelve *per Cent. per Ann.* to diſcount the beſt accepted Bills of Exchange. To this I reply, that though Men who run their Affairs to ſuch an Extreme, as to be under a Neceſſity of diſcounting their Bills before they become due, diſcover themſelves to be but in bad Circumſtances, yet we will admit that ſometimes Men of the beſt Reputation may have an immediate Occaſion to diſcount their Bills, when they may ſee a preſent Opportunity to lay out their ready Money to ſome great Advantage, ſuch as lately happen'd, to buy *Bank* Stock at 95 *per Cent.* in ſuch a Caſe then it is no very great Matter for a Man to give fifteen Shillings extraordinary (which is the utmoſt of this Diſcount, reckoning ſix Weeks before the Bill is due) for the Loan of an hundred Pounds, which he knows how to diſpoſe of ſo as to gain five Pounds by it. If ſudden Frights run People into Extravagancies for the preſent, yet theſe are not laſting, they will ſoon come to themſelves, and Things will return to their former State; but when through their own Imprudence they have ſuffered ſuch Enormities to creep into their

Nego-

Negotiations, they muſt be content to bear with the Diſorder that will firſt attend the reforming of an Evil that was become general, and it will be a ſufficient Recompence for a ſhort Inconvenience, if the preſent Experience teaches all that are concerned to reduce their Affairs into a better Regulation for the future.

As to the falling of Stocks, there is nothing ſtrange nor unreaſonable in it, they were run up to an imaginary Value much above their real Worth; and when the Managers themſelves had taken an unaccountable Courſe to publiſh to the World a Diffidence of their own Affairs. this muſt naturally induce wary People to reflect upon what was the real and intrinſic Value, and they ſhewed themſelves the wiſeſt Men who were the forwardeſt in ſelling as long as they found they could get much more for it than its true Worth; but when Bank Stock came to fall to ninety-five, they that parted with it (if they were under no Neceſſity) ſhewed the greateſt Imprudence, for I believe I am rightly informed that one hundred Pounds has been actually paid into that Stock, and whoſoever will proclaim a Sale of Sterling Plate for under 5s. *per* Ounce ſhall never want Buyers; the World will quickly fall into the true Account of Things, and we ſee how ſoon it came up to its true Standard Value again; nor is it to be doubted but that as Mens Minds come to be ſettled, it will go riſing higher, for there will always be found People of Wealth and Abundance, that will be glad to employ their Money under ſo careful and ſecure a Management without Trouble to themſelves, though they ſhould gain no more than five *per Cent.* by it; ſo that, if it may not be ſaid that one hundred Pounds Stock is really worth one hundred and twenty, yet it may not be irrational for ſuch to give ſo much for it, and this (as long as it can divide no more than ſix *per Cent. per Annum)* I ſhould think to be the utmoſt Advance that it can with any Appearance of Reaſon, even in Times of profound Peace, be brought to, conſidering withal, that their Parliamentary Privileges are determinable in a few Years, and when that ſhall happen, ſuch Purchaſers will be ſure to loſe Twenty Pounds out of the Profits which they ſhall have received: But if in Defiance of ſuch evident Demonſtration, Men ſhould again ſuffer themſelves to be drawn into the Cheats of Stock-Jobbers, and will part with their Money to buy Stocks at an Over-value, when they find themſelves bitten again, let them never more lay the Blame upon the Change of Court-Miniſters (if ever ſuch a Thing ſhould happen) but e'en deſire the *Tatler* to build a bigger *Bedlam* for them than any he has yet projected. The ſame may be ſaid of the other Stocks, People ought never to value them by the Rates they may go at in *Exchange-Alley*, but to inform themſelves truly of the certain Sum that has been paid into the Stock, and of the Dividend that is conſtantly made, together with the probable Succeſs of the Management, and then they may make a rational Judgment when to lay out and when to keep their Money: But for the Loſs which the Dealers in this tricking Trade have lately ſuffered, it ought not to bear any more Regard than we had for ſuch who formerly bought Guineas at Thirty Shillings, and kept them up in hopes that they would yet riſe to a higher Price; it is plain they have loſt no more but what they had imprudently given above the real Worth (reckoning according to the preſent Price) for now they continue to be ſold for more

than

than the Money paid in: How little then do ſuch deſerve the Name of honeſt Men? Or rather, what Puniſhment do they merit who have publiſhed to the World in an inſolent Manner ſo vile a Falſhood, as that her Majeſty's late Change of her Miniſters had occaſioned the Loſs of many Millions to the Subjects?

I have been the larger in this Diſſertation, becauſe I think the Nature and Uſe of Money, Credit and Stocks, have been treated in too ſuperficial a Way by others, and therefore I was willing to publiſh my Thoughts thereof, for an Inducement to ingenious Men to inveſtigate theſe Notions with more Attention, and if they will give themſelves the Trouble to read a Book entituled *A Vindication of the Bank of* England, they will find therein Eſſays upon Banks, upon Credit, and upon the Plenty and Scarcity of Money, which perhaps may give them ſome further Satisfaction in thoſe Matters, and ſhew them alſo that the large Credit that is practiſed among us in the buying and ſelling of Goods, tends not to the Promotion, but to the Detriment of Trade: And I could wiſh, that thoſe who have of late written ſo much about theſe Things would either take the Pains to maintain their different Sentiments with more Reaſon (in which Caſe they ſhall find no Man more ready than myſelf to yield to the Conviction) or that they would for the future forbear to diſturb People's Minds with needleſs Fears and Jealouſies, that the national Affairs are in a much worſe Condition than really they are.

I turn me now to the Gentleman who buſies himſelf in the ſpying out Errors where none are; not that I would aſſume the Confidence to ſay, that I have committed none (though I am ſure none knowingly) but I mean that I am not convinced that he has detected any: And therefore, pray good Sir, if you think, *p.* 4. that *our Sea Armament was not neglected* when we were ſo ſhamefully beaten, firſt at *Bantry-Bay*, and afterwards off the Coaſt of *Suſſex*; that we were ſufficiently provided againſt the Attempts of our Enemies by Sea, when Monſieur *Tourville* came up our Channel, and we had no Fleet to hinder him from landing an Army upon us, had not Providence ſaved us by a ſtrong Eaſterly Wind continuing for ſeveral Weeks till our Ships could be gotten ready; *ibid.* that *it was impoſſible for us to do more by Sea than was done; that the* French *Privateers were ſo numerous and powerful as that we ſhould not have been able to protect our Merchant Ships any better than we did, though we had kept out as numerous a Fleet as the Nation was able to maintain:* Again, if it be your Opinion that it is better for this Iſland to wage War in foreign Parts (and where the Enemy's greateſt Strength lies) with great Land Armies, than to keep up a ſuperior naval Strength wherewith to infeſt our Enemies Coaſts, and perplex and divert their Forces by powerful Invaſions, which has been uſually practiſed with good Succeſs by all Nations that have found themſelves ſtrongeſt by Sea, and if ourſelves have miſcarry'd in ill-concerted, ill-provided, and ill-managed Attempts of this Kind in King *William*'s Time, we have yet an ample Specimen (to uſe his own Word) of what great Things might have been done in that Way if we had heartily ſet about it, in that glorious Expedition of the Earl of *Peterborough:* I ſay, Sir, if you hold theſe Opinions, ſo contrary to the general Senſe of the Nation, I think the Error may with much more Juſ-

tice

tice be reflected on yourſelf, for applying your weak Endeavours to excuſe, than upon me for blaming a Miniſtry that had given into a Courſe of Management which has proved ſo ruinous to this Kingdom.

P. 5. You next take upon you to become an Advocate for a certain Admiral, but I believe he has more Reaſon to thank you for your Good-will than for your Performance. Would you have the World believe that if a great Man has Intereſt enough with his Party to get himſelf thank'd by a *Houſe of Commons*, and to ſave him from being cenſured by the *Houſe of Lords*, that he is therefore fairly acquitted of all that has been charged againſt him? Have you never known in ſuch a Caſe that ſome Suſpicion might yet remain? I have refer'd to an authentic Record, and ſaid, that thoſe who will examine it will find Reaſon to ſuſpect; I have ſeen a Copy of thoſe Minutes of the *Houſe of Lords*, but I preſume you have not, how do you know then but all impartial People would be as ready to ſuſpect as I was? I ſtill believe it was no Error in me to think ſo. Nor do you mend the Matter when you undertake to vindicate the Article of the Victualling, by perſuading us that a Man bred up in the Navy was ſo ignorant in his own Buſineſs as not to know that the Officers required proper Vouchers for all Accounts paſs'd with them. You think, *ibid. this matter has been ſufficiently clear'd by the Examination thereof in the* Houſe of Lords, *which has been printed*; but I know it is not impoſſible for the moſt venerable Aſſembly to be impoſed upon in Matters wherein they cannot be ſuppoſed to be experimentally acquainted, and the leſs, at a Time when the Majority ſhall appear diſpoſed to favour the Accuſed: The Way of lumping Accounts at ſo much *per* Head *per Diem* may be very fallacious; how do you know what Stock of old Proviſions might be left when that Account was pretended to commence, what Fraud might be inſinuated in Point of Time, or how many thouſand Mouths might be charged on the Account, more than were really fed? But ſtill I have committed no Error in ſaying, that an honeſt Commiſſioner of the Victualling had accuſed him of defrauding the Publick in that Account which he got paſs'd by Privy-Seal, for this is known Fact; and I ſhould have been of Mr. *Papillon*'s Mind, to have perſiſted in my Objections to an Account wherein I had ſeen any Thing charged at double to what I could prove it coſt, and this would have fix'd me in an Opinion that the Alltumal Account of 6*d.* $\frac{3}{4}$ *per* Man *per Diem* was trick'd up to deceive; but if you think, *ibid.* that ſuch *a Profit ought to be allow'd him becauſe of the diſtant Pay*, I doubt not but your own Conſcience would permit you to take Part in ſuch a Plunder if you could come at it. But, Sir, you know that great Men have long Arms, and are able enough to right themſelves if they think they are wrong'd; you ſee your meddling with it makes the Matter but the worſe, and perhaps I am better provided to maintain any Thing I have ſaid, than you are aware; but though it was incumbent upon me in my former Undertaking to give ſome Inſtances of the Faults I was complaining of, yet I ſtill retain as much Reſpect as poſſible for the Perſons of all thoſe great Men I may be thought to hint at, and had much rather contribute to the healing of old Faults, than to promote further Inquiries into them.

Hitherto I think you have diſcover'd no Errors of mine, but I have a ſwinging one to charge you with, *p.* 7. for ſaying that *Tallies never bore any great*

great Diſcount till the latter End of the Year 1696, when all the World knows that they were running up to an exceſſive Height, till the Bank of *England* reduced them to a reaſonable Diſcount. It is true indeed, that they mounted to the higheſt at the Time you ſpeak of; but what I thought worthy of Blame in the Miniſters, was their whole Management in this Way from firſt to laſt: I ſay, they ſhould never have paid the People any thing in diſtant Tallies, but prudently have thought on ſuch Duties and Exciſes as would have raiſed the Supplies within the Year at once, as it is evident they have come to it by Degrees, when they have withal contracted ſo great a Debt upon the Nation, that one half of the Taxes goes to pay Intereſts to the Subjects. But you tell us that all this is well done, and *p.* 12. *It is but reaſonable that great Debts ſhould be entail'd upon our Poſterity, that they may be made to bear their Part in the Expence of this long War, as they are like to enjoy the Benefit of the future Peace.* How are you ſure that they alſo ſhall not be engaged in War before the Debt is paid, and what will they then have left to live upon, and to carry it on effectually? Well, Sir, let us put the Caſe; ſuppoſe you ſhould adviſe a Gentleman of a plentiful Eſtate, but engaged in a Law-Suit, to give his Lawyers double Fees, and mortgage his Eſtate at high Intereſt to carry it on at a moſt extravagant Expence, it is not a Farthing Matter what he ſpends, ſo he makes it laſt for his Time, let his Heir take what is left and clear it as well as he can, why ſhould not he be made to contribute towards his Father's Exceſs and Folly? I am ſure no wiſe Man would take your Advice, and you would gain the Reputation of a pitiful Counſellor by this Sort of Reaſoning.

P. 9 and 10. You entertain us with a Hiſtory in what Manner our Deficiencies grew upon us, which to our Sorrow we knew but too well before, and then ſet us to *judge if the Miniſtry occaſion'd it*; let me anſwer you by a Queſtion, Whoſe Buſineſs was it elſe to take Care to prevent it? The *Houſe of Commons* were (for the moſt Part) govern'd by them, and did nothing but what they would have them. You inſinuate, *P.* 11. That 'one Half of our Money was clip'd 'before King *William* came here,' but that's another great Error of your's; I remember well, that before that Miniſtry the clip'd Money was inconſiderable, and I dare ſay not Five *per Cent.* in Proportion to the Whole, whereas they let it run to above (as I take it) 30 *per Cent.* and the much greateſt Part of the Miſchief was done in the laſt two Years before the recoining, and by the Account you give, it appears that the clip'd Money brought in wanted near one half, which vaſt Loſs might eaſily have been prevented, if theſe Miniſters had at firſt but obliged thoſe who were under their Command to do their Duty: You ſhew no Ingenuity in your ſtudying Apologies for theſe groſs Miſcarriages, and your telling us, *ibid.* that 'the Miniſtry might with as much Juſtice be blamed for 'the Dearneſs of Corn in 1694, and the Sickneſs in 1693, as for ſuffering ſo 'great a Damage to fall upon the Publick by the clip'd Money,' will never wipe off the Blot; will not all ſerious People cenſure your Prophaneneſs in making an abſurd Compariſon between the irreſiſtible Viſitations of God's Providence, and the mere Negligence and Improvidence of Men, for which any other but ſuch a managed Parliament as they then had, would have broken their Miniſtry, or reform'd their Adminiſtration? But how can you have the Confidence to ſay, *P.* 12.

That 'that Load of Taxation laid upon the Nation is ſo eaſy a Burthen, that our 'Anceſtors never were ſo free in their Publick Payments (the Reign of King 'Charles the 2d excepted) remembering the Prerogatives of our former Kings, 'as our Poſterity will be?' Don't you know that the ſingle Exciſe on Beer and Ale was given to King *Charles*, in full Compenſation for the Court of Wards and Liveries, &c. And have you never conſider'd how manifold that has been exceeded by the additional Exciſes and Cuſtoms that have been ſince given? Your Aſſertion in this is ſo notoriouſly falſe, that it deſerves a worſe Name than an Error; but you make all this to be done in Tenderneſs to the People, and ſo let them think when they feel it.

You lay the Blame of the deficient Funds on Mr. *Lowndes*, who you ſay, *ibid.* was the one *Man that invented them all*; why, at this Rate you make him a greater Man than all the Lords of the Treaſury, and all the *Houſe of Commons* put together, but I'll leave you to anſwer for the abominable Reflection, that all theſe had no Brains, no Thought, no Care of the Nation's Buſineſs; but I can aſſure you that there were other Projectors, and you may reaſonably imagine that all the Projects for raiſing Money were from Time to Time laid before the Treaſury Board and conſulted there, where this Gentleman's Station was no more than an honourable Servant, and his Duty obliged him to ſubmit to the ſtronger Inclinations of his Superiors in ſome Things that might be leſs agreeable to his own Judgment: But what if he may have been ſometimes miſtaken in his private Opinion, is it fair for you to charge the whole Fault upon him alone? No, Sir, your inviduous Reflection won't ſtick upon a Man of his known Worth; you yourſelf obſerve well that he is ſtill employ'd by all Miniſtries; ſurely then there muſt be ſomething very conſpicuous in him: I believe 'tis becauſe they have found his long Acquaintance and perfect Underſtanding in the Buſineſs, his unwearied Application, his never blemiſh'd Integrity, and his ſuperior Capacity in moſt Kinds of uſeful Knowledge, to be Qualifications ſo eminent in him, that no Miniſtry will ever deſire to be deprived of his Services; nor is there a civilized Government in the World that would not be fond of ſo uſeful a Man.

Ibid. You think 'the great Premios given for the Advance of Money deſerves 'not to be complain'd of;' but I am ſtill of the Mind that a wiſe and honeſt Miniſtry would have taken Meaſures in Time to have prevented ſuch Extortion upon the Government.

P. 13. As to *private Advantages made of Publick Money*, *Miſapplications*, &c. you ſee I had followed the Words uſed in an Addreſs of the *Houſe of Commons* to her Majeſty, upon the Obſervations made by the Commiſſioners of Accounts; if there be any Dirt in them (as you are pleaſed to repreſent) you ought not to lay it at my Door; nor yet have you fix'd any Error upon me, whilſt I have ſo good a Voucher to anſwer for what I have ſaid: O! but you will be even with me here, you have the Anſwer of the *Houſe of Lords* to this very Addreſs, refuting every Tittle of it; it may be ſo in your Opinion, but you muſt give me Leave to enjoy my firſt Sentiments till I meet with more Conviction; I know how to make Allowance for prevalent Intereſts and Party Favours even in

ſupreme

ſupreme Senates: You might have obſerved with me, that this was only an Anſwer, trim'd up to be ſure to the utmoſt Advantage, not publiſh'd (as I remember) till the latter End of the Seſſion, or perhaps after the Houſes were up; there had been no joining Iſſue, or putting the different Allegations upon Proof, nor any Manner of Replication from a *Houſe of Commons* to this Day; from whence we may conclude (not that they were unable to make good their Charge, but) that thoſe who have been ever ſince in Power were willing to let theſe Matters lie cover'd up; and therefore, as I told you before, you do the great Men of your Party no Service by drawing ſuch Things into Controverſy, which, if there ſhould ever come a ſevere Retroſpect, may make ſome of their Hearts ake. But let us take a little Taſte of your Ingenuity in the Anſwer you here produce. You inſinuate then, *ibid.* that all the Parliamentary Aids given to the Crown, and not by them appropriated to particular Services, are to be conſider'd as given to the Uſes of the Civil Liſt, *p.* 14. and 15. and ſo you make the great Revenue ſettled in King *Charles* and in King *James*'s Time to enable him to maintain ſo large an Army (and which amounted to much more than you think fit to allow in your pretty Way of diſpoſing it) to be but juſt ſo much Civil Liſt Money; and that when King *William* ſucceeded to it, it was all his own, and not applicable to the War; and ſo you repreſent the *Two Millions and a Half* which you ſay that King gave out of his Revenue towards the Support of the two firſt Years of the War, as if it were ſo much generouſly given out of his own Purſe. I am even aſhamed to trouble my Reader with the Repetition of ſuch paltry Argument (much more may you be for offering it.) You do not know then that the Miniſters are anſwerable for all Moneys given by Parliament, if they think fit to call them to Account for it, and that the Way of Appropriation to particular Services is but of late Practice, and was intended as a Kind of Reſtraint upon the Miniſters, that they might not too much deviate from the deſign'd Services, by ſuppreſſing one to ſupport another, as had been done ſometimes; but it is often omitted, and yet then the not Performing the intended Services is ſubject to a Parliamentary Inquiry whether the Money has been well or ill apply'd; and ſurely if the two Millions and a Half you ſpeak of had been diverted to other Uſes at that Time, and not employ'd in carrying on the War, ſome People might have been made to anſwer for it, for they knew that the Parliament deſign'd it for that proper Service, and gave no larger Supplies than what might make it up to a Sufficiency. After this, Sir, I believe I may preſume to affirm, that if any *Houſe of Commons* ſhould not approve of the Diſpoſal of the 124,222*l.* 8*s.* ariſing by the Duties on *French* Goods and *India* Silks, and by Seizures, they will never acquieſce in that Opinion of the *Houſe of Lords*, that it was the King's own Money, and not accountable, becauſe not appropriated: I do not yet ſay, that any Sums placed under the Article of the Civil Liſt will be diſallow'd, if they ſhall appear to be rightly diſpoſed in that Service; but whatſoever ſhall be found otherwiſe, will certainly come under the Charge of Miſapplication.

Sir, you may take the topical Reflection back to yourſelf; nothing being more common for Bigots of your Size, than to upbraid any one who dare ſpeak a Word of any Miſcarriages in King *William*'s Reign, with your common Topic,

p. 15. that they are Enemies to that King, and are *diſpoſed to bring Obloquy upon his Miniſters*; but I can aſſure you that I have no ſuch Diſpoſition againſt any Men, as they are or have been Miniſters; I love my Friend *Peter*, and I love my Friend *Paul* very well, but I love Truth and the Good of my Country better, and my endeavouring to expoſe the Faults of ſuch who have ſhewn themſelves no good Friends to either, which ever Side they have pretended to, has been to no other End, but that the good People of *Britain* may be reſcued from their Deceits.

Your five Sides of Computation ſhew no more but your own Weakneſs to think that you ſerve your Friends, by expoſing in one View the vaſt Sums which the Nation has loſt through their Improvidence and Ill-Managements.

You come now to pin the Baſket, and tell us, *p.* 23. 'It is a ſurpriſing 'Maſter-Piece of good Management in the Miniſtry, that the Land and Malt 'Taxes are the only extraordinary Payments the common People have been 'ſubject to by reaſon of the War, although thoſe Taxes don't provide above a 'fourth Part of the neceſſary Expence (*prodigious! then you compute our whole 'Expence at about ten Millions* per Annum) how ſkilful (*ſay you*, p. 24.) and 'how juſt muſt that Miniſtry be, that ſhall be able to draw above two Millions '*per Annum* in voluntary Contributions out of the Pockets of the Wealthy?' And ſo you reckon up above *ſixteen Millions* raiſed by what you are pleaſed to call Contributions: Now, when you can perſuade all theſe wealthy Contributors to forgive us their Intereſts and Annuities, we will erect a Statue of Praiſe for yourſelf, and not only heartily thank them, but record their Names to all Poſterity, as the nobleſt Contributors that ever the Earth produced; but till you ſhall obtain that ſmall Favour from them, the poor common People are like to have but little Enjoyment of your Fool's Paradiſe, and muſt be contented, tho' they don't diſburſe a great deal to the Land and Malt Tax, to pay Abundance in Exciſes, as long as ever the Contributors have any Thing to demand for their Rents.

Sir, I have juſt done with you, only give me Leave to drop two Words of Advice at parting, that you will never write again till you have eſpouſed a better Cauſe, or know better how to manage it, but above all Things go no more out of your own Way of Trade to deal in *Specimens*.

The foregoing having lain ſeveral Weeks for the Peruſal of ſome Perſons, whoſe Opinion I was willing to have upon the Arguments handled in the Diſſertation; there is ſince come out a Pamphlet call'd *Moſt Faults on one Side*, of which I thought it behoved me to take ſome Notice, tho' I think it a Performance of ſo little Worth, that a very ſhort Anſwer will be as much as it deſerves.

My Undertaking was to ſhew, that the original *Tories* ſet themſelves to promote the evil Deſigns of the Court in every Thing, and that by advancing the Power of the Crown above the legal Conſtitution, they had brought the Nation to the Brink of Ruin, and conſequently that they eſpouſed the wrong Side, and engaged in pernicious Deſigns, and upon ill Principles in the Beginning: On the other hand I maintain, that the old *Whigs* endeavour'd to preſerve the Rights and Liberties of the People, by keeping up to the Conſtitution, and oppoſing

poſing all illegal Innovations and Uſurpations, and that therefore they had engaged upon a right Principle: Now this Author ſeems to acquieſce in this, by acknowledging in *p.* 9. that *the Properties of* Whig *and* Tory *are quite alter'd ſince thoſe Days*, and that *the* Tories *acted imprudently* (a ſoft Word) *in King* James's *Time*. Do I not ſufficiently blame the modern Leaders of the *Whigs* for deſerting their Principle ſince they came into Power, and ſay that they acted like the old *Tories*? And do not I acknowledge, of later Years, many of thoſe Gentlemen who are ſtill call'd *Tories* have oppoſed the Court Managements in ſuch Caſes where they ſaw the publick Good neglected, and ſo have acted on the *Whig* Principle? Thus I have conſider'd, not the Men, or the Parties, but their Actions, and have impartially commended or blamed, as the Facts deſerved. I need not therefore trouble myſelf to trace this Party-Writer in his many Prevarications, ſophiſtical Perverſions, and ſcurrilous Reflections, which will ſufficiently appear to every judicious Reader, as well as his Malice and Diſingenuity in condemning all that are call'd *Whigs* by Wholeſale, though many who are reckon'd of that Party have always approved themſelves to be Men of better Principles, both with reſpect to the Church and the State, than this Pamphlet has manifeſted its Author to be. I ſhall therefore beſtow no more Pains upon him, than juſt to point at ſome of the moſt remarkable of his Falſities, his trifling and unfair Way of arguing his Pedantry, and ſome few Paſſages which I thought to deſerve anſwering, leaving many more to the Reader's own Obſervation.

P. 5. 'The Letter-Writer's Project and Aim is at a Coalition, that *if the* 'Whigs *can come in for a Share, they may worm every body elſe out.*' But it will appear to every impartial Reader, that the whole Deſign of my Writing was to favour neither Party in what they had done amiſs, and equally to commend whatſoever was praiſe-worthy in either, and that I aim'd at no other Coalition, than that of the honeſteſt Men of each, to unite againſt the Knaves of both Sides.

Ibid. 'In Spite of his diſtinguiſhing and explaining, he diſcovers much of the 'Republican, ſhews himſelf a zealous Friend to the Diſſenters, and a bitter 'Enemy to the Church and Clergy.' I have ſufficiently ſhewn my Eſteem of the preſent Conſtitution of our limited Monarchy, which I look upon as much better adapted to the Genius of this Nation, than any other Kind of Government. I have indeed expreſs'd a Diſlike to the Proſecution of the Diſſenters, but no Zeal for them. But I have never ſhewn the leaſt Bitterneſs or Enmity to the Church of *England* or its Clergy; though I ſhould be glad to ſee ſuch of them reform'd in their Morals and their Politicks, who have given too much Occaſion for Scandal in both.

P. 6. 'The main Deſign of the Treatiſe is to ſhew that there was ſcarce ever any ſuch Thing as an honeſt Man in an Office.' I have never offer'd at any Thing like it, I blame only the ill-deſigning Men, who have made themſelves the Heads of Parties, and have managed for their own private Intereſt to the Prejudice of the Publick.

P. 7. 'Who affirms all the Fault to be on one Side, and that too in the Crown.' Quite contrary, the whole Diſcourſe is impartially to expoſe the Faults of the reſpective Factions: But would this Writer perſuade us that none of our former

Princes

Princes have ever affected a greater Power than the Conſtitution admits; and that the People have no ancient Rights and Privileges which they ought to contend for when they are violated?

P. 8. 'But this Gentleman roundly declares for an Alteration of the Conſtitu-'tion.' No Part of the Diſcourſe ſhews the leaſt Tendency to ſuch a Deſign, it diſcovers indeed ſome Alterations that have happen'd in it, but propoſes no more than ſuch a Reform as may reduce it to the primitive Deſign of the Inſtitution. The ſuppoſing me to be the Author of a Book call'd *The Divine Rights of the* Britiſh *Nation*, is altogether ſuppoſititious, for I never ſaw the Book.

P. 14. He ſays, 'I endeavour to wheedle a certain Lady of the Court, by tell-'ing her ſhe is a good Whig.' *Bellarmin* —— for that, my Words are, 'ſhe has 'never engaged herſelf in either Faction.'

P. 15. That *I abuſe King* William. I deny it, and the Sentence he quotes vindicates me.

The laſt Paragraph in the ſame Page, about occaſional Conformity, abounds in Falſities. If a Man, who has been bred up among the Preſbyterians (for this affects ſcarce any other Sort of Diſſenters) finds ſo little, or no Difference between them and the eſtabliſh'd Church in Doctrine, that he has no Scruple to communicate with them, only he is not willing to be debar'd the Liberty of ſometimes hearing a Sermon, or even receiving the Sacrament among thoſe alſo, from whom perhaps he received the firſt Notions of Religion; is this 'one of 'the greateſt Faults that can well be committed? is this deteſtable Hypocriſy, 'and a Prophanation of the Sacrament?' I think the obliging ſuch who live in open Wickedneſs to receive it, and the adminiſtring to ſuch, is a greater Prophanation. Cannot a Man 'endeavour at a Coalition in the Miniſtry, without 'at the ſame Time declaring for occaſional Conformity;' when yet there are Multitudes of the *Whig* Party (and among them Men of the firſt Quality) who never diſſented from the Church?

P. 18. 'With relation to our Conſtitution in Church and State, the *Whigs* are 'upon Principle diſhoneſt.' How will thoſe many Lords, ſpiritual and temporal, and thouſands of worthy *Engliſh* Gentlemen, who have been always reckon'd of that Party, and yet never diſſented from the Church, bear this falſe and ſcandalous Reflection?

P. 24. He ſays, 'It was always the *Tories* Principle to purſue moderate Meaſures.' How has it appear'd in their violent Perſecutions of the Diſſenters, in their acting in the eccleſiaſtical Commiſſion, and many other Inſtances, when they have had Power? If it were their Principle, they have often made it appear that it was not in their Nature.

P. 28. Can there be a more impudent Falſity publiſh'd than to ſay, that the 'Doctor has contributed more to the quieting and cooling of the Nation than 'any Man in it, *and that* 'the Kingdom has not at any Time in our Memory 'been more unanimous than it is now:' When, on the contrary, all the World muſt acknowledge, that the whole Nation has been ſet in a Flame, and the Rage and Fury of one Party againſt another has been raiſed to a greater Height than we have ever ſeen it before? And can there be a more illuſive Argument of

a Nation's Unanimity, than when it conſiſts of nothing elſe but that either Faction is unanimous within itſelf to oppoſe the other with all its Might?

P. 29. He charges me with *denying the Houſe of* Hanover *to have any hereditary Right.* But I have never deny'd the hereditary Right of that Houſe; my Aſſertion is, that they have no Claim but by Act of Parliament; and this very inadvertent Writer preſently confirms it himſelf by telling us, that 'the Act of 'Settlement having excluded all popiſh Succeſſors, the Houſe of *Hanover*, being 'next, ſucceeds in Courſe by hereditary Right.' I ſay ſo too, becauſe an Act of Parliament has given them that Claim.

P. 37. 'All the Town knows that ſeveral Diſſenters were actually aiding and 'aſſiſting at the demoliſhing of the Meeting-Houſes.' He that can in ſo notorious a Manner bid Defiance to Truth, deſerves very little Credit in any Thing he ſays.

P. 42. 'The Diſtinctions of *Whig* and *Tory*, *High-Church* and *Low Church*, are 'owing to the unreaſonable Separation of the Diſſenters.' This is manifeſtly untrue, for *Whig* and *Tory* are really Factions in the State; ſo that though we had no religious Diſſenters, we might yet have *Whigs* and *Tories*: And *High-Church* and *Low-Church* are Diſtinctions between the more rigid or more moderate Profeſſors of the Church of *England*; the one are for approaching nearer to the papal Hierarchy, the other are content with the legal Eſtabliſhment they live under.

P. 12. He charges me with begging the Queſtion for 'taking it for granted, 'that the *Whigs* (as ſuch) are in the Right, and that the *Tories* (as ſuch) are in the 'Wrong.' But it ſeems rather that himſelf had forgotten his Logic, for I have fairly diſtinguiſh'd by ſhewing wherein the *Whigs* were in the Right, and the *Tories* in the Wrong; he ought then to have deny'd that Part of the Argument wherein I had affirm'd the Right or the Wrong, for if I have ſufficiently demonſtrated that, the *petitio principii* lies at his Door: And in the ſame Paragraph he adds a plain Falſity, when he affirms, that *my Party are apt to vilify and deſpiſe the Univerſities.* I abſolutely deny that I am of any ſuch Party (and it is as falſe to ſay ſo of any Party that I know) let him prove himſelf to be in the Truth if he can. He cannot help ſhewing his Pedantry alſo in criticiſing, whenever he thinks I am out in my Grammar, particularly in Page 14. he quotes my ſaying, *That this very Gentleman, if his Conduct ſhould be impartially conſider'd, it will be found*, &c. Now this Expreſſion is however very intelligible, and I have obſerved more correct Writers, than I pretend to be, ſometimes *loqui cum vulgo*; and as he might eaſily diſcern that I am not altogether ignorant of Letters (though I have none to boaſt of, as he ſeems to do of his) he might have paſs'd this as a *lapſus pennæ*, ſince the ſmall Word *(of)* placed between *that* and *this*, would have brought it within Rule; but he diſcovers the Meanneſs of his own Talent, and ſhews that he is but (what ſome call) a Haberdaſher of Small-Wares, and ſuch a Sharper at it, that he will let nothing ſlip him, for he has me again. *P.* 16. he quotes, The good Queen (may I ſay) ſubmitted, and ſays, 'it is left in Doubt whether the ſoftening Parentheſis (may I ſay) relates 'to the Word *good*, or to the Word *ſubmitted*;' let him find me a Blockhead that can take it in the Senſe he has put upon it. But I ſhall ſhew him a Slip of his own anon, let him then remember, *Turpe eſt Doctori*, &c.

P.

P. 7. He quotes my Saying, that 'our Acts of Parliament would never call the 'late Civil War a Rebellion.' But to refute my Aſſertion, he ſays 'he has heard 'of a Form of Prayer, with Thankſgiving to Almighty God, for having put an 'End to the great Rebellion, *&c.* and he has been told that this Day of Thankſ-'giving was ſet a-part by Act of Parliament.' Let us ſee whether this Argument can run upon all four: The Parliament enacted a Day of Thankſgiving for the putting an End to the Troubles of the Kingdom, without making Mention of a Rebellion: But the Clergy compoſed a Form of Prayer, entitled *Thankſgiving to Almighty God for having put an End to the great Rebellion*: Therefore that Act of Parliament did call the Civil War the great Rebellion. If there are People that can ſwallow ſuch Concluſions, much Good may it do them. But I have a much better Authority to confirm my Opinion, that that Parliament would not ſuffer the taking up Arms againſt King *Charles* the Firſt to be call'd a Rebellion, and that is an Extract, out of the Journal of the *Houſe of Commons*, the 12th of *May*, 1660, of a Reprehenſion given by the Speaker to one Mr. *Lenthall*, a Member of that Houſe, for ſaying that *he who firſt drew his Sword againſt the King, committed as high an Offence as he that cut off the King's Head*, which I think very well worth the reciting *verbatim*.

'Mr. *Lenthall*,

'The Houſe has taken very great Offence at ſome Words you have let 'fall upon Debate of the Bill of Indemnity, which in the Judgment of this 'Houſe has as high a Reflection on the Juſtice and Proceedings of the 'Lords and Commons in the late Parliament, in their Actings before 1648, as 'could be expreſs'd; they apprehend there is much of Poiſon in the Words, 'and that they were ſpoken out of Deſign to ſet this Houſe on Fire, they tend-'ing to render them that drew the Sword to *bring Delinquents to condign Puniſh-'ment, and to vindicate their juſt Liberties*, into Ballance with them that cut off 'the King's Head, of which Act they expreſs their Abhorrence and Deteſtation, 'appealing to God, and their Conſciences bearing them Witneſs, that they had 'no Thoughts againſt his Perſon, much leſs againſt his Life. Therefore I am 'commanded to let you know, that had theſe Words fallen out at any other 'Time but in this Parliament, or at any Time in this Parliament but when 'they had Conſiderations of Mercy, Pardon and Indemnity, you might have 'expected a ſharper and ſeverer Sentence than I am now to pronounce. But the 'Diſpoſition of his Majeſty is to Mercy, he has invited his People to accept it, 'and it is the Diſpoſition of the Body of this Houſe to be Healers of Breaches, 'and to hold forth Mercy to Men of all Conditions, ſo far as may ſtand with Juſ-'tice and the Juſtification of themſelves before God and Man; I am therefore 'commanded to let you know, That that being their Diſpoſition, and the preſent 'Subject of this Day's Debate being Mercy, you ſhall therefore taſte of Mercy, 'yet I am to give you a ſharp Reprehenſion, and I do as ſharply and ſeverely 'as I can (for ſo I am commanded) reprehend you.'

P. 16, 17. He charges me with Diſreſpect to her Majeſty, for *pretending to know her Mind ſo perfectly well, and to be ſo perfectly acquainted with her royal Reſolutions*,

tions in preſuming to ſay, 'There is not the leaſt Reaſon to doubt but that all 'thoſe of the *Whig* Party who ſhall concur in the Promotion of the Publick 'Good, will be freely admitted into Employments, nothing being more de-'ſired than a Coalition of the honeſt Men of both Sides to ballance the over-'grown Power of the Miniſters.' Now where's the leaſt Diſreſpect ſhewn to the Queen in all this, when beſides, her Name is not ſo much as mention'd? Is it not uſual for Princes to take the Advice of their Miniſters in ſuch Matters, and how does he know but that I have better Authority for what I have ſaid than he has to contradict it? But how pitifully does he abuſe the plain Meaning of my Expreſſion, To ballance the over-grown Power of the Miniſters? *Theſe honeſteſt Men of both Sides would then be Miniſters themſelves* (ſays he) *and then the Miniſters muſt ballance the over-grown Power of the Miniſters, an odd Ballance certainly: If the ſame Scale weighs againſt itſelf, which Side will preponderate?* A School-Boy would be whipt for ſo fooliſh a Perverſion of common Senſe, for my whole Diſcourſe pointed at the over-grown Power of ſome Miniſters then in Being, and when I firſt began to ſpeak of them, I had ſufficiently indicated whom I intended to be underſtood by that Expreſſion all along.

P. 18. 19. He charges me home for ſaying 'I dare aſſure the Diſſenters that 'her Majeſty is as firmly reſolved againſt all Extremes as they can wiſh; that 'ſuch of the *Tories* (as People ſtill call them) as ſhall be admitted into the Mi-'niſtry, will be laid by, if they refuſe to act in moderate Meaſures; that ſhe 'will never ſuffer them to be made uneaſy by an Occaſional Conformity Bill; 'and that ſhe will inviolably maintain the Toleration they now enjoy.' *For a little Scribler of a Party* (thank you, Sir, and in Return I will acknowledge you for a great one) *to pretend to be Partaker of royal Secrets*, is ſuch Impudence as *Whigiſm* can hardly parallel. Theſe Things I find trouble him much; but though I don't pretend to be one of the *Cabinet*, I can yet aſſure him that I have ſeen the Man who has ſeen the Queen, and I will refer him to her Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech to both Houſes of Parliament to vouch for a good Part of what I have ſaid; and if I ſhould ſee his beloved Occaſional Conformity Bill again brought into the Houſe, I ſhall never believe it to be with her Majeſty's Good-liking till I ſee it paſs.

My Book ſhews abundantly that I am no Advocate for ſuch of the *Whig* Party who have done thoſe ill Things, which I cenſure as much as he can; and that I agree with him entirely, *P.* 20, 21. that *the Way to put an End to Parties, is to promote none but Perſons of true Principles, for then thoſe who are otherwiſe, will ſoon ceaſe to be a Party, or at leaſt* (have I caught you, Mr. *Critic*, how can they be leſs than ceaſing to be?) *will be a very inſignificant one.* I ſhall never contend with him upon theſe Topicks. But then let it be obſerved how pitifully he begs the Queſtion through four Pages together; he would have it taken for granted, *P.* 22, 23. that the 'Whigs are the Queen's Enemies; falſe 'Subjects; falſe Church-Men; have deny'd the Queen's Title; condemn'd the 'Doctrines of the Scriptures; according to their own Principles they can't be-'have themſelves well; their great fundamental Principle is Confuſion, not only 'in Government both of Church and State, but alſo in reaſoning and thinking,'

with more of the like Sort of thumping Arguments, which I cannot think will convince, or will be believed by any Man who is wiſe and honeſt.

He has offer'd nothing of Argument to refute the Characters I have given of the original *Whig* and *Tory* Parties, or of their different Principles, and his arguing from the Relation I have given of the Faults of their ſelf-intereſted Heads and Leaders, to caſt the Reflection upon the whole Body, and to condemn their Principle, is highly diſingenuous,and mere Sophiſty deſign'd to pervert the Truth and to deceive ignorant People. How unworthily ſoever ſome Men have acted under that Name, it muſt yet be acknowledged that the late happy Revolution was founded upon that Principle, and all true *Britons* will ever own the Juſtice of that Undertaking, for the maintaining the Rights and Liberties of the Nation againſt the Uſurpations and deſtructive Deſigns of that miſguided Prince; which was always known to be the true Principle of the *Whig* Party, and therefore I think I do but right to ſay that ſuch of the other Party, who are well affected to the preſent Settlement, are not acted by the *Tory* but by the *Whig* Principle.

P. 22. And now behold this Author turning Panegyriſt to an Incendiary, if it be not indeed the famous Dr. *Sacheverell* glorying in himſelf, for I am told that he has given the Book gilded and neatly cover'd to ſeveral Members of Parliament; a ſhrewd Sign that he is its worthy Author, or at leaſt, that he ſtill continues to be a Tool to the Party.

Well, but the Man underſtands the World no better than to think that the Doctor has *open'd People's Eyes, and given them a right Notion of Perſons and Principles.* Alas, poor Creature, our Eyes were open before, to ſee and know Perſons and Principles much better than he himſelf. I have ſhewn in my former Diſcourſe, that the firſt Motive to the Change of the late Miniſtry was her Majeſty's own Uneaſineſs; there had been alſo a general Diſſatisfaction among the Nobility and Gentry through the Nation, to ſee themſelves ſlighted and ſcorn'd by Men who had grown up from being their Inferiors to become their Lords and Governors, and the Employments of the Nation engroſs'd in the Hands of the corrupt Leaders of one Party, and their Creatures, to the Excluſion of many deſerving Men on the other Side, who were as hearty to the Government as any of thoſe that were in; they were likewiſe diſcontented to find the War drawn into Length, and managed in ſuch a Way as that a General might keep up his Reputation by gaining Victories and Towns, and yet be far enough from forcing the Enemy to a Submiſſion. The removing of Men that had gotten as it were the whole Power of the Nation into their Hands, and were become formidable, and even dangerous, was an arduous and difficult Undertaking; at ſuch a Time then it may be thought no unuſual Policy to animate the common People againſt the ruling Faction: The wrong Step that was made to try Dr. *Sacheverell* in Parliament (which might have been done perhaps to as much Effect, and with leſs Noiſe, in a Court of Law) offer'd a fit Handle, ignorant People were moved at they hardly knew what, and wiſer Men gave into it, and encouraged it through the Nation; and thus the Extremes on one Side begat Extremes on the other, and hence came the Extravagant Addreſſes (ſome of which would perhaps at any other Time have been look'd upon as a ſtriking at the Foundation of the Revolution and the preſent Settlement of the Crown)

Crown) to be countenanced; this alſo gave Occaſion to the mighty Struggle at Elections, and carrying ſo great a Majority of one Side to be Members of the *Houſe of Commons*, who ſince their coming together have yet ſufficiently convinced the Nation that they have more at Heart the diſpatching the Queen's and Nation's Buſineſs, than the gratifying the Expectations of hot Partizans. Now although divers Incidents have concur'd to bring about this great Turn, and ſome even unwarrantable Actions have been tolerated, in order to attain the End, yet we may hope ſeldom to ſee the like Occaſions, and never to make Uſe of ill Precedents: And thus the *Paul's* Sermon, though in itſelf wicked and ſeditious, was yet drawn into a lucky Conſequence, and made ſerviceable to the preſent Time.

Ibid. The Clergy (ſays he) *behaved themſelves, during the Trial of Dr.* Sacheverell, *with the Courage and Conſtancy of primitive Chriſtians*, &c. When yet neither their invective Sermons, nor yet their exploded Doctrine of Unlimited Paſſive Obedience, had any Thing of the Spirit of Chriſtianity in them.

P. 29. But ſee with what Inſolence he vapours. *If ever they dare to fall on a Clergyman of the Church of* England, *eſpecially ſuch an one as Dr.* Sacheverell, *if ſuch another can be met with*, &c. The beſt Way to try the Experiment, will be for the Doctor his own ſelf, when he has Liberty to open his Mouth, to dare preach ſuch another Sermon, and ſee whether the Government will be afraid to puniſh him.

P. 30. He gives me hard Words for calling *a profeſs'd Jacobite one of their Writers, and for coupling the Nonjurors and the High-Church Clergy.* Now I would be rightly underſtood, that by the Term *High-Church* I never intend thoſe who are zealous for the Church of *England* as limited and regulated by the Laws of the Land, the higher the more ſincere in their Profeſſion I think them; but I mean thoſe who are not content with that Portion of Authority the Laws have allotted them, but do really aſpire to (what they call) a *Jure Divino* Independence, and reckon themſelves to be placed in a Sphere above the Laws of their Country; [Query, whether they would not have a viſible Head too] and that there are ſuch among thoſe who have ſworn to the Government, as well as among the Nonjurors, we find by their Writings; and theſe are the Men I ſuſpect of Jacobitiſm, and ſurely with ſuch Principles they can hardly be accounted good Subjects: As Mr. *Leſley* then has written as freely as any upon this Topic, *Quatenus* High-Church-man, I might well call him one of their Writers; and as I am not ſingle in my Suſpicion, that there may be ſome Jacobites among the conforming Clergy (and Dr. *Sacheverell* himſelf has much Wrong done him, if he has not been uſed to drink the Pretender's Health) why may not I reckon Mr. *Leſley*, their Writer too, *Quatenus* Jacobite.

Ibid. He aſks whether *for theſe twenty Years together there has been one Man of the* Tories *proved by any Action to be in the Jacobite Intereſt?* Men of ſo audacious a Confidence render themſelves unfit to be argued with; let me anſwer him by two Queſtions; Were not all the Nonjurors reckon'd of the *Tory* Party? Is there not among them all, one *profeſs'd Jacobite?* But to refreſh his Memory I will name one Sir *John Friend* to him, and if he will put himſelf up-

on Recollection, I believe he may call to mind a few more of them who have acted in the Jacobite Intereſt.

P. 31. He affirms there are *thoſe who make it their Buſineſs to propagate the Principles of Reſiſtance to Government, and deny the Queen's Hereditary Title.*

Can any Thing be more perverſe and diſingenuous than to inſinuate, that, becauſe many good Men have maintain'd the Juſtice of ſuch a Reliſtance as was made Uſe of at the Revolution, and the Lawfulneſs of defending the Rights of a Nation againſt Tyranny and Oppreſſion, therefore they propagate Principles of Reſiſtance to Governors? I ſhall challenge him now to name any one *Whig* who ever denied it to be a damnable Sin to reſiſt lawful and juſt Government and Governors, or that will not own the Queen's Hereditary as well as Parliamentary Title.

P. 32. His trifling about *a new Name for our Form of Government, a more than needful Concern for the Monarchy and Church* (which means no more but that they are ſafe enough without their Concern) *declaring for an Alteration in the Government*, &c. is ſo pitiful that it deſerves no Anſwer.

P. 33. He ſhews himſelf (a true *Tory* indeed, but) either very ignorant, or no Friend to our Conſtitution, by his querying, *has not her Majeſty's Right of making Peace and War been ſet aſide by Votes and Reſolutions about thoſe Matters?* I tell him No, and whenever her Majeſty's great Council think it for the Good of the Nation to give their Advice in thoſe Matters by way of humble Addreſs, it is their ancient Right to do ſo; but the Crown is not tied up by it, though the Miniſters will think themſelves concern'd to purſue it as far as they can. He goes on, *have we not received various Accounts from ſeveral Parts of the Kingdom, of Villains committed to a Goal for ſpeaking Treaſon upon Account of Diſſolving the Parliament?* May he not be called by as bad a Name who ſuggeſts ſuch a Thing, when there is not one Word of Truth in it? But is it not a fine Way of proving the Appearance of Rebellion, *&c.* by arguing from this falſe Suggeſtion, *that little Villains are apt to blab out what they hear ſpoken by great ones?*

P. 36, 37, 38, 39, 40. The Account he gives of the Riots and Tumults raiſed on Dr. *Sacheverell*'s Occaſion, and his ingenious Way of turning them all upon the Diſſenters, and repreſenting them as the Demoliſhers of their own Meeting-Houſes, may perhaps pleaſe ſome of the fooliſheſt of his own Party, but muſt look very ridiculous to every body elſe. But I can tell him a true Story (in Oppoſition to his falſe ones) of the Manner how the attacking the Meeting-Houſes began. Six young Men, well dreſs'd, came to an Ale-houſe juſt without *Temple-Bar*, they had not ſtay'd long before they heard the huzzaing of the Mob that attended Dr. *Sacheverell*'s Coach returning from his Trial; immediately they left their Swords and Watches with the Man of the Houſe, and went and joined the Mob, who preſently after turn'd away to go to Mr. *Burgeſs*'s Meeting-Houſe; in leſs than an Hour five out of the ſix came back again to fetch their Swords and Watches, but appeared very melancholly, ſaying their other Companion was mortally wounded by the Fall of a Window-Frame from the Meeting-Houſe. Now to me it ſeems out of doubt that theſe young Fellows were employed on purpoſe to ſet the Mob upon the Meeting-

Meeting-Houſes, but whether they were Diſſenters or Dr. *Sacheverell*'s Friends, I will leave the World to gueſs, ſince it is known that the young Man who was killed was an Apprentice in a very remarkable *Tory* Family. But I have done with this Matter, only I beg Leave to ſtate the Caſe a little fairer than my Antagoniſt has done it, whether *the Doctor was not the Occaſion of theſe Diſturbances, and ſo the Fault ought to be laid at his Door?* Suppoſe then a turbulent Clergyman gathers the People together, and preaches an invective Sermon to them at *St. Paul's Croſs*; ſome of the Hearers think his Diſcourſe tended to Sedition and Rebellion, and therefore charge him with it, and carry him before a Court of Judicature; while the Matter is under Examination he calls out of the Window to the People, and tells them he is a true Son of the Church, but thoſe who proſecute him are her Enemies; upon which the Mob take a Freak, and go and break the Proſecutors Windows. Now though he did not bid them do this Miſchief, yet I think he may be very well ſaid to be the Occaſion of it; for as the Court afterwards pronounced him guilty of the Sedition, it was his ſeditious Sermon which firſt diſturb'd the Minds of the ignorant People, and then diſpoſed them to this Diſorder, whereas, before that, they were quiet and harmleſs.

P. 40. If I have ſaid that 'Our modern Flatterers of Royal Power have at-'tributed to our Kings the ſame (I dont ſay all the) Powers which are taken 'by an abſolute Monarch,' I add, and have magnified his Authority above the Laws, this is abundantly manifeſted from Multitudes of their Writings ever ſince Dr. *Manwaring*'s Sermon down to our Time, and therefore as he falſely affirms, *a poſitive Falſhood in Fact.*

P. 41. What I have ſpoken about ſpiritual Religion is well underſtood by ſerious practical Chriſtians; to Men who live under the Forms of Religion without experiencing the Power of it, it may appear (as it does to this Writer) but mere Cant, for as the Apoſtle tells us [the natural Man receiveth not the Things of the Spirit of God, for they are Fooliſhneſs unto him, neither can he know them, becauſe they are ſpiritually diſcerned.] He owns that the Conteſt is not about the Faith of Chriſtianity, but about Ceremonies, Diſcipline, and ſuch like Things, and as to theſe, he lays the whole Fault upon the Diſſenters, *Why dont they come into the Church?* Rarely argued, does he take it for granted that the Diſſenters have nothing to ſay for their Separation? What if they think ſome of the Ceremonies have too much of the Remains of Popiſh Superſtition, and that it would be ſinful in them to comply in the Practice of Things which in Conſcience they cannot conſent to? The Church of *England* does not pretend to Infallibility, and owns the Ceremonies to be indifferent, will ſhe abate nothing for the ſake of weak Brethren? Is ſhe ſo perfect as to need no Reformation in any the leaſt Circumſtance? Does there lie no Obligation on her Part to ſeek Peace, by condeſcending a little in Matters of Indifference? Well, if they are ſure they are in the Right, let them keep ſo for me, I will not concern myſelf in the Conteſt; but this I'll tell them for a Truth which they will one Day be convinced of, that thoſe of either Side who revile and perſecute one another about theſe Matters, have not the Spirit of Chriſt, and will at laſt be found to be none of his.

He

He that can entertain himſelf with Rant, Railing, Begging the Queſtion, and miſerable Trifling, inſtead of Argument, may find enough on it (*paſſim* indeed but principally) from Page 42. to the End; for my Part I am quite tired with it, and ſhall trouble myſelf no farther than juſt to touch two or three Places more.

P. 44, 45. Is it not poſſible for a Miniſter to preach with a decent and Chriſtian *Warmth and Sharpneſs againſt Rebellion, Hypocriſy*, &c. but he muſt laſh out into all the abuſive, exaſperating, inſulting and virulent Expreſſions that he can rip up? If ſuch a Treatment be not reviling and invective, there is no Notion of any ſuch Things; the *Paul's* Sermon (with many other of the ſame Kind) is apparently ſuch in a ſuperlative Degree, and the Cenſure I have given in Scripture Quotations, is juſtly applicable to ſuch Teachers, and will ſtick upon them for ever unleſs they repent, not becauſe I have repeated, but becauſe it is the Word of God.

P. 47. He need not make it a Queſtion, whether the Clergy ought not to recommend Obedience to Princes and Magiſtrates; I challenge him to name any one Man of the *Whig* Side that ever deny'd it by Word or Writing, but they ought never to ſtrain it to an Extreme that neither Reaſon nor Religion require.

P. 51. He remarks that I have ſaid, that the Prince and People may enlarge or diminiſh the Exteriors of Religion, *but not a Word of the Senſe or Authority of the Church itſelf*; very fine, does not the Word *People* then include both Clergy and Laity? And are not all good Chriſtian Princes, Lords and Commons, as eſſential a Part of the Church of Chriſt as the Clergy themſelves? We have ſtanding Laws enough to convince him that *the political Church of this Kingdom has been pull'd down and ſet up, limited and reform'd*, by our Kings or Queens, by and with the Advice and Conſent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in Parliament aſſembled; and let the *High-Church* be as angry at it as they pleaſe, I will ſay, that it is fit *an End ſhould be put to all eccleſiaſtical Power and Juriſdiction* that is not ſubject to that Authority: But for this Man to affirm in Print, That *the Conſent and Authority of the Church itſelf* (which in his Senſe means only the Clergy) *is by the Conſtitution of* England *eſſentially neceſſary to make any of our Laws*, is a Preſumption that may be worthy the Animadverſion of our Superiors.

The Gentleman is pleaſed to reckon me *a very bad Writer and a very bad Man, but yet no Fool:* I will repay his Courteſy in Kind as to the two former, but I am ſure he has ſhewn himſelf no wiſe Man in undertaking a Buſineſs which he has perform'd ſo weakly: He allows me but *a very little Wit or good Senſe, but ſomewhat of Cunning*; I cannot return him the Compliment in either, for a Fool could hardly have lain himſelf more open to be laſh'd: I bear his *Contempt* with Patience, becauſe it comes from one who I believe has render'd himſelf much more contemptible in the Eyes of all impartial Judges: He ſays I am *not to be treated like a Gentleman*, neither has he done it: *Villainous Deſigns* (in the Title Page) *Villainy in the Author* (p. 30.) and Abundance of unmannerly Epithets, ſhew himſelf to be of a coarſe, ungentleman-like Temper, and I had no Mind to diſcover ſo much Want of good Breeding by imitating him. I boaſt not

not of my Performance, but can truly ſay that I had no other Deſign in Writing but to do good, and I have the Satisfaction to ſee that it has been favourably received, and in great Meaſure anſwer'd my End. The faulty and bigotted *Whigs*, and the high-flying rancour'd *Tories* (for there are many good Men of that Side, who have reform'd that Extreme) are equally angry at it; but the more moderate and wiſe of either Party have been very well pleaſed with it.

The Author, after having abuſed the whole *Whig* Party in as groſs a Manner as Words could do it, comes off at laſt (juſt like Dr. *Sacheverell* in his Exception of *Conſciences truly ſcrupulous)* with a Salvo, that *he would not be underſtood to mean every Body that has had the Name of* Whig *put upon him, many honeſt and well-deſigning Perſons, no Doubt, having ſome Time or other been call'd* Whigs. I verily believe it, and are ſo ſtill. *For his Part he ſpeaks of Things, not of Words*, ſo did I, and ſhew'd that the Thing call'd *Whig* Principle (for maintaining their juſt Rights againſt any Invaſions) was, and ſtill is right; and that the Thing call'd *Tory* Principle (for aſſiſting the Regal Power in any Uſurpations upon the Conſtitution, and for ſetting the Church above the State) was at firſt, and ever will be wrong; and he has ſaid nothing to diſprove it, his whole Labour has been in vain. *By* Whigs *he means thoſe who are guilty of the Practices, or eſpouſe the Principles he has condemn'd.* But if he has condemn'd ſome Principles and ſome Practices that the *Whigs* were never guilty of, we are not bound to ſtand to his Judgment; I have not been ſparing to expoſe the Practices of thoſe *Whigs* who have acted contrary to their Principles, and yet I maintain the Principle to be right, and thoſe who keep to it, to be honeſt Men. In ſhort, he condemns all thoſe who approve of my Performance: And among them he condemns many Perſons of the firſt Quality, and even of the Miniſtry, who are ſo wiſe as to ſee and avoid the Errors of all Parties that have gone before them.

The

The Speech of his Highneſs the Lord Protector, made to both Houſes of Parliament at their firſt Meeting, on *Thurſday*, the 27th of *January*, 1658.

The following two Tracts, which are the genuine Speech and Letter of Richard *the Son of* Oliver Cromwell, *the Protector, as they are very ſcarce, and the former ſerving to give us a perfect Idea of that* new *Protector; the Deſire he had to continue his Father's Uſurpation; the Contrivance of gaining the Affections of the People, by acknowledging the Excellency of a* mixt Government, *compoſed of a* Parliament *and* Chief Magiſtrate, *as you will find in his Speech, which, abſtract from the Cant of his Education and the fulſom Encomiums of his deceaſed Father, is a good one; I here endeavour to preſerve it as well as his* Letter *to the Parliament, when he found it reſolved to reſtore the royal Family to the Throne of its Anceſtors; which ſhews how far he was degenerated from the vigorous Reſolutions of his Father, and how ſoon the greateſt Tyrants are reduced to a State of Submiſſion, when God pleaſes to releaſe his People from their Bondage.*

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I Believe there are ſcarce any of you here, who expected ſome Months ſince to have ſeen this great Aſſembly at this Time, in this Place, in Peace; conſidering the great and unexpected Change, which it hath pleaſed the all-diſpoſing Hand of God to make in the midſt of us: I can aſſure you, that if Things had been according to our own Fears, and the Hopes of our Enemies, it had not been thus with us: And, therefore, it will become both you and me; in the firſt Place, as to reverence and adore the great God, Poſſeſſor of Heaven and Earth, in whoſe Hands our Breath is, and whoſe are all our Ways, becauſe of his Judgments; ſo to acknowledge him in his Goodneſs to theſe Lands, in that he hath not added Sorrow to Sorrow, and made the Period of his late Highneſs's Life, and that of the Nation's Peace, to have been in one Day.

Peace was one of the Bleſſings of my Father's Government; a Mercy after ſo long a civil War, and in the midſt of ſo great Diviſion which that War bred, is not uſually afforded by God unto a People in ſo great a Meaſure.

The Cauſe of God, and theſe Nations, which he was engaged in, met in all the Parts of it, as you well know, with many Enemies and great Oppoſition; the Archers, privily and openly, ſorely grieved him, and ſhot at him, yet his Bow abode in Strength, and the Arms of his Hands were made ſtrong by the Hands of the mighty God of *Jacob*.

As to himſelf, he died full of Days, ſpent in great and ſore Travail; yet his Eyes were not waxed dim, neither was his natural Strength abated, as it was ſaid of *Moſes*, He was ſerviceable even to the laſt.

As

As to theſe Nations, he left them in great Honour abroad, and in full Peace at Home: All *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland* dwelling ſafely, every Man under his Vine, and under his Fig-tree, from *Dan* even to *Beerſheba*.

He is gone to Reſt, and we are enter'd into his Labours;* and if the Lord hath ſtill a Bleſſing for theſe Lands (as I truſt he hath) as our Peace hath been lengthen'd out to this Day, ſo ſhall we go on to reap the Fruit, and gather the Harveſt of what his late Highneſs has ſown, and laid the Foundation of.

For my own Part, being by the Providence of God, and the Diſpoſition of the Law, my Father's Succeſſor, and bearing that Place in the Government that I do, I thought it for the *public* Good to call a *Parliament* of the three Nations, now united, and conjoin'd together in one Commonwealth, under one Government.

It is agreeable not only to my *Truſt*, but to my *Principles*, to govern theſe Nations by the Advice of my *two Houſes of Parliament*. I find it aſſerted in the humble Petition and Advice (which is the corner Stone of this Building, and that which I ſhall adhere to) *That Parliaments are the great Council of the chief Magiſtrate, in whoſe Advice both he and theſe Nations may be moſt ſafe and happy*. I can aſſure you I have that Eſteem of them: And as I have made it the firſt Act of my Government to call you together, ſo I ſhall further let you ſee the Value I have of you, by the Anſwers that I ſhall return to the Advice that ſhall be given me by you, for the Good of theſe Nations.

You are come up from your ſeveral Countries, as the Heads of your Tribes, and with Hearts (I perſuade myſelf) to conſult together their Good: I can ſay I meet you with the ſame Deſires; having nothing in my Deſign, but the Maintainance of the Peace, Laws, Liberties, both civil and Chriſtian, of theſe Nations; which I ſhall always make the Meaſure and Rule of my Government, and be ready to ſpend my Life for.†

We have ſummon'd you up at this Time to let you know the State of our Affairs, and to have your Advice in them; and, I believe, a Parliament was never ſummon'd upon a more important Occaſion.

It is true, as I have told you, we are, through the Goodneſs of God, at this Time in Peace;‡ but it is not thus with us, becauſe we have no Enemies: There are enough, both within us and without us, who would ſoon put an End to our Peace, were it in their Powers, or ſhould it, at any Time, come into their Powers.

It will be becoming your Wiſdoms to conſider of the ſecuring of our Peace againſt thoſe who, we all know, are, and ever will be our implacable Enemies;‖ what the Means of doing this are, I ſhall refer unto you.

This I can aſſure you, That the Armies of *England*, *Scotland*, and *Ireland*, are true and faithful to the Peace and good Intereſt of theſe Nations, and it will be found ſo, and that they are a conſiſting Body, and uſeful for any good Ends; and, if they were not the beſt Army in the World, you would have heard of Inconveniencies, by reaſon of the great Arrear of Pay, which is now

* The Protectorſhip. † See his following Letter to the Parliament. ‡ Meaning the *Royaliſts*, who would re-inſtate the royal Family on the Throne. ‖ Becauſe of the Uſurpation then renew'd in the Perſon of *Richard*.

due unto them, whereby ſome of them are reduced to great Neceſſities: But you ſhall have a particular Account of their Arrears, and I doubt not but Conſideration will be had thereupon, in ſome ſpeedy and effectual Way. And, this being Matter of *Money*, I recommend it particularly to the *Houſe of Commons*.

You have, you know, a War with *Spain*, carry'd on by the Advice of Parliament; he is an old Enemy, and a potent one, and therefore it will be neceſſary, both for the Honour and Safety of theſe Nations, that That War be *vigorouſly* proſecuted.

Furthermore, the Conſtitution of Affairs in all our neighbour Countries, and round about us (as well Friends as Enemies) is very conſiderable, and calls upon us to be upon our Guard both at Land and Sea, and to be in a Poſture able to maintain and conſerve our own State and Intereſt.

Great and powerful Fleets are preparing to be ſet forth into theſe Seas, and conſiderable Armies of ſeveral Nations and Kings are now diſputing for the Maſtery of the *Sound*, with the adjacent Iſlands and Countries; among which is the *Roman* § Emperor, with other popiſh States; I need not tell you of what Conſequence theſe Things are to this State.

We have already interpoſed in theſe Affairs, in ſuch Manner as we found it neceſſary for the Intereſt of *England*; and Matters are yet in ſuch a Condition in thoſe Parts, that this State may, with the Aſſiſtance of God, provide that their Differences may not prejudice us.

The other Things that are to be ſaid I ſhall refer to my Lord-Keeper *Fiennes*, and cloſe up what I have to ſay with only adding two or three Particulars to what I have already ſaid.

And, *firſt*, I recommend to your Care the People of God in theſe Nations, with their Concernments. The more they are divided among themſelves, the greater Prudence ſhould be uſed to cement them.

Secondly, The good and neceſſary Work of Reformation, both in Manners and in the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, that Profaneneſs may be diſcountenanced and ſuppreſs'd, and that Righteouſneſs and Juſtice may be executed in the Land.

Thirdly, I recommend unto you the *Proteſtant* Cauſe abroad, which ſeems, at this Time, to be in ſome Danger, having great and powerful Enemies, and very few Friends; and I hope and believe, that the old *Engliſh* Zeal to that Cauſe is ſtill among us.

Laſtly, My Lords, and you Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons, That you will in all your Debates maintain and conſerve Love and Unity among yourſelves, that therein you may be the Pattern of the Nation, who have ſent you up in Peace, and with their Prayers, that the Spirit of Wiſdom and Peace may be among you; and this ſhall alſo be my Prayer for you; and to this let us all add our utmoſt Endeavours for the making this an *happy Parliament*.*

§ Or *German*. * As it proved by *reſtoring* Monarchical Government.

His

His late Highneſs's Letter to the Parliament of *England*; ſhewing his Willingneſs to ſubmit to this preſent Government: * Atteſted under his own Hand, and read in the Houſe on *Wedneſday* the 25th of *May*, 1659.

I HAVE peruſed the Reſolve and Declaration which you were pleaſed to deliver to me the other Night; and for your Information, touching what is mentioned in the ſaid Reſolve, I have cauſed a true State of my Debts to be tranſcribed, and annexed to this Paper, which will ſhew what they are, and how they were contracted.

As to that Part of the Reſolve, whereby the Committee are to inform themſelves how far I do acquieſce in the Government of this Commonwealth, as it is declared by this Parliament; I truſt my paſt Carriage, hitherto, hath manifeſted my Acquieſcence in the Will and Diſpoſition of God, and that I love and value the Commonwealth much above my own Concernments; and I deſire, that by this a Meaſure of my future Deportment may be taken, which, through the Aſſiſtance of God, ſhall be ſuch as ſhall bear the ſame Witneſs, having, I hope, in ſome Degree, learned rather to reverence and ſubmit to the Hand of God, than to be unquiet under it. And (as to the late Providences that have fallen out among us) however in reſpect of the particular Engagements that lay upon me, I could not be active in making a Change in the Government of theſe Nations; yet, through the Goodneſs of God, I can freely acquieſce in its being made, and do hold myſelf obliged, as (with other Men) I expect *Protection* from the preſent Government, ſo to demean myſelf, with all Peaceableneſs under it, and to procure to the uttermoſt of my Power, that all, in whom I have any Intereſt, do the ſame.

RICHARD CROMWELL.

* Intended Monarchical Government under King *Charles* II. then to be recalled by the States of the Nation.

A brief Relation, containing an Abbreviation of the Arguments, urged by the late Protector, againſt the Government of this Nation, by a King or a ſingle Perſon; to convince Men of the Danger and Inconveniency thereof. Urged by him to many of the Army, at *St. Alban's*, *Windſor*, and *Whitehall*, a little before the King was beheaded, and at ſeveral other Places. Publiſhed for the Good and Information of Parliament, Army, and People. Printed, *January*, 1658.

To the Reader.

Reader,

OF what Opinion or Judgment ſoever you are, let not your Headineſs, or prejudicate Opinion, hinder you from conſidering what is here declared, the Subſtance and Truth whereof is well known to ſome, in City, Army, and Country, for thine and thy Poſterity's Good, Welfare, and Preſervation. But beg of God Wiſdom, and he will ſhew thee the Myſtery of Iniquity, when it is going to be ſettled by a Law, and will coſt thee hot Service, and Sorrow of Heart, to redeem thyſelf and Country, and it may be, when thou wouldſt redeem it, it will be too hard for thee.

The Conſideration of the Obſtruction that probably this true Relation will meet with from all fawning Courtiers and deceived Engliſhmen, *had almoſt prevented its Proſecution; but, remembring what Neceſſity there is of Awaking my dear ſlumbering Countrymen from that drowſy State, that, for ſome Days, they have ſeemed to lie in; which, if perſiſted in, will give too great an Opportunity to the common Enemy to effect his Will on us all, I was encouraged to proceed, truſting in the Lord, who has, and will deliver the Innocent from all the calumnious Aſperſions of Court Paraſites. And, therefore, without any other Apology, I ſhall proceed to the Arguments themſelves, which I ſhall deliver, if not in the abſolute Terms, yet in the genuine Senſe.*

IMprimis, Becauſe it is poſſible, yea, and more than ordinarily probable, that a ſingle Perſon, in a ſhort Time, will work over his Council to his own Will, though illegal; either in Conferring Places of Honour and Profit on them and their Friends, or elſe terrifying them by Threats.

2. Becauſe that a ſingle Perſon, being raiſed to ſuch a State, is ſubject to wax wanton and ſo forget; or, rather, neglect the Commonalty, in providing for a few that will be at his Beck, ready to fulfill his Pleaſure.

3. Becauſe that, notwithſtanding for a Time he may carry Matters fair, and do ſome good Things, *Jehu* like, until he has gotten an Intereſt in the Affections

ſections of the People; but then, forgetting, or, rather, ſlighting what he formerly pretended to, inſtead of countenancing of Juſtice, and endeavouring Reformation, it is poſſible he may become a Favourer of Iniquity; nay, ſaid he, a Settler of a Court, or Nurſery of Whores, Rogues, Bawds, and ſuch like Perſons, as was evidently ſeen in former Days at *Whitehall*.

4. Becauſe, if he cannot accompliſh his Deſign on his Council, but they diſcover his Wickedneſſes and Abominations, and oppoſe him, on the Behalf of their Country, he will be ready and apt ſecretly to confederate, and make Leagues with other Princes, and ſo let in a foreign Enemy, rather than be kept within the Bounds of Law and Juſtice, as we have ſeen in the (late) King, who has brought in *Iriſh* and *Scots*, and alſo ſent Letters Patents, with Letters of Credence to three foreign Princes, inviting them to come into *England*.

5. Becauſe, if the chief Governor, King, or ſingle Perſon ſhould become an Ideot, then nought but a continual Charge, upon the good People, could be expected, even robbing them of their Subſtance, until they are made ſo poor, as not to be able to oppoſe an Enemy; which, ſo ſoon as underſtood, will ſufficiently encourage a foreign Enemy, to make an Invaſion upon us.

6. Becauſe the Government, by one ſingle Perſon, is far more chargeable to the People, which, in the laying aſide of, the People will ſoon become ſenſible by the Leſſening of their Charge: For that Revenue (which was to uphold one Man, and ſpent in Voluptuouſneſs by him) being brought into the publick Treaſury, will help to defray much of the Charge that otherwiſe muſt fall on the People: Nay, ſaid he, whoſoever ſhall go about to ſettle the Government in one Perſon, will make themſelves ſo odious, that the People will be ready to knock them on the Head; for, when once the Family of *Stuarts* is gone, if you eſtabliſh one Man in the Government, in a little Time he will become Maſter of the Nation's Treaſure, and, at his firſt coming to the Place, will moſt eagerly deſire Monies, to buy this Bauble for one, and that Toy for another; and, after a little while, when he hath taſted the Sweetneſs and Delicioufneſs thereof, will, to maintain the ſame, become a Purchaſer of Lands with the People's Monies, until they are become ſo poor, that they ſhall be neceſſitated to be his Vaſſals, and, conſequently, Slaves for ever; for, as the firſt doth, ſo a ſecond, and a third will do after him, until the good People be utterly undone.

7. Becauſe, the Government being placed in one Perſon, he will be ſubject to judge of himſelf as above Law, and without the Reach of any Law; and, by Violence, tyranniſe over whom he pleaſes, commanding one Man to Priſon, and Monies from another, and poſſibly, both Money and Liberty from a third, *&c.* the Refuſing of which arbitrary Commands or Actions will expoſe Men to his Mercy, which will be no leſs than Cruelty.

8. Becauſe that the Abominations and Wickedneſs of a Court have been, and, is juſtly feared, will be ſo great, that both the Perſon himſelf, and his Council about him, will always, for to uphold his Voluptuouſneſs, be ready to erect new Monopolies, granting Patents to his Lords, *&c.* to get Money from the People, for to maintain their Pomp and Pride, and thereby keep the People in ſuch Servitude, that, in a little Time, they will be out of a Capacity to gain Juſtice on any of the Courtiers: And then the Citizen muſt wait

for

for his Money, when his Commodity is ſold, and ſcarce dare aſk, and not dare arreſt a Courtier for what he oweth, for Fear of his Maſter. And the Countryman's Hedges will be broken down, his Corn trampled on, and ſpoiled, or eaten by the Game, and, to complain of which, will be accounted a Crime little leſs than Treaſon.

Theſe and ſuch are the Things you muſt expect, ſaid he, if you ſet up one ſingle Perſon, and who would be ſo mad, God having ſo ſignally witneſſed againſt the King and Houſe of Lords? The much Blood that hath been ſhed, and the vaſt Treaſure that hath been expended, and the Controverſy decided on our Parts, witneſſes aloud againſt it. Further, ſaid he, I am confident, that, whoever they be, that ſhall go about to ſettle a Court in this Nation, God will deſtroy and bring to nought, and Confuſion will be to them and their Poſterity; and, ſaid he, if ever I ſhould go about any ſuch Thing, I deſire God would never bleſs me, nor mine.

He farther declared, that God had borne Witneſs againſt the Parliament, for that they were intending to make Peace with the late King, and to ſettle him; telling ſome Members of the then Parliament and Army, when they ſpoke of Settling the Government in one ſingle Perſon, that God would deſtroy them; ſome for going about to ſettle Iniquity by a Law, and others for not Proteſting againſt them, and for not Declaring their Proteſt to the good People of *England*. And thus now, gentle Reader, thou haſt the Subſtance of ſome of the Reaſons urged by the late lord Protector againſt Monarchy, though ſuddenly he leaped into the ſame himſelf. But now it may be ſaid, theſe Reaſons are not ſufficient to prove the ſame. Whether they are or not, I ſhall not now diſpute; but, that it may appear to be probable, I preſent theſe enſuing Queries.

Upon the Whole I query, whether any Man upon rational Grounds can expect, that the preſent Protector, or ſingle Perſon pretending to Government, ſhall be more honeſt, righteous, and juſt, than his deceaſed Father was?

But more particularly upon the Arguments.

1. I Would query, firſt, Whether the late Protector did not work over his Council to ſome Things illegal?

2. Whether Kings formerly, and the Protector lately, did not wax wanton, and, providing for ſome few of their Creatures, neglect the Commonalty?

3. Whether our late Experience of a ſingle Perſon cannot teſtify, that, though for a ſmall Time he ſeemed to favour honeſt Men and Things, yet, when he thought himſelf ſeated, Whether, I ſay, he did not then ſlight both them and it, and become a Favourer of the Contrary? And whether our late Court did not ſhew more Growth and Increaſe of Rogues, Bawds, and Whores, than all the Time of our Government by a Commonwealth?

4. Whether a Confederacy has not been made abroad, with our ſecret Enemies at Home, that ſo a ſingle Perſon might the better ſuppreſs thoſe that ſee the Wickedneſs of his Deſigns?

5. Whether

5. Whether the ſingle Perſon now pretending to Government, though the Son of a ſubtle Man, be a wiſe Man, fit to diſpoſe of Commonwealth Treaſure?

6. Whether the good People of this Nation be not very ſenſible of the Expenſiveneſs extraordinary of a ſingle Perſon, more than of a Commonwealth? And whether they do not find a Want of that vaſt Treaſure expended upon Baubles, Toys, and Geugaws? Such as we of late have had too much Cauſe to ſpeak of. And whether the Cauſe of the People's Poverty has not been by Means of purchaſing Lands to the Family of the late Protector, as well as *High-Spaniola* Buſineſs?

7. Whether the late Perſon ſet up did not judge himſelf above Law? And whether he did not tyranniſe over Men's Perſons, reſtraining both them and their Liberty? And whether the Mercy he has pretended to, in the Execution thereof, has not been very Cruelty?

8. Whether the late ſingle Perſon, to uphold his and his Courtiers Voluptuouſneſs, has not been ready to uphold what Monopolies he found on Foot, and likewiſe to deviſe new Ways to the ſame Purpoſe? And whether the Citizen has not had Experience of Court-payment, and the Countryman, though ſad, of the Spoiling of his Fences, and Deſtroying of his Crop, by them that belong to the Court? And that they pleaſe to call their *Game*. And, if theſe be the Beginnings, What will the End be? And therefore, for a Cloſure, I muſt ſay, What ſhall we ſay, or do, more than the King Protector has ſaid and done?

Now to conclude: I humbly preſent to Conſideration, Whether, upon a diligent, ſerious Weighing of the preſent Action, and paſt Management of State-affairs, of ſome, being Lawyers, *&c.* raiſed from a low Eſtate to ſit in Council, and become great Favourites at Court, it may not be found, and clearly ſeen, that they have a Deſign to bring in *Charles Stuart?* For, if they firſt bring in a ſingle Perſon, and grant that, the next Diſpute will be, Whether the one Family, or the other, has moſt Right? And who has moſt Intereſt, *Charles*, or *Richard*, I think, aſketh no long Time to anſwer. Farther, I would add, Whether it be not more likely to attain to the Practice of that golden Rule, *do as you would be done to*, under the Government of a Commonwealth, in which Law-makers are liable to be judged by the Law made, rather than under a Monarchical Government, where or in which One, if ſettled, is above Law, and accountable to none? Who, though never ſo wicked and unjuſt, cannot be removed, but by an extraordinary Providence, as was the Caſe of the late King and Protector.

Now, whereas it is endeavoured, by ſome Court Paraſites, to inſinuate into the People, That that, which the Commonwealth Party aims at, is an Involving of the Nations in Blood and Confuſion, I would meekly tender, Whether their Deportment and Behaviour, under the almoſt inſupportable Burden of the Tyranny of late Times, in which their Rights and Liberties have lain bleeding, hath given any juſt Cauſe of ſuch Suſpicion? Or rather, Whether their Patience has not manifeſted, their Hope hath been and ſtill is in God, from whom, by the Means of a lawful free Parliament, they only expect Deliverance? Which is a Vindication ſufficient, not only from what is now ſuggeſted againſt them,

but

but alſo from that old Brand, that the late Protector, in a Letter to the late King, while at *Hampton-Court*, gave them, *viz. Levellers*; and that their Work would be to kill the King, and levy all Men's Eſtates, by which Means he effected his End, *viz* an Incenſing of the People and the other Part of the Army againſt them: Which when he had done, he eaſily carried on his wicked Deſigns, which ſince have came to publick View; for a Deliverance from which are the Prayers of all true *Engliſhmen*.

A LETTER written by the Emperor to the late King *James*, ſetting forth the true Occaſion of his Fall, and the Treachery and Cruelty of the *French*.

This Letter, written by the Emperor of Germany *to King* James the Second, *after his Abdication, ſetting forth the Cauſes of his Majeſty's Deſertion by his Subjects, is a proper Caveat to ſuch Princes, always to preſerve their Subjects in their juſt Rights, both in Church and State, as the beſt Means to deſerve their Affection, and to ſecure the Throne to themſelves, and their Poſterity.*

'LEOPOLD, *&c.*

'WE have received your Majeſty's Letters, dated from *St. Germains*, 'the Sixth of *February* laſt, by the Earl of *Carlingford*, your Envoy 'in our Court: By them we have underſtood the Condition your 'Majeſty is reduced to; and that you, being deſerted after the landing of the 'Prince of *Orange*, by your Army, and even by your domeſtic Servants, and by 'thoſe you moſt confided in, and almoſt by all your Subjects, you have been 'forced, by a ſudden Flight, to provide for your own Safety, and to ſeek 'Shelter and Protection in *France:* Laſtly, that you deſire Aſſiſtance from us, 'for the recovering your Kingdoms. We do aſſure your Majeſty, that, as ſoon as 'We heard of this ſevere Turn of Affairs, We were moved at it, not only 'with the common Senſe of Humanity, but with much deeper Impreſſions, 'ſuitable to the ſincere Affection which We have always borne to you. And We 'were heartily ſorry, that, at laſt, that was come to paſs, which (though we 'hoped for better Things) yet our own ſad Thoughts had ſuggeſted to us 'would enſue. If your Majeſty had rather given Credit to the friendly Re-'monſtrances that were made You, by Our late Envoy, the Count de *Kaunitz*, 'in Our Name, than the deceitful Inſinuations of the *French*, whoſe chief Aim 'was, by fomenting continual Diviſions between You and Your People, to gain 'thereby an Opportunity to inſult the more ſecurely over the reſt of Chriſten-'dom: And if your Majeſty had put a Stop, by Your Force and Authority, to 'their many Infractions of the Peace, of which, by the Treaty of *Nimegen*, you 'are made the Guarantee, and to that End enter'd into Conſultations with Us, 'and ſuch others, as have the like juſt Sentiments in this Matter: We are verily 'perſuaded, that, by this Means, you ſhould have, in a great Meaſure, quieted

'the

'the Minds of Your People, which were ſo much already exaſperated through 'their Averſion to our Religion,* and the publick Peace had been preſerved, as 'well in Your Kingdoms, as here, in the *Roman* Empire. But now we refer it 'even to Your Majeſty, to judge what Condition We can be in to afford you 'any Aſſiſtance, We being not only engaged in a War with the *Turks*, but 'finding Ourſelves at the ſame Time unjuſtly and barbarouſly attack'd by the '*French*, contrary to, and againſt the Faith of Treaties, they *then* reckoning 'themſelves ſecure of *England*.† And this ought not to be conceal'd; that 'the greateſt Injuries, which have been done to our Religion,‡ have flow'd 'from no other, than the *French* themſelves; who not only eſteem it lawful for 'them, to make perfidious Leagues with‖ the ſworn Enemies of the Holy 'Croſs,†† tending to the Deſtruction both of Us, and the whole Chriſtian 'World, in order to the checking our Endeavours, which were undertaken for 'the Glory of God, and to ſtop thoſe Succeſſes, which it hath pleaſed Almighty 'God to give us hitherto; but further, have heap'd one Treachery on another, 'even within the Empire itſelf.§ The Cities of the Empire, which were ſur-'render'd upon Articles, ſign'd by the *Dauphin* himſelf, have been exhauſted by 'exceſſive Impoſitions; and after their being exhauſted, have been plunder'd; 'and after plundering, have been burnt and erazed. The Palaces of Princes, 'which in all Times, and even the moſt deſtructive Wars, have been preſerved, 'are now burnt down to the Ground. The Churches are rob'd, and ſuch, as 'ſubmitted themſelves to them, are, in a moſt barbarous Manner, carry'd away 'as Slaves. In ſhort, it is become a Diverſion to them, to commit all Manner 'of Inſolences and Cruelties in many Places, but chiefly in Catholick Countries, 'exceeding the Cruelties of the *Turks* themſelves: Which, having impoſed an 'abſolute Neceſſity upon us to ſecure Ourſelves, and the *Holy Roman* Empire, 'by the beſt Means we can think on, and that no leſs againſt them, than againſt 'the *Turks*; We promiſe Ourſelves, from Your Juſtice, ready Aſſent to this, 'that it ought not to be imputed to Us, if We endeavour to procure, by a juſt 'War, that Security to Ourſelves, which We could not hitherto obtain by ſo 'many Treaties; and that, in order to the obtaining thereof, We take Meaſures 'for our mutual Defence and Preſervation, with all thoſe who are equally con-'cern'd in the ſame Deſign with Us. It remains, that We beg of God, that 'He would direct all Things to His Glory, and that he would grant Your Ma-'jeſty true and ſolid Comforts under this your great Calamity. We embrace You 'with the tender Affections of a Brother.

At Vienna, *the 9th of* April, 1689.

* Which made uſe of ſo many unjuſt and cruel Means to gain its Eſtabliſhment. † Under a Prince, that, to accompliſh the Slavery of his Subjects, was making himſelf *Tributary* and *Vaſſal* of *France*. ‡ Popery. ‖ The *Turks*. †† *Viz.* All Chriſtians. § How juſtly does this repreſent the preſent and late Actions of the *French* in *Germany*.

The Cauſes and Manner of the depoſing of a *Popiſh* King in *Sweden* truly deſcribed. *Printed* 1688.

Guſtavus Ericſon King of *Sweden*, having ſettled the Reformed Religion in *Sweden*, and reigned thirty-eight Years, left his Kingdom to his Son *Erick*, who, for his Cruelty and ill Government, was depoſed, and his whole Line exhereditated, to make Way for *John* Duke of *Finland*, his younger Brother.

John had a Son, called *Sigiſmond*, who being ſecretly bred up in the *Romiſh* Religion by his Mother, who was of the *Sagellonian* Royal Family of *Poland*, was in his Father's Time elected King of *Poland*.

The ſaid King *John* had alſo a younger Brother, called *Charles* Duke of *Sudermania*, *Nericia*, &c. and a younger Son of his own Name, called, Duke of *Oſtrogothia*.

King *John* died in the Year 1592, in the Abſence of King *Sigiſmond*, his eldeſt Son; during which, *Charles*, Duke of *Sudermania*, his Uncle, at the Deſire of the States, took upon him the Government: But ſent to invite his Nephew *Sigiſmond*, to come and take Poſſeſſion of his Native Kingdom, as ſoon as might be: Promiſing in the mean Time, to keep all quiet, and intimating, that he hoped his Majeſty, when in Poſſeſſion, would maintain all in the true Religion and divine Worſhip, and preſerve the Laws of *Sweden*.

At the End of the Year he arrived in *Sweden*, having in his Company *Franceſco Maleſpina* the Pope's Legate, who hindered him long from conſenting to any Security, either for Religion or Property; but finding the Coronation would be obſtructed without that, he gave Way, as having yet, as the Hiſtorian ſays, one Starting-hole remaining, which was, that Faith was not to be kept towards Hereticks. In the mean Time, he himſelf would have crowned the King in the Cathedral at *Upſal*, but was oppoſed by the Archbiſhop of *Upſal*, whoſe Right it was, even if that Kingdom had been Popiſh.

The Coronation being over, which had been delayed above a Year, during which Time, ſeveral ſecret Attempts had been made upon *Charles*, Duke of *Sudermania*, to make him away, King *Sigiſmond*, contrary to his Coronation Oath, erected a Popiſh Church in the Capital City, and made a great Man of his Religion, Governor of the Caſtle of *Stockholm*, in which the Records of the Chancery, and the Arms and Ammunition of the Kingdom were kept, and in the Port were the beſt Part of the Royal Navy, under Command of the Caſtle.

A certain Jeſuit, called *Adam Steinhall*, obtained the *Arcentian* Temple, and the Queen's Iſland, with the *Vaſtheman* Monaſtery, which was preſently filled with *Romiſh* Prieſts.

Sigiſmond alſo, by his Followers and Attendants, continually affronted the Eſtabliſhed Religion, and was ſending into *Poland* for a Body of Forces, able

to

to ſubdue the Kingdom; upon which, Diſcontentments grew ſo high, that he haſtily withdrew thither himſelf.

He left *Sweden* in Confuſion, having only for Form's Sake writ to his Uncle *Charles*, to aſſume the Adminiſtration jointly with the Senate: But, at the ſame Time, leaving others with greater Power, both in *Sweden* and *Finland*, as appeared when he was gone.

Charles, Duke of *Sudermania*, to avoid Diſcord and Confuſion, called a Convention at *Sudertopia*, which was opened with an Oath of Allegiance to King *Sigiſmond*, and did likewiſe aſſert the Kingdom's Right, to have the Coronation Oath performed; which having been violated in the tender Point of Religion, they redreſſed the Grievance and ſuppreſſed the Exerciſe of the *Romiſh* Religion, baniſhing all Prieſts and Preachers of the ſame, and the ancient Incumbents of the *Vaſtheman* Monaſtery were reſtored.

Then they deſired the Duke *Charles* to accept of the Adminiſtration, for the Good of the Kingdom, which he did. Then began a Treaty between *Sigiſmond*, and the Convention, with Duke *Charles* at the Head of it, which was by *Sigiſmond* ſpun out, and obſtructed with much Artifice; at length the Convention made ſeveral Decrees for Security of Religion and Property, and entered into an Aſſociation for the Defence of them, which they deſired the King to confirm, and gave ſix Weeks Time to all that diſſented, to ſubmit, on Pain of being declared Enemies to the publick Peace.

They invited him Home, to return in a peaceable Manner, and ſettle the other Affairs of his Native Kingdom; but inſtead of that, he invaded them with an Army of Eight-thouſand Horſe and Foot, and a hundred Sail, to which ſeveral *Swedes* join'd themſelves, whom he had gained with Money.

An Agreement was endeavoured, and after much Intercourſe of Negotiation, both Armies being near one another, it was conſented to on both Sides, that twelve of the Nobility of each Side ſhould meet and decide the whole Controverſy. But by the Perſuaſion of the Jeſuits, the Royal Army in the Night, conducted by *Weyerus*, ſet upon the Ducal Camp; in which Onſet, ſeveral Thouſands were ſlain, but at laſt the King and all his Army had been cut off, had they not called out for Peace, which the Duke yet hearkened to.

An Agreement followed, in which the King demanded to be ſupplied with a Navy to go to *Stockholm*, promiſing there to call an Aſſembly of the States; but he no ſooner had the Shipping, but he ſailed away for *Calmar*, in which Place he left a Garriſon of Foreigners, and then continued his Voyage to *Dantzick*.

The King being gone, an Aſſembly of the States met at *Stockholm*, where they declared King *Sigiſmond* fallen from the Crown and Government, and were ſo inclined to continue the Succeſſion, that they offered to receive his Son, Prince *Vladiſlaus*, provided he might be ſent Home, bred up a Proteſtant, and committed to the Guardianſhip of Duke *Charles*, but *Sigiſmond* refuſed it.

Afterwards another Parliament met at *Lincopia*, and there they did expreſly renounce King *Sigiſmond*, and his Government, as alſo his Laws.

Then they acknowledged Duke *Charles* of *Sudermania* for their lawful King, and after him ſettled the Crown upon his Son *Guſtavus Adolphus*, and his Heirs Male.

Duke *John* concurred with the Parliament, and renounced his Pretence to the Crown, and was content to come in after the Line of Duke *Charles*.

The Daughter and Siſter of *Sigiſmond* were alſo rejected.

Then followed the Coronation of King *Charles*, in the Year 1607, by the Name of *Charles the Ninth*.

Theſe were the Proceedings in *Sweden*, upon which I ſhall only make theſe few ſhort Reflections.

I. That the *Swedes* were deſirous, to the laſt Degree, to preſerve the Succeſſion, according to one Part of the Laws of the Kingdom, provided that might be done, without overturning all the reſt; they were wiſe enough to preſerve Laws, while Laws preſerved the Nation, which is the true End of all Laws, but no longer.

II. That King *Sigiſmond*, according to the Spirit of his Religion, where-ever it is grown up to Bigotry, broke through his Oaths, and all Rules of Juſtice and Morality, when they croſſed the inſatiable Ambition of his Prieſts.

III. That though the *Swedes*, when they found that they could not keep their King, his direct Heirs, their Religion and Liberties, all together, reſolved to part with the former, they were forced to be very cautious, and endeavour to gain Time by Treaties, to unite themſelves againſt *Sigiſmond*, who had *Poland* and ſeveral Allies to back him; without which Conſiderations, the Prudence, they ſhewed on this Affair, may aſſure us, they would not have ſuffered the Government in ſo looſe a Poſture, ſo long as they did.

IV. That the *Swedes* knowing, that it is impoſſible on any Occaſion, that all Men ſhould be of the ſame Mind, wiſely ordained, that the Minor Part ſhould ſubmit to the Major, or be declared Enemies to the publick Peace. And ſure this Example will be followed, where-ever reaſonable and diſintereſted Men meet on the like Occaſions; for ſure no Body can deny, but that it is better for any Nation, that ſome Laws ſhould be made, and others broken, againſt the Opinion of the Minor Part, than that all Laws, Morality, and Good-nature, ſhould give Place to Paſſion, Injuſtice and Cruelty, through their Obſtinacy.

Now may God Almighty open the Eyes of all *Engliſhmen* to ſee, and their Hearts to embrace this Truth.

The

The SPEECH of King *JAMES the First*, in the Upper Houſe of Parliament, on *Monday*, the 26th of *March*, 1621.

My Lords,

THE laſt Time I came hither, my Errand was to inform you (as well as my Memory could ſerve me, of Things ſo long paſs'd) of the Verity of my Proceedings, and the Cautions uſed by me in the paſſing of thoſe Patents, which are now in Queſtion before you; to the Effect, that they might not be abuſed in the Execution; and this I did by way of Declaration. But now I am come (underſtanding the Time of your Cenſure to draw near) to expreſs my Readineſs to put in Execution (which is the Life of the Law) thoſe Things, which ye are to ſentence (for even the Law itſelf is a dead Letter without Execution) for which Office God hath appointed me in theſe Kingdoms. And though I aſſure myſelf, that my former Behaviour, in all the Courſe of my Life, hath made me well known for a juſt King; yet in this ſpecial Caſe I thought fit to expreſs my own Intentions, out of my own Mouth, for Puniſhment of Things complain'd of. The firſt Proof whereof I have given, by the diligent Search I cauſed to be made after the Perſon of Sir *Giles Mompeſſon*, who, though he were fled, yet my Proclamation purſued him inſtantly; and as I was earneſt in that, ſo I will be to ſee your Sentence againſt him put in Execution.

Two Reaſons move me to be earneſt in the Execution of what ye are to ſentence at this Time: Firſt, that Duty I owe to God, who hath made me a King, and tied me to the Care of Government, by that politick Marriage between me and my People; for I do aſſure you in the Heart of an honeſt Man, and by the Faith of a Chriſtian King (which both ye and all the World know me to be) had theſe Things been complain'd of to me before the Parliament, I would have done the Office of a juſt King, and out of Parliament have puniſh'd them as ſeverely, and peradventure more, than ye now intend to do.

But now that they are diſcover'd to me in Parliament, I ſhall be as ready in this Way as I ſhould have been in the other. For (I confeſs) I am aſhamed (theſe Things proving ſo, as they are generally reported to be) that it was not my good Fortune to be the only Author of the Reformation and Puniſhment of them, by ſome ordinary Courts of Juſtice. Nevertheleſs, ſince theſe Things are now diſcover'd by Parliament, which before I knew not of, nor could ſo well be diſcover'd otherwiſe, in Regard of that repreſentative Body of the Kingdom, which comes from all Parts of the Country: I will be never a whit the ſlower to do my Part for the Execution. For, as many of you that are here have heard me often ſay, ſo I will ſtill ſay; ſo precious unto me is the publick Good, that no private Perſon whatſoever, were he never ſo dear unto me, ſhall be ſo reſpected by me, by many Degrees, as the publick Good, not only of the whole Commonwealth, but even of any particular Corporation that is a Mem-

ber

ber of it: and I hope, that ye, my Lords, will do me that Right, to publiſh to my People this my Heart and Purpoſe.

The ſecond Reaſon is, that I intend not to derogate or infringe any of the Liberties or Privileges of this Houſe, but rather to fortify and ſtrengthen them; for never any King hath done ſo much for the Nobility of *England*, as I have done, and will ever be ready to do. And whatſoever I ſhall now ſay or deliver unto you as my Thought, yet when I have ſaid what I think, I will afterwards freely leave the Judgment wholly to your Houſe. I know ye will do nothing, but what the like hath been done before; and I pray you be not jealous, that I will abridge you in any Thing that hath been uſed. For whatſoever the Precedents in Times of good Government can warrant, I will allow. For I acknowledge this to be the ſupreme Court of Juſtice, wherein I am ever preſent by Repreſentation: And in this ye may be the better ſatisfy'd by my own Preſence, coming divers Times amongſt you; neither can I give you any greater Aſſurance, or better Pledge of this my Purpoſe, than that I have done you the Honour to ſet my only Son among you, and hope that ye with him ſhall have the Means to make this the happieſt Parliament that ever was in *England*.

This I profeſs, and take Comfort in, that the Houſe of Commons at this Time have ſhew'd greater Love, and uſed me with more Reſpect in all their Proceedings, than ever any Houſe of Commons have heretofore done to me, or (I think) to any of my Predeceſſors. As for this Houſe of yours, I have always found it reſpective to me, and accordingly do I, and ever did favour you, as ye well deſerved. And I hope, it will be accounted a Happineſs for you, that my Son doth now ſit amongſt you, who, when it ſhall pleaſe God to ſet him in my Place, will then remember, that he was once a Member of your Houſe, and ſo be bound to maintain all your lawful Privileges, and like the better of you all the Days of his Life. But becauſe the World at this Time talks ſo much of Bribes, I have juſt Cauſe to fear, the whole Body of this Houſe hath bribed him to be a good Inſtrument for you upon all Occaſions; he doth ſo good Offices in all his Reports to me, both for the Houſe in general, and every one of you in particular.

And the like I may ſay of one that ſits there *(Buckingham)* he hath been ſo ready upon all Occaſions to do good Offices, both for the Houſe in general, and every Member thereof in particular; one Proof thereof, I hope my Lord of *Arundel* hath already witneſs'd unto you, in his Report made unto you of my Anſwer, touching the Privileges of the Nobility, how earneſtly he ſpake unto me in that Matter.

Now, my Lords, the Time draws near of your Receſs; whether Formality will leave you Time for proceeding now to ſentence againſt all, or any of the Perſons now in Queſtion, I know not; but for my Part, ſince both Houſes have dealt ſo lovingly and freely with me, in giving me, as a free Gift, two Subſidies, in a more loving Manner, than hath been given to any King before, and ſo accepted by me; and ſince I cannot yet retribute by a general Pardon, which hath by Form uſually been reſerved to the End of a Parliament, the leaſt I can do (which I can forbear no longer) is to do ſomething in preſent, for the Eaſe and Good of my People.

Three

Three Patents at this Time have been complain'd of, and thought great Grievances:

1. That of the Inns and Hoſteries.
2. That of the Alehouſes.
3. That of Gold and Silver Thread.

My Purpoſe is to ſtrike them all dead, and (that Time may not be loſt) I will have it done preſently.

That concerning the Alehouſes, I would have to be left to the Managing of the Juſtices of Peace, as before.

That of Gold and Silver Thread was moſt vilely executed, both for Wrongs done to Mens Perſons, as alſo for Abuſe in the Stuff; for it was a Kind of falſe Coin. I have already freed the Perſons that were in Priſon: I will now alſo damn the Patent; and this may ſeem inſtead of a Pardon. All theſe three I will have recall'd by Proclamation, and wiſh you to adviſe of the fitteſt Form for that Purpoſe.

I hear alſo, that there is another Bill amongſt you againſt Informers: I deſire you, my Lords, that as you tender my Honour, and the Good of my People, ye will put that Bill to an End ſo ſoon as you can, and at your next Meeting to make it one of your firſt Works. For I have already ſhew'd my Diſlike of that Kind of People openly in Star-Chamber, and it will be the greateſt Eaſe both to me, and all thoſe that are near about me at Court, that may be. For I remember, that ſince the Beginning of this Parliament, *Buckingham* hath told me, he never found ſuch Quiet and Reſt as in this Time of Parliament, from Projectors and Informers, who at other Times miſerably vex'd him at all Hours.

And now I confeſs, that when I look'd before upon the Face of the Government, I thought (as every Man would have done) that the People were never ſo happy as in my Time. For even as at divers Times I have look'd upon many of my Coppices, riding about them, and they appear'd on the Out-ſide very thick and well grown unto me; but when I enter'd into the midſt of them, I found them all bitten within, and full of Plains and bare Spots, like an Apple or Pear, fair and ſmooth without, but when ye cleave it aſunder ye find it rotten at the Heart; even ſo this Kingdom, the external Government being as good as ever it was, and I am ſure as learned Judges as ever it had (and, I hope, as honeſt) adminiſtring Juſtice within it; and for Peace, both at home and abroad, I may truly ſay, more ſettled, and longer laſting, than ever any before, together with as great Plenty as ever; ſo as it was to be thought, that every Man might ſit in Safety under his own Vine, and his own Fig-tree: Yet I am aſhamed, and it makes my Hair ſtand upright, to conſider, how in this Time my People have been vex'd and poll'd by the vile Execution of Projects, Patents, Bills of Conformity, and ſuch like, which, beſides the Trouble of my People, have more exhauſted their Purſes, than Subſidies would have done.

Now, my Lords, before I go hence, ſince God hath made me the great Judge of this Land under him, and that I muſt anſwer for the Juſtice of the ſame: I will therefore (according to my Place) remember you of ſome Things, though I would not teach you; for no Man's Knowledge can be ſo good, but their Memories

Memories will be the better to be refreſh'd. And now becauſe ye are coming to give Judgment, all which moves from the King, that you may the better proceed, take into your Care two Things: Firſt, to do *Bonum*; ſecondly, next to do it *Bene*. I call *Bonum*, when all is well proved whereupon ye judge, for then ye build upon a ſure Foundation; and by *Bene* I underſtand, that ye proceed with all Formality and Legality; wherein you have fit Occaſion to adviſe with the Judges, who are to aſſiſt you with their Opinions in Caſes of that Nature, and Woe be to them if they adviſe you not well: So the Ground being good, and the Form orderly, it will prove a Courſe fitting this high Court of Parliament.

In Sentence ye are to obſerve two Parts: Firſt to recollect that which is worthy of judging and cenſuring; and ſecondly, to proceed againſt theſe, as againſt ſuch like Crimes, properly. We doubt there will be many Matters before you, ſome complain'd of out of Paſſion, and ſome out of juſt Cauſe of Grievance. Weigh both; but be not carry'd away with the impertinent Diſcourſes of them that name as well innocent Men as guilty. Let your Judgments only take hold of the Guilty; proceed judicially, and ſpare none where ye find juſt Cauſe to puniſh. But let your Proceedings be according to Law; and remember that Laws have not their Eyes in their Necks, but in their Foreheads; for the moral Reaſon of the Puniſhment of Vices in all Kingdoms and Commonwealths is, becauſe of the Breach of Laws ſtanding in Force, for none can be puniſh'd for Breach of Laws by Predeſtination, before they be made.

There is yet one Particular which I am to remember you of. I hear that Sir *Henry Yelverton* (who is now in the *Tower*, upon a Sentence given in the Star-Chamber againſt him, for deceiving my Truſt) is touch'd concerning a Warrant dormant, which he made while he was my Attorney; the which my Lord Treaſurer here refuſed to ſet his Hand to, like an honeſt Man, when it was brought unto him. I proteſt I never heard of this Warrant dormant before, and I hold it as odious a Matter as any is before you: and if, for Reſpect to me, ye have forborne to meddle with him in Examination, becauſe he is my Priſoner, I do now here freely remit him unto you, and put him into your Hands.

And this is all I have to ſay unto you at this Time; wiſhing you to proceed juſtly and nobly, according to the Orders of your Houſe; and I pray God to bleſs you, and ye may aſſure yourſelves of my Aſſiſtance, wiſhing that what I have ſaid this Day amongſt you may be enter'd into the Records of this Houſe.

Secret Tranſactions during the hundred Days Mr. William Gregg *lay in* Newgate, *under Sentence of Death for High-Treaſon, from the Day of his Sentence, to the Day of his Execution. Printed* 1711.

PUBLISHED,

FOR the better Information of ſuch as have been deluded, miſinformed, or impos'd on by the diſhoneſt Abettors of a late Set of Men, whoſe Power and Prevalency occaſion'd many to take up with ſuch Reports, as Malice and Intereſt dictated. While (through their Suppreſſion of the Truth) Abundance of others remain'd wholly ignorant, or have imbib'd nothing but the partial Suggeſtions of the Party they ſide with.

This Impartial Account

Is Dedicated to all honeſt Men, who will (doubtleſsly) conſider, and be convinc'd hereby,

How truly bright and ſpotleſs the Right Honourable Mr. *Robert Harley*'s Reputation muſt be, which the Subtilty, Lies, Venom, and unprecedented Malignancy of the late Mighty Party (he has overturn'd) could no Ways blaſt.

APOLOGY.

There is a Satisfaction, which none but good and honeſt Men can feel, in vindicating *Virtue*, *Merit*, and *Innocence*, from the moſt abandon'd Imputations of inveterate and unjuſt Men; eſpecially when it is done for no other Cauſe, but for the Love, and for the Sake of *Juſtice* and *Humanity*; the only Principle, and ſole Motive of my *Preſent Undertaking*.

I was Abroad at the Time of Mr. *William Gregg*'s Tryal, inſomuch, that till very lately, (tho' it made ſo much Noiſe in the World) I had neither a juſt Account of it, nor ſeen his Dying Speech, only by the common Vogue, the great Eſteem People had of the Duke of *Marlborough*, on Account of his Glorious Succeſſes Abroad, occaſion'd them to think very hardly of the Right Honourable Mr. *ROBERT HARLEY*, then one of Her Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State, when (as was reported) they heard his Grace would have laid down, unleſs the Other was remov'd.

And this Report, indeed, was the heavieſt Preſſure, Mr. *Harley*'s Reputation lay under, to have ſo much Merit oppos'd to his own, which notwithſtanding, has at length redounded to *his Honour*.

Hearing ſome People very lately reflect on Mr. *Harley*, on *Gregg*'s Account, even ſince his being made a PEER, and Lord High TREASURER; I thought myſelf obliged, by *Truth* and *Juſtice*, to remove their Prejudices, which I did effectually, by giving them the following Account, as I received it from Mr. *Lorrain* himſelf, who, as I told them, had the beſt Opportunity in the World, to know the very Bottom of *Gregg*'s Heart; and whom all that know him, will atteſt to be a very good, pious, honeſt Man.

I have myſelf known him a long Time, and have neither ever heard, or had Reaſon to think his Conduct, in the leaſt, blameable; which is a Character none ever maintain'd in his Station, (or eſpecially of late.) And very few Clergymen have diſcharg'd the Duty of their *Function* ſo well, in Stations more agreeable and beneficial, *beyond Compare.*

Mr. *Lorrain* did in a moſt ſolemn and ready Manner, declare to me, not only his being fully convinced of Mr. *Harley*'s Innocence, but told me of ſo many Endeavours to corrupt *Gregg*'s Conſcience, not only with repeated Offers of Life, but of great Preferments and Advantages; that indeed on his Relation of it to me, I felt as much Uneaſineſs, leaſt he ſhould betray his Maſter, as if it had been then *my own Caſe.*

'Tis apparent from hence, that ſome Perſons ſtabb'd as directly and villainouſly at Mr. *Harley*'s Life then, as *Guiſcard* did ſince.

As a Proof of what I have ſaid, I have printed, and caus'd to be publiſhed, a True Copy of a Letter written to me by Mr. *Lorrain* himſelf, (which I keep by me) of what relates to Mr. *William Gregg*, while he was under Mr. *Lorrain*'s Care of his Soul.

As Mr. *Lorrain*'s Letter is full of Piety, Moderation, and honeſt Truth, without any Mixture of Bitterneſs, or Prejudice, 'tis a ſufficient Evidence that it is IMPARTIAL and TRUE.

So that I only deſire the Reader thoroughly to peruſe and conſider it, with *Gregg*'s own *Dying Speech*, reprinted Word for Word, and ſubjoin'd to it, and refer it to every honeſt Man's Conſcience, to be the Guide of his *Belief*, *Diſcourſe*, and *Conduct*, in Relation to Perſons and Parties, for the future, being herein

To Our Queen,

A moſt Faithful and Dutiful Subject;

And of my Native Country,

An Affectionate Lover and Servant,

Francis Hoffman.

A True

A True Copy of the Ordinary of Newgate, *the Reverend Mr.* Paul Lorrain's *Letter, to* Francis Hoffman.

My good Friend,

'WHEN you were with me Yeſterday, you know I was in haſte to 'go to St. *Andrews*, and could not for that Reaſon, give you the 'Account you then deſired; but promiſed it you againſt this Morning.

'That I may be as good as my Word, I have (being now engaged in 'Buſineſs from Home) left this to refreſh your Memory, in what I once, 'and more than once, told you, about Mr. *William Gregg*.

'When that unfortunate Perſon was under Sentence of Death for High-'Treaſon, I (according to the Duty of my Place) conſtantly viſited him, 'pray'd with him, examin'd him, and apply'd ſuch Directions and Exhor-'tations to him, as I thought moſt ſuitable for the well-diſpoſing him, and 'preparing him for ANOTHER WORLD.

'I found him to be a Man of Parts, and very ſenſible of his heinous 'Crime, which he readily confeſt, and for which, he expreſs'd great '*Horror, Sorrow, and Repentance.*

'I often preſs'd him to diſcover who (if any) were concern'd with him, 'in that *Treaſonable Fact.*

'And preſs'd him alſo, (in an eſpecial Manner, upon his Eternal Salva-'tion, and as he ſhould anſwer it at the Great Tribunal of God) freely to 'tell me, whether Mr. *Harley*, did know any Thing of it, or was any ways 'concern'd, or to be concern'd in it.

'To which he anſwer'd me, with the greateſt and ſolemneſt Aſſeveration 'and Proteſtation imaginable, (he being all the while upon his Knees, and 'calling the Great God to Witneſs) That that Honourable Gentleman,

Mr. *ROBERT HARLEY*,

'knew nothing of it, neither was to know, nor to be concern'd in it.

'Which he having ſaid, and often repeated to me, I then grew jealous of 'thoſe People that frequently came to him, who (as he told me) were ſo far 'from offering him any Thing to quiet his Conſcience, that, on the contrary, 'they gave a great Diſturbance to it.

'It ſeems, that among the reſt, ſome Friends of that Honourable Gentle-'man's coming to ſee this Priſoner, I then expreſs'd ſome Diſlike of his 'being ſo much diſturb'd, by Perſons that reſorted to him, even at thoſe 'Hours, when myſelf was to be at Prayer with him; but I knew not who 'thoſe Perſons were, that thus came to him, and my endeavouring to keep 'them from him, was with no other Deſign, than for the Good of that 'poor Man's Soul, who did all along expreſs to me his great Deſire of 'being in the Chapel, and privately in his Room, with me, as much as 'poſſible.

'And as he alſo told me, that he was proffer'd his Life, and a great Reward, 'if he would accuſe his Maſter; ſo I muſt own to you, I was very uneaſy 'at his frequent Viſiters, eſpecially when I conſidered how they diſturb'd his 'Mind, and how much they took up of his precious Moments, and hindred 'him from his Devotions, and my Aſſiſtances to him therein.

'I urged him, many and many Times and Ways, to clear his Conſcience, 'and not violate it for the whole World, telling him, that it was infinitely 'better to dye with a good Conſcience, than make Shipwreck of it, and 'ſave his Life here; yea, and gain the whole World; by laying a falſe 'Accuſation on that Honourable Perſon, or any other he knew to be 'Innocent, for that would certainly make him miſerable, both here and 'ever, *&c.*

'With ſuch-like Expreſſions and Admonitions (God's Grace intervening) 'I fix'd his (then unſettled) Conſcience, wean'd him from the vain Hopes and 'Deſires of this Life, and directed his Thoughts and Affections to far better 'Things, which I told him, it was poſſible for him to obtain, if he earneſtly 'and entirely labour'd after them.

'He thank'd me for my good Advice, and the great Concern I ſhew'd 'for his Eternal Welfare, and ſaid, he would now give the deaf Ear to the 'World, and ſo hoped God's Ear would be open to his Prayers, *&c.*

'At the Place of Execution, he thank'd me publickly for all my Pains 'with him, which had prov'd ſo happy to his Soul, praying God to bleſs 'me, and my Family.

'Then he deliver'd a Paper into my Hand, for me to publiſh; in which 'Paper, he (among other Things) acknowledges God's Mercy to him, in 'preventing him from proſtituting his Conſcience, to ſave his Life.

'Now the Reaſon why I did not preſently publiſh that Paper, was this,

'That it was commanded, and kept from me by the then preſent Sheriffs, 'Sir *Benjamin Green*, (to whom I was then Chaplain) and Sir *Charles Piers*, 'even from the Time of its Delivery, which was the 28th of *April* 1708, 'to the 6th of *May*, then next enſuing, at which Time, having receiv'd it 'again, I waited with it on the Right Honourable the Earl of *Sunderland*, 'then one of her Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State, who immediately 'gave me Leave to publiſh it.

'Telling me withal, that I was the propereſt Perſon to authorize ſuch 'Papers, as were thus delivered to me.

'Upon this, I forthwith ſent it to the Preſs, and it then appear'd under 'my Name, as you may ſee by the printed Copy here enclos'd.

I am,

Dear SIR,

Chriſt's Hoſpital,
Tueſday Morning,
June 13, 1711.

Your very humble Servant, and
Affectionate Servant,

PAUL LORRAIN.

A Copy

A Copy of William Gregg's *Paper, delivered by him to the Sheriffs of* London *and* Middlesex, *Sir* Benjamin Green, *and Sir* Charles Piers, *and* Paul Lorrain, *Ordinary of* Newgate, *at* Tyburn, *the Place where he was executed for High-Treason, on* Wednesday *the* 28*th of* April, 1708. *Printed from the Original, and publish'd by Authority.*

'THE Crime, I am now justly to suffer for, having made a great Noise in the World, a Paper of a more than ordinary Length will be expected from the Criminal; who, therefore takes this last Opportunity to profess his utter Abhorrence, and sincere Repentance of all his Sins against God, and of the Heinous Crime committed against the QUEEN, whose Forgiveness I most humbly implore, as I shall heartily pray for HER MAJESTY's long Life and happy Reign over her United People, and Success against her Enemies, with my parting Breath.

'This being all the Satisfaction I can make Injur'd Majesty.

'I declare, in the next Place, the Reparation I would make (were it in my Power) to those of her Majesty's Subjects, I have wrong'd in any Kind.

'And particularly, the Right Honourable *ROBERT HARLEY*, Esq; whose Pardon I heartily beg for basely betraying my Trust. Which Declaration, tho' of itself sufficient to clear the said Gentleman, yet for the Sake of those whom it was my Misfortune, not to be able to satisfy in my Life-Time, I do sacredly protest, That as I shall answer it before the Judgment Seat of CHRIST, the Gentleman, aforesaid, was not privy to my writing to *France*, Directly *nor* Indirectly.

'Neither I, his unworthy Clerk, any ways accessary to the Miscarriage before *Thoulon*, nor the Losses by Sea; all which happen'd before the first of my Letters, which was written the 24th of *October*, 1707.

'As for my Creditors, as I am in no Condition to satisfy them, so I earnestly beg they would forgive me, and I pray God to make up their Losses to them Seven-fold.

'For my own Part, I do freely forgive all Men, and dye in perfect Charity with them, not without humble Hopes of finding Forgiveness, thro' the Merits of *Jesus Christ*, with GOD, who in Mercy touch'd my Conscience, so powerfully from the Beginning, as to prevent my prostituting the same to save my Life; for which Instance of his Love, (to be preferr'd before Life itself) I bless and magnify his Holy Name, with unspeakable Joy and Comfort, at my Death, nothing near so ignominious, as would have been such a Life.

'After this Confession, the Duty of a dying Man, leads me to profess the Religion in which I was brought up, and do now dye, which is *the Protestant.*

'The

'The Scandal given whereunto, by my enormous Practices, cannot be 'better taken away, than by my publiſhing to the World my hearty Sorrow 'for thoſe ſenſual Pleaſures which have prov'd my Bane.

'Wherefore, let all that ſhall read this poor Paper, take Warning by me, 'to ſhun the like Youthful Luſts, to which, whoever gives up himſelf, can-'not tell how far they may (when indulged) carry him, even to the commit-'ting of ſuch Crimes, as he thought himſelf incapable of, ſome time a 'Day.

'Of which ſad Truth, I (to my woful Experience) am a melancholy 'Inſtance; but at the ſame Time, I appeal to the Great God, before whom 'I am now going to appear, that, notwithſtanding all the Pains taken to 'make me out an old Offender, by faſtening on me the Crime of counter-'feiting the Coin; this is the firſt Fault that ever I ventured upon, which 'was not out of Zeal for the Pretender, whom I not only diſown at my Death, 'but ſolemnly declare, that in all my Life, I never thought he had any Right 'to theſe Realms, how fooliſhly ſoever I may have rendred myſelf obnoxious 'in this Particular.

'But the only Motive of my mad Undertaking, was Money, of which I 'never received any, on Account of the Ship Paſs, though I have met with 'the more juſt Reward of ſuch ſecret Services, intended by

W. GREGG.

All that the Seſſions Paper ſays of his Tryal, is, that,

William Gregg, of the Pariſh of St. *Martins in the Fields*, Gent. was indicted for High-Treaſon againſt the Queen and Government, in correſponding with Her Majeſty's Enemies.

The Proceedings of which will be printed by itſelf, and publiſh'd in a few Days.

But the Proceedings at his Tryal were never printed.

Here it is evident, that he lay in *Newgate* after Sentence of Death paſs'd on him for High-Treaſon, in correſponding with Her Majeſty's Enemies, from the Nineteenth Day of *January* 1707-8, to *April* the 28th 1708, which was the Day of his Execution, as a Traytor at *Tyburn*.

So that in the whole, he lay'd under Sentence of Death, from the Time of his Sentence, to the Day of his Execution, *One Hundred Days*.

All which Time, Mr. *Lorrain* labour'd very diligently, and devoutly with him, by good Admonitions, and frequent Prayers to God for him, and with him, that he might not violate his Conſcience, nor betray his Maſter.

While on the other Side, *Gregg* often declar'd to Mr. *Lorrain*, no Manner of Solicitations, or Offers of Life, Preferment, and great Advantages were wanting to induce him to bring Mr. *Harley*'s innocent Blood on his Head.

So long a Reſpite from Death, as one Hundred Days, was enough to make any Man ſo unwilling to dye, as to make him to do any Thing to ſave his Life,

Life, right or wrong, and Mr. *Lorrain* ſaid *Gregg* ſo often wavered in his Mind about it, being put ſo much, and ſo often, in hopes of living with Splendor by certain Perſons, that he almoſt reſolved to ſay and do any Thing Mr. *Harley*'s Enemies would have him.

Againſt which, Mr. *Lorrain* fortified his Mind with all Manner of upright Induſtry, and at length with final Succeſs. So that *Gregg* gave a deaf Ear to all their farther Attempts.

Here was One Hundred Days hard Struggle between Life and Death, *Innocence* and *Party-Malice*.

Who thoſe Perſons were that offer'd *Gregg* his Life, with great Preferments and Advantages (if he would but accuſe his Maſter) may not uneaſily be gueſt at; for moſt of the Time he was lock'd up, none but People of Note were permitted to come near him, who made him ſtrange Promiſes, and often repeated them. However, it is not improbable, but we may ſee them taken in the very ſame Net they ſo inhumanly ſpread for the Life of another, and deſervedly fall into their own Miſchief.

And here it would be worth while to examine, how, and why, a certain Perſon got out of *Newgate*, who was juſtly confin'd there for Life, by Act of Parliament.

But cunning as they were, all their Councils were of none Effect; all their Attempts againſt Mr. *Harley*'s Life, were baffled.

Neither One Hundred Days Time to contrive ſomething ſpecious againſt him.

Not all their Tamperings with the Conſcience of a Man of an ill Life, under the Fear of Death, and horrible Dread of Something worſe.

Nor the Aſſiſtance of ſo many long-headed Iniquity-mongers, could prevail againſt Mr. *Harley*'s ſingle Innocence.

This ſeems aſtoniſhing, to ſee ſo mighty, ſo rich a Party, come off ſo poorly.

Reduc'd to their laſt Shifts, little Tricks, like the After-Drops of a Shower.

Submitting to ſtop *Gregg*'s dying Speech for eight Days only.

And then, when it was publiſh'd by another Hand, for the two Sheriffs of *London*, to ſend Mr. *Lorrain* to the Earl of *Sunderland*, to ask Leave to print a dying Speech, they had commanded, and kept from him, till to keep it any longer, or indeed ſo long, was a burning Shame to them, but of no Manner of farther Service.

From hence you may conclude, how generous it was to ſay to Mr. *Lorrain*,

You are the proper Perſon to give Authority to this Paper, and I will give you my Word, you ſhall come to no Trouble for the printing and publiſhing it.

This, I ſay, was a generous Liberty indeed, when they had conceal'd as long as they could, a Truth, which trumpeted out their own Injuſtice and Diſhonour, at the ſame Time, as it gave an unexſtinguiſhable Luſtre to the Innocence and Loyalty of the Man, whoſe Life they ſought.

The COMMITTEE *of Lords appointed to examine* Gregg, *were,*

Devonshire, *Somerset,* *Bolton,*	Dukes.	Earl of *Wharton,* Lord Visc. *Townshend,* Lord *Sommers,* Lord *Halifax.*

More Secret Transactions relating to the Case of Mr. William Gregg. *By the Author of the former Part. Printed in the Year* 1711.

To the AUTHOR of the Letter to the Seven Lords.

WERE ever Seven Lords so blest, so honoured, in a Letter before, as by yours, Intituled, *A Letter to the Seven Lords of the Committee appointed to examine* Gregg? In which you tell them with unusual Confidence and Self-Conceit, that the publick Writers treat them as Rogues, Rascals, Cheats, Villains, Enemies of the Nation, Affronters of the Queen, Subverters of the Constitution, *&c.*

I am amazed at your Assurance, in applying these Terms to them; none but yourself would have been so mad as to do it.

Neither could I any ways think otherwise, but that you was hired by some implacable Enemies of their Lordships, to render their Honours as odious to Mankind as possible, by publishing to the whole Nation, that when any eminent Writers treat of ill-designing Men, you can apply it to none but themselves, in a Parenthesis; thus, i. e. *Your Seven Lordships.*

No other Enemy of their Lordships, but your self, would so insolently presume to point at them, and cry, they mean, i. e. *Your Lordships certainly.*

But as to your being hired; tho' it may be possible for their Lordships to have Enemies as viperous as yourself, I cannot think any rational Creature could be so void of common Sense and Prudence, as to hire so vain, so wretched a Scribler, as your Performance shews you to be.

I find you would fain have the *Examiner* condescend to take Notice of you, but no such Honour will fall to your Share.

I am sorry to find you so disturbed in your Mind, on Account of my Paper of *Secret Transactions*, during the hundred Days *Gregg* lay in *Newgate* after Sentence of Death, which you say cannot well be afforded at so cheap a Rate as a Penny, as the Lord-Booksellers informed you. I find they can very easily impose on you, and I doubt not but they made you pay through the Nose for printing your Three-penny Letter, to which a Penny Answer

is

is more than ſufficient, which is a plain Proof, that we, who write on the Behalf of the manifeſtly clear and untainted Honeſty of Mr. *H*——, take Example by the preſent Miniſtry, and do not put the Publick to three Times more Charge than is neceſſary, as you have done in your Three-penny Letter, and as your Party have often, but moſt notoriouſly done, for no other Cauſe, but out of ſtrange Extravagance, Vanity and Pride; inſtead of erecting new Temples in Honour of the Moſt High.

In Honour of whom, and by whoſe Grace, Men preſerve a good Conſcience, the happy Effects of which are a chearful Countenance, and an inward Satisfaction, which it is not in the Power of Man to take away: This is what our Saviour alluded to, when he thus expreſſed himſelf to his Diſciples.

And your Joy no Man taketh from you.

Among other Diſcourſes which we had in Company of ſome Strangers at Mr. *Lorrain*'s, juſt on the publiſhing of my Paper of *Secret Tranſactions*, &c. Mrs. *Lorrain* gave us the following Relation of what ſhe obſerved in a particular Manner of *Gregg*, *viz*.

'That during the Time *Gregg* had Offers made him of his Life, and he 'continued in Suſpence, whether he ſhould bring Mr. *Harley*'s innocent Blood 'on his Head, or no, he laboured under very ſtrange and violent Agonies 'of Mind; which Violence had ſo great an Effect on his Countenance, and 'Bodily Health, that he not only looked like Death itſelf, but waſted away 'beyond Expreſſion; as his Soul was full of inutterable Trouble between 'the Deſires of Life and Fear of Death, the Struggles of his Conſcience in 'Behalf of Innocence, and the ſtrong Temptations not only to ſave his Life, 'but of living with Splendor, that he might juſtly be ſaid to be moſt exquiſitely tortured on the very Rack of Nature itſelf.

'So in this his extream Perplexity, Mr. *Lorrain* did all that a ſincere and 'pious Miniſter could do; as firſt, he ſet before him the Impoſſibility of 'being ever happy here or hereafter, after ſo black Crimes, and ſo heinous a Murder, as that of his Maſter, and the Multitude of enormous 'Perjuries by which he muſt bring it to paſs, with a thouſand other Evils 'at the Heels of it; and laſtly, added, That as the beſt of Men could not 'be depended on in any Meaſure like a good God, ſo the Promiſes of the 'Perſons who offered him his Life, were infinitely leſs to be depended on; 'ſince without regard to Heaven, Conſcience, or the Innocence of the Perſon 'whoſe Life they ſought, they tempted him to ſo foul a Deed. On theſe 'Conſiderations, Mr. *Gregg* took a firm Reſolution to die with a good Conſcience; and from that Time, his Countenance and bodily Health returned 'to their former Chearfulneſs and Vigour faſter than they declined before.'

You do, and muſt allow (becauſe Malice itſelf can do no otherwiſe) Mr. *H*—— to be untainted and manifeſtly innocent; and yet you will not have

it to be a proper Expreſſion, to ſay, Betray no innocent Perſon, tho' *Judas* betrayed his Maſter, who was a Perſon the moſt innocent.

However, your Exception or Criticiſm on the Word *Betray*, betrays who ſet you at Work, if you are not that very Perſon (as I have Reaſon to think you are) who told me in poſitive Terms, nobody made *Gregg* any Offers but Mr. *H*—— himſelf; tho' you affirm in your Letter, Mr. *H*—— was manifeſtly clear and untainted; but you can ſay and unſay as you pleaſe, with your own peculiar Air.

As to my Uneaſineſs (leſt Innocence ſhould be betrayed) ſeeming to you ill-timed. Now Mr. *H*—— is ſafe and great, if you had read the *Secret Tranſactions* (while in thoſe Lord-guiding Hands of yours, as you were pleaſed to acquaint their Lordſhips) you would have found, that I, having been in foreign Parts, from the Time of *Gregg*'s Trial till very lately, could not have tim'd it ſooner, nor more ſeaſonably, than at a Time when Mr. *H*——'s Conduct began to be applauded, even by his Enemies, or rather thoſe honeſt Men who had ſided with them in behalf of Liberty of Conſcience, Liberty of the Subject, *&c.* for which the ruined Party ſeemed ſo zealous.

I appeal to yourſelf, whether what I publiſhed was not ſeaſonable (though you and your Party have Cauſe to think it ill timed on your own Accounts) at a critical Juncture, when honeſt Men began to ſuſpect your Party's Treacheries, and to be ſenſible that Mr. *H*—— was really that Lover of his Country, whom the beſt of your Friends could only pretend to be, who had ſuppreſſed *Gregg*'s Dying Speech, and impoſed inveterate and malicious Accounts thereof on the Publick, inſtead of the Truth you have confeſſed and publiſhed in your Letter.

Now I appeal to you again, whether or no I could have timed any Truth better, or more ſeaſonably, than at a Juncture when Truth and Humanity began once more to find a fair and ſincere Reception among the higher Powers, and from their great Examples, among all the inferior Ranks of the People.

But nothing can be more mortifying to you, and *your greateſt Miniſters of State, as you term them*, than to behold all thoſe honeſt Men, whom by your Artifices you had deluded and miſinformed, leaving you, and flying from your Snares of Diſloyalty and Hypocriſy, and entertaining a juſt Affection and Veneration for the Man, whom you cannot but affirm to be innocent; though your Party, by ſuppreſſing *Gregg*'s Dying Speech, did all they could to leave ill Impreſſions in Peoples Minds againſt him.

The *Examiner* may well call yours a ruined Party; ſince you (like deſperate People) take all Opportunities to ruſh headlong to your final Ruin.

You fell headlong in your Attempt to make the Reſiſtance of your Sovereign lawful, in her Reign, who deſerved all Manner of Obedience and Gratitude at your Hands.

You fell headlong in your Attempts againſt the Life of the loyal Favourite ſhe delights to honour.

And

And you are now falling headlong from the Eſteem of all good and honeſt Men, down to the loweſt Degree of Ignominy and Confuſion.

And all truly conſcientious *Diſſenters* begin to be ſenſible, That in the preſent Lord High Treaſurer they have a true Friend, in Relation to Liberty, Property, and Conſcience, who does not like your Friends to make an Outcry in Behalf of the Liberty of the Subject, and at the ſame Time engroſs almoſt all the Places of Profit into his own Family or Hands, to the Excluſion of the Rights of his Sovereign, as well as the very Rights of their Fellow Subjects; of which they pretend to be ſuch Patrons.

But the moſt infamous Piece of Ingratitude of which your Party are guilty, is their endeavouring to tax their Sovereign with Want of Senſe, for no other Cauſe but her Munificence, Patience and Indulgence towards them; of whom her late She-Favourite cannot but own her Delight was to be *always the ſame.*

Kindly her Domeſticks uſing,
Loving all beneath her Care;
When accus'd, their Faults excuſing;
Theſe her private Pleaſures are.

Never to a Change inclining,
Till ſhe found the Caſe ſo plain;
(Mercy in her Juſtice ſhining)
Other Methods were in vain.

Your taxing ſo good a Queen with want of Senſe, is the horrible Gulf, down which your Party are tumbling headlong, finally and irrecoverably for ever; the Eyes of all *Europe* ſee you, every loyal and honeſt Heart condemns you, and your Ingratitude renders it impoſſible to preſerve the leaſt Pity or Compaſſion for you.

In the upper Part of your 20th Page, you queſtion, Whether your Sovereign will make any Obſervations at all; at the Bottom of the ſame Page, you ſay, Your Sovereign will not recal her old Servants, whoſe Looks you affirm your Sovereign cannot bear: (What ſtrange Looks muſt they have) becauſe, as you ſay, wrongfully ſuſpected, and for fear of her being taxed with Inconſtancy; and then ſum up the whole in the moſt treaſonable and traiterous Manner you can expreſs it.

In your 21ſt Page, beginning Line the third, only putting She inſtead of He: For you muſt allow me to point out one Meaning of yours, who have pointed out ſo many for other People, you affirm meaning the Queen.

She will much leſs think of diſcarding her new Choice upon finding her Miſtakes, viz. *That ſhe wrongfully ſuſpected them.*

Which is not only calling her Senſe of Right and Wrong in queſtion, but is a barefaced Inſinuation, that ſhe has no Diſpoſition in her, either to Juſtice or Humanity.

And here I will appeal, in your own Words, to the *French* King and his Counſellors, to the Pretender, and all the reſt of your Friends his Abettors, whether is greater, *Your Folly or your Impudence?*

And I am ſure the King of *France* would have hanged you up immediately, had you been his Subject, as you are his Votary, for ſaying half ſo much againſt him, notwithſtanding you have done what you call the faireſt thing in the World, (*i. e.* your appealing to him and the Pretender) in giving them Precedence before your lawful Sovereign, and all the other Princes of *Europe*, in your grand Appeal.

I ſhall conclude the whole with this final Remark on you in your own Phraſes.

That no Sovereign had ever ſo baſe, ſo audacious a Wretch of a Subject, nor did ſeven noble Lords ever receive a Letter from ſuch a Hedge-writer as yourſelf, and ſo *unſkilful a Sycophant.*

POSTSCRIPT.

July 22, 1711.

SIR *Charles Piers* told me, Mr. *William Gregg* deſired him to give his Dying Speech into the Queen's own Hands; but it being a Matter of High Treaſon, he thought it not proper to deliver it to her Majeſty any otherwiſe than by the Hands of the then Principal Secretaries of State; but he has quite forgotten, as he ſays, to which of them.

Sir *Charles* readily owned, that *Gregg*'s Dying Speech, printed by Mr. *Lorrain*, was according to his and Mr. *Lorrain*'s Copy, which agreed with his, and that there was a third Copy, which *Gregg* told him he had delivered to another Hand, who publiſhed it ſeveral Days before Mr. *Lorrain*'s came out.

And Sir *Charles Piers*'s Lady ſaid, Sir *Charles* read the Copy *Gregg* gave him of his Dying Speech to her, which ſhe remembered ſo well, that ſhe could ſafely give her Oath as to the Truth of what was publiſhed.

This Confirmation of the Dying Speech of Mr. *William Gregg*, publiſhed by Mr. *Lorrain*, by two ſuch eminent Perſons, will, I hope, ſatisfy ſome certain Perſons, who ſeemed to me very unwilling to be convinced, That Mr. *William Gregg* did in his Dying Speech fairly, freely, publickly and ſolemnly, clear and juſtify the Right Honourable Mr. *Robert Harley* from any Manner of Concern with him in his Treaſon.

Sir *Charles Piers* does not deny, but that he received Mr. *Lorrain*'s Copy, and kept it in his Hands ſeveral Days, during which the other was publiſhed, and might, on Buſineſs, be from Home once or twice when Mr. *Lorrain* came for it, and does not know but Mr. *Lorrain* might have had it the next Day if he would; but the whole being a trifling

trifling Concern, has quite forgot whether it was ſo or no. All which Forgetfulneſs of Sir *Charles* proceeded, as I ſuppoſe, from his little thinking at that Time Mr. *Harley* would ever have been ſo great as now: As indeed, who would ever have thought, much leſs have believed, that, as Matters were then carried, the moſt excellent Queen herſelf could ever have given ſo particular a Proof of her Wiſdom and Power, as in advancing the preſent Lord High Treaſurer; or with ſo much Glory to herſelf, have vindicated the Dread and Awefulneſs of her Sacred Majeſty, by caſting down the audacious *Phaetons*, to the Surprize and Aſtoniſhment of all *Europe?*

Sir *Charles Piers* ſaid, tho' Mr. *Lorrain* had kept Minutes of *Gregg*'s Affairs, and he had not, he would keep very ſevere and exact Minutes, when he came to be Lord Mayor; and that Perſons had beſt take care what they ſpoke of him; was angry with Mr. *Lorrain* for mentioning his Name without conferring with him firſt; and then informed me, That his Word, as a Chriſtian, would go as far as Mr. *Lorrain*'s *Verbum Sacerdotis*, for all he was a Prieſt; and ſaid, he told Mr. *Lorrain* as much before the preſent Lord Mayor and the Judges this laſt Seſſions at the *Old Bailey*.

Francis Hoffman.

Some Remarks upon a Pamphlet, entitled, A Letter to the *Seven Lords* of the Committee, appointed to examine *Gregg. By the Author of the* Examiner. *Printed in the Year* 1711.

THOSE who have given themſelves the Trouble to write againſt me, either in ſingle Papers or Pamphlets, (and they are pretty numerous) do all agree in diſcovering a violent Rage, and at the ſame Time affecting an Air of Contempt toward their Adverſary; which, in my humble Opinion, are not very conſiſtent; and therefore it is plain, that their Fury is real and hearty, their Contempt only perſonated. I have pretty well ſtudied this Matter, and would caution Writers of their Standard, never to engage in that difficult Attempt of deſpiſing, which is a Work to be done in cold Blood, and only by a ſuperior Genius to one at ſome Diſtance beneath him. I can truly affirm, I have had a very ſincere Contempt for many of thoſe who have drawn their Pens againſt me; yet I rather choſe the cheap Way of diſcovering it by Silence and Neglect, than be at the Pains of new Terms to expreſs it: I have known a Lady value herſelf upon a haughty diſdainful Look, which very few underſtood, and Nobody alive regarded. Thoſe Common-place Terms of *infamous Scribbler*, *proſtitute Libeller*, and the like, thrown Abroad without Propriety or Provocation, do ill perſonate the true Spirit of Contempt; becauſe they are ſuch as the meaneſt Writer,

Writer, whenever he pleaſes, may uſe, towards the beſt. I remember indeed a Pariſh Fool, who, with a great deal of Deformity, carried the moſt diſdainful Look I ever obſerved in any Countenance; and it was the moſt prominent Part of his Folly; but he was thoroughly in earneſt, which theſe Writers are not: For there is another Thing I would obſerve, that my Antagoniſts are moſt of them *ſo*, in a literal Senſe; breathe *real* Vengeance, and extend their Threats to my Perſon, if they knew where to find it; wherein they are ſo far from deſpiſing, that I am ſenſible they do me too much Honour. The Author of *the Letter to the Seven Lords*, takes upon him the three Characters of a *Deſpiſer*, a *Threatner*, and a *Railer*; and ſucceeds ſo well in the two laſt, that it has made him miſcarry in the firſt. It is no unwiſe Proceeding which the Writers of that Side have taken up, to ſcatter their Menaces in ever Paper they publiſh; it may perhaps look abſurd, ridiculous and impudent, in People at Mercy to aſſume ſuch a Style; but the Deſign is right, to endeavour perſuading the World that it is *they* who are the injured Party, that *they* are the Sufferers, and have a Right to be angry.

However, there is one Point wherein theſe Gentlemen ſeem to ſtretch this wiſe Expedient a little farther than it will allow. I, who for ſeveral Months undertook to examine into the late Management of Perſons and Things, was content ſometimes to give only a few Hints of certain Matters, which I had Charity enough to wiſh might be buried for ever in Oblivion, if the Confidence of theſe People had not forced them from me. One Inſtance whereof, among many, is the Buſineſs of *Gregg*, the Subject of a Letter I am now conſidering. If this Piece hath been written by Direction, as I ſhould be apt to ſuſpect, yet I am confident they would not have us think ſo; becauſe it is a Sort of Challenge, to let the World into the whole Secret of *Gregg*'s Affair. But I ſuppoſe they are confident it is what I am not Maſter of, wherein it is Odds but they may be miſtaken; for I believe, the Memorials of that Tranſaction are better preſerved than they ſeem to be aware of, as perhaps may one Day appear.

This Writer is offended, becauſe I have ſaid ſo many ſevere Things with Application to particular Perſons. The *Medley* has been often in the ſame Story: If they condemn it as a Crime in general, I ſhall not much object, at leaſt I will allow it ſhould be done with Truth and Caution; but by what Argument will they undertake to prove, that it is pardonable on one Side, and not on the other? Since the late Change of M——y, I have obſerved many of that Party take up a new Style, and tell us, That *this Way of perſonal Reflections ought not to be endured*; *they could not approve of it*; *it was againſt Charity and good Manners*. When the *Whigs* were in Power, they took ſpecial care to keep their *Adverſaries* ſilent; then all kind of Falſhood and Scurrility was *doing good Service to the Cauſe, and detecting of evil Principles*. Now, that the Face of Things is changed, and we have Liberty to retort upon them, they are for calling down Fire from Heaven upon us; tho', by a Sort of Indulgence which they were Strangers to, we allow them

equal

equal Liberty of the Preſs with ourſelves; and they even now make greater Uſe of it againſt Perſons in higheſt Power and Credit, than we do againſt thoſe who have been diſcarded for the moſt infamous Abuſe of both.

Who encouraged and rewarded the *Obſervator* and *Review* for many Years together, in charging the whole Body of the Clergy with the moſt odious Crimes and Opinions? In declaring all who took Oaths to the Government, and called themſelves *Tories*, to be worſe than *Papiſts* and *Nonjurors?* In expoſing the Univerſities, as Seminaries of the moſt pernicious Principles in Church and State? In defending the Rebellion, and the Murder of King *Charles* I. which they aſſerted to be altogether as juſtifiable as the late Revolution? Is there a great Man now in Power, or in any Credit with the Queen, whom thoſe unworthy Undertakers have not treated by Name in the moſt ignominious Manner? Even ſince this great Change of Affairs, with what amazing Licentiouſneſs hath the Writer of the *Medley* attacked every Perſon of the preſent Miniſtry, the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons, and the whole Senate? He has turned into Ridicule the Reſults of the Council and the Parliament, as well as the juſt and generous Endeavours of the latter to pay the Debts, and reſtore the Credit of the Nation, almoſt ruined by the Corruption and Management of his own Party.

And are theſe the People who complain of perſonal Reflections? Who ſo confidently invoke the Men in Power, whom they have ſo highly obliged, to puniſh, or ſilence me, for reflecting on their exploded Heroes? Is there no Difference between Men choſen by the Prince, reverenced by the People for their Virtue, and others rejected by both for the higheſt Demerits? Shall the *Medley* and his Brothers fly out with Impunity againſt thoſe who preſide at the Helm? And am I to be torn in Pieces, becauſe I cenſure others, who, for endeavouring to ſplit the Veſſel againſt a Rock, are put under the *Hatches?*

I now proceed to the Pamphlet which I intend to conſider; it is a Letter, written to ſeven great Men, who were appointed to examine *Gregg* in *Newgate*. The Writer tells their L——ps, that the *Examiner* hath charged them for *endeavouring, by Bribery and Subornation of that Criminal, to take away Mr.* H——*'s Life*. If there be any thing among the Papers I have writ, which may be applied to theſe Perſons, it would have become this Author to have cleared them fully from the Accuſation, and then he might at leiſure have fallen upon me as a Liar and Miſrepreſenter; but of that he has not offered a Syllable: The Weight of his Charge lies here; that ſuch an Author as the *Examiner* ſhould preſume, by certain Innuendo's, to accuſe any Perſons of ſuch a Crime. My Buſineſs in thoſe Papers was to repreſent Facts, and I was as ſparing as poſſible of reflecting upon particular Perſons; but the Miſchief is, that the Readers have always found Names to tally with thoſe Facts; and I know no Remedy for this. As for Inſtance, in the Caſe here before us. An Under Clerk in the Secretary's Office, of 50 *l.* a Year, is diſcovered to hold Correſpondence with *France*, and apprehended by his Maſter's Order, before he could have Opportunity to make his

his Eſcape, by the private Warning of a certain Perſon, a profeſt Enemy to the Secretary. The Criminal is condemned to dye. 'Tis found, upon his Trial, that he was a poor, profligate Fellow; the Secretary at that Time was under the mortal Hatred of a violent prevailing Party, who dreaded him for his great Abilities, and his avowed Deſign to break their deſtructive Meaſures. It was very well known, that a Secretary of State hath little or no Intercourſe with the lower Clerks, but with the Under-Secretaries, who are the more immediate Maſters of thoſe Clerks, and are, and ought to be, as they then were, Gentlemen of Worth: However, it would paſs well enough in the World, that *Gregg* was employed in Mr. Secretary *H*——'s Office, and was conſequently one of his Clerks, which would be Ground to build upon it what Suggeſtions they pleaſed. Then for the Criminal, he was needy and vicious: He owed his Death to the Secretary's watchful Purſuit of him, and would therefore probably incline to hearken to any Offers that would ſave his Life, gratify his Revenge, and make him eaſy in his Fortune: So that if a Work of Darkneſs were to be done, it muſt be confeſt here were proper Motives, and a proper Inſtrument. But ought we to ſuſpect any Perſons of ſuch a diabolical Practice? Can all Faith, and Honour, and Juſtice be thus violated by Men? Queſtions proper for a Pulpit, or well becoming a Philoſopher; but if it were *Regnandi cauſa*; (and that perhaps in a literal Senſe) is this an Age of the World to think Crimes improbable becauſe they are great? Perhaps it is: But what ſhall we ſay to ſome of thoſe Circumſtances which attended this Fact? Who gave Riſe to this Report againſt Mr. *H*——? Will any of his Enemies confeſs in cold Blood, that they did either believe, ſuſpect, or imagine, the Secretary, and one of the Under Clerks to be joined in correſponding with *France?* Some of them, I ſhould think, knew better what belonged to ſuch a Correſpondence, and how it ought to be managed. The Nature of *Gregg*'s Crime was ſuch, as to be beſt performed without any Accomplices at all: It was to be a Spy here for the *French*, and to tell them all he knew; and it appears by his Letters, that he never had it in his Power to let them into any Thing of Importance. The Copy of the Q——'s Letter to the Emperor, which he ſent to the Enemy, and hath made ſuch a Noiſe, was only to deſire, that Prince *Eugene* might be employed to command in *Spain*, which for ſix Weeks before had been mentioned in all the *Gazettes* of *Europe*. It was evident from the Matter of his Letters, that no Man of Conſequence could have any Share in them. The whole Affair had been examined in the *Cabinet* two Months before, and there found and reported as only affecting the Perſon of *Gregg*, who, to ſupply his Vices and his Wants, was tempted to engage in that Correſpondence; it is therefore hard to conceive, how that Examination ſhould be reſumed after ſuch a Diſtance of Time, with any fair or honourable Intention. Why were not *Gregg*'s Examination publiſhed, which were ſign'd by his own Hand, and had been taken in the *Cabinet* two Months before the Committee of the Houſe was appointed to re-examine him? Why was he preſſed ſo cloſe, as to cry out with Horror, *Good God, would you have me accuſe*

cuſe Mr. Harley, *when he is wholly innocent?* Why were all the Anſwers returned to the Queries ſent him immediately burned? I cannot in my Conſcience but think, that the Party was bound in Honour to procure *Gregg* a Pardon, which was openly promiſed him, upon Condition of making an *ingenuous* Confeſſion, unleſs they had ſome other Notions of what is *ingenuous*, than is commonly meant by that Word. A Confeſſion may be never the leſs *ingenuous*, for not anſwering the Hopes or Deſigns of thoſe who take it; but tho' the Word was publickly uſed, the Definition of it was reſerved to *private Interpretation*, and by a capricious humour of Fortune, a moſt flagitious, tho' repenting Villain, was hanged for his Virtue. It could not indeed conſiſt with any kind of Prudence then in Faſhion, to ſpare his Life, and thereby leave it in his Power at any Time to detect their Practices, which he might afterwards do at any Time, with ſo much Honour to himſelf.

But I have the Luck to be accuſed by this Author in very good Company; the two Houſes of Parliament in general, and the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons in particular; whom he taxes with *Falſhood* and *Abſurdity*, as well as myſelf, tho' in a more reſpectful Manner, and by a Sort of Irony. The whole Kingdom had given the ſame Interpretation that I had done, to ſome certain Paſſages in the Addreſs from both Houſes, upon the Attempt of *Guiſcard*; Friends and Enemies agreed in applying the Word *Faction*. But the Speaker, is much clearer; talks (as I have mentioned in another Place) of Some *unparalllel'd Attempts*, and uſes other Terms that come pretty home to the Point. As to what the Parliament affirms, this Author makes it firſt as abſurd and impracticable as he can, and then pretends to yield, as *preſſed by ſo great an Authority*, and explains their Meaning into Nonſenſe, in order to bring them off from reflecting upon his Party. Then for the *Speaker*, this Writer ſays, *he is but a ſingle Man*, and becauſe his Speech was in Words too direct to avoid, he adviſes him to *ſave his Honour and Virtue, by owning a Soleciſm in Speech*, and to *write leſs correctly, rather than mean maliciouſly*. What an Expedient this Advocate hath found to remove the Load of an Accuſation! He anſwers, the Crime is horrible, that great Men ought not to be thus inſolently charged: We reply, that the Parliament and Speaker appear, in many Points, to be of the ſame Opinion: He rejoins, that *he is preſſed by too great an Authority*; that perhaps thoſe wiſe Aſſemblies, and that honourable Gentleman (who beſides *is but a ſingle Man)* may probably ſpeak Nonſenſe; they muſt either deliver a Soleciſm, or be malicious, and in-good Manners he rather thinks it may be the former.

The Writer of the Letter having thus diſpatched the *Examiner*, falls next upon a Paper called *Secret Tranſactions*, &c. written, as he tell us, by one *Francis Hoffman*, and the Ordinary of *Newgate*, Perſons whom I have not the Honour to be known to, whatever my *Betters* may be, nor have yet ſeen their Productions; but by what is cited from them in the Letter, it ſhould ſeem, they have made ſome untoward Obſervations; however, the ſame Anſwer ſtill ſerves not a Word to controul what they ſay, only they are a Couple of daring, inſolent Wretches, to *reflect upon the greateſt and beſt*

Men in England; and there's an End. I have no Sort of Regard for that ſame *Hoffman*, to whoſe Character I am a perfect Stranger; but methinks the Ordinary of *Newgate* ſhould be treated with more Reſpect, conſidering what *Company* he has kept, and what *Viſitors* he may have had. However I ſhall not enter into a Point of Controverſy whether *the L—ds were acquainted with the Ordinary*, or the *Ordinary with the L—ds*, ſince this Author leaves it undecided. Only one Thing I take to be a little hard; it is now confeſſed on all Hands, that Mr. *H*— was moſt unjuſtly ſuſpected of joining with an Under Clerk in correſponding with *France:* The Suſpicion being in itſelf unreaſonable, and without the leaſt probable Grounds, wiſe Men began to conſider what violent Enemies that Gentleman had; they found the Report moſt induſtriouſly ſpread, the *Whigs* in common Diſcourſe diſcovering their Wiſhes, that he might be found guilty; the Management of the whole Affair was put into the Hands of ſuch, as it is ſuppoſed would at leaſt not be ſorry to find more than they expected; The Criminal's Dying Speech is unfortunately publiſhed, wherein he thanks God he was not tempted *to ſave his Life by falſly accuſing his Maſter*, with more to the ſame Purpoſe: From all this put together, it was no very unnatural Conjecture, that there might have been ſome tampering. Now, I ſay, it is a little hard that Mr. *H*—'s Friends muſt not be allowed to have their Suſpicions, as well as his Enemies. And this Author, if he intended to deal fairly, ſhould have ſpent one Paragraph in railing at thoſe who had the Impudence and Villainy to ſuſpect Mr. *H*——, and then proceed in due Method to defend his Committee of *Examiners:* But that Gentleman being, as this Author ſays of the Speaker, *but a ſingle Man*, I ſuppoſe his Reputation and Life were eſteemed but of little Conſequence.

There is one State of the Caſe in this Letter, which I cannot well omit, becauſe the Author, I ſuppoſe, conceives it to be extremely cunning and malicious; that it cuts to the quick, and is wonderfully ſevere upon Mr. *H*——, without expoſing the Writer to any Danger. I ſay this to gratify him, to let him know I take his Meaning, and diſcover his Inclinations. His parallel Caſe is this; *Suppoſing* Guiſcard *had been intimate with ſome great Officer of State, and had been ſuſpected to communicate his moſt ſecret Affairs with that Miniſter*; then he aſks, *whether it would have been Subornation, or ſeeking the Life and Blood of that Officer, in theſe great L—ds of the Council, if they had narrowly examined this Affair, inquired with all Exactneſs what he knew of this great Officer, what Secrets he had imported to him, and whether he were privy to his correſponding?* &c. In this Parallel, *Guiſcard*'s Caſe is ſuppoſed to be the ſame with *Gregg*'s; and that of the great Officer with Mr. *H*——'s; ſo that here he lays down as a Thing granted, that *Gregg* was *intimate with Mr.* H——, and *ſuſpected to communicate his moſt Secret Affairs to him.* Now did ever any rational Man ſuſpect, that Mr. *H*——, firſt Principal Secretary of State, was intimate with an Under Clerk, or upon the Foot of having *moſt ſecret Affairs communicated to him* from ſuch a Counſellor, from one in ſo inferior a Station, whom perhaps he hard-

ly

ly knew by Sight? Why was that Report raiſed, but for the Uſes which were afterwards made of it? Or, why ſhould we wonder that they, who were ſo wicked to be Authors of it, would be ſcrupulous in applying it to the only Purpoſe for which it could be raiſed?

Having thus conſidered the main Deſign of this Letter, I ſhall make a few Remarks upon ſome particular Paſſages in it.

Firſt, Tho' it be of no Conſequence to this Diſpute, I cannot but obſerve a moſt evident Falſhood, which he repeats three or four Times in his Letter, that I *make the World believe I am ſet on Work by great People.* I remember myſelf to have ſeveral Times affirmed the direct contrary, and ſo I do ſtill; and if I durſt tell him my Name, which he is ſo deſirous to know, he would be convinced that I am of a Temper to think no Man great enough to ſet me on Work; nay, I am content to own all the ſcurrilous Titles he gives me, if he be able to find one *Inuendo* through all thoſe Papers, that can any way favour this Calumny: The Malice of which is not intended againſt *Me*, but the preſent M——y, to make the World believe, that what I have publiſhed, is the utmoſt Effort of all they can ſay or think againſt the laſt; whereas, it is nothing more than the common Obſervations of a private Man, deducing Conſequences and Effects from very natural and viſible Cauſes.

He tells, with great Propriety of Speech, That the Seven L——ds and their Friends are treated as *Subverters of the Conſtitution, and ſuch as have been long endeavouring to deſtroy both Church and State.* This puts me in Mind of one, who firſt murdered a Man, and afterwards endeavoured to kill him: And therefore I here ſolemnly deny them to have been *Subverters of the Conſtitution:* But that *ſome People* did their beſt Endeavours, I confidently believe.

He tells *Me* particularly, that I *acquit* Guiſcard, *by a Blunder, of a Deſign againſt Mr.* H——'*s Life.* I declare he injures me, for I look upon *Guiſcard* to be ~~full as~~ guilty of the Deſign, as even thoſe were who tampered in the Buſineſs of *Gregg*; and both (to avoid all cavelling) as guilty as ever any Man was that ſuffered Death by Law.

He calls the ſtabbing of Mr. *H*—— a *ſore Blow*, but I ſuppoſe he means his *Recovery*; that indeed was a *ſore Blow* to the *Intereſts* of his Party: But I take the Buſineſs of *Gregg* to have been a much *ſorer Blow* to their *Reputation.*

This Writer wonders how I *ſhould know their L——ps Hearts, becauſe he hardly knows his own.* I do not well ſee the Conſequence of this: Perhaps he never examines into his own Heart; perhaps it keeps no Correſpondence with his Tongue or his Pen: I hope at leaſt, it is a Stranger to thoſe foul Terms he has ſtrewed throughout his Letter; otherwiſe, I fear I *know it too well:* For *out of the Abundance of the Heart the Mouth ſpeaketh.* But however, Actions are pretty good Diſcoveries of the Heart, though Words are not; and whoever has once endeavoured to take my Life, if he has ſtill the ſame, or rather much greater Cauſe, whether it be a juſt one or no, and has

never ſhewn the leaſt Sign of Remorſe; I may venture, without being a Conjurer, to know ſo much of his Heart, as to believe he would repeat his Attempt, if it were in his Power. I muſt needs quote ſome following Lines in the ſame Page, which are of an extraordinary Kind, and ſeem to deſcribe the bleſſed Age we ſhould live in, under the Return of the late Adminiſtration. *It is very well* (ſaith he) *that People's Heads are to ſtand on their Shoulders as long as the Laws will let them; if it depended upon any Thing beſides, it may be your L——ps ſeven Heads might be as ſoon cut off, as that one Gentleman's, were you in Power.* Then he concludes the Paragraph with this charitable Prayer, in the true Moderation-Style, and in Italick Letters, *May the Head that has done the Kingdom the greateſt Miſchief, fall firſt, let it be whoſe it will.* The plain Meaning of which is this: If the late M——y were in Power, they would act juſt as the preſent M——y would, if there were no Law, which perhaps may be true: But I know not any M——y upon Earth, that I durſt confide in without Law; and if at their coming in again, they deſign to make their *Power* the *Law*, they may as eaſily cut off *ſeven Heads* as *one*. As for *the Head that has done the greateſt Miſchief to the Kingdom*, I cannot conſent it ſhould fall, till he and I have ſettled the Meaning of the Word *Miſchief*. Neither do I much approve this renewing an old Faſhion of whipping off *Heads* by a *Prayer*; it began from what *ſome of us* think an ill Precedent. Then that unlimited Clauſe, *let it be whoſe it will*, perplexes me not a little: I wiſh, in Compliance with an old Form, he had excepted *my Lord Mayor*: Otherwiſe, if it were to be determined by their Vote, *whoſe Head it was that had done the greateſt Miſchief*; which way can we tell how far *their Predeceſſors* Principles may have influenced them? God preſerve the Qu—— and her M——rs from ſuch undiſtinguiſhing Diſpoſers of Heads.

His Remarks upon what the *Ordinary* told *Hoffman*, are ſingular enough. The *Ordinary*'s Words are, that *ſo many Endeavours were uſed to corrupt* Gregg's *Conſcience*, &c. *that he felt as much Uneaſineſs leſt* Gregg *ſhould betray his Maſter, as if it had been his own Caſe.* The Author of the Letter ſays to this, that *for ought the* Ordinary *knew, he might confeſs what was exactly true of his Maſter; and that therefore, an indifferent Perſon might as well be uneaſy, for fear* Gregg *ſhould diſcover ſomething of his Maſter, that would touch his Life, and yet might have been true.* But if theſe were really the *Ordinary*'s Thoughts at that Time, they were honeſt and reaſonable. He knew it was highly improbable that a Perſon of Mr. *H——y*'s Character and Station ſhould make uſe of ſuch a Confederate in Treaſon: If he had ſuſpected his *Loyalty*, he could not have ſuſpected his *Underſtanding*; and knowing how much Mr. *H——y* was feared and hated by the Men in Power, and obſerving that *Reſort to* Gregg *at unſeaſonable Hours, and that ſtrange Promiſes were often made him by Men of Note*; all this put together, might naturally incline the *Ordinary* to think, the Deſign could be nothing elſe, but that Mr. *H——y* ſhould be accuſed in ſpight of his Innocence.

This

This Charge of *Subornation* is, it ſeems, ſo extraordinary a Crime, that the Author *challenges all the Books in the* new L——d's *Library (becauſe* he hears *it is the largeſt) to furniſh us with an Inſtance like it.* What if this Charge ſhould be true? Then I, in my Turn, would challenge all the Books in *another* L——d's Library, which is ten Times larger (though perhaps not ſo often diſturbed) to furniſh us with an Inſtance like this. If it be ſo monſtrous a Thing to accuſe others of *Subornation*, what Epithet is left to beſtow upon thoſe who are really guilty of the Crime itſelf? I think it beyond Controverſy, that Subornation was practiſed in the Buſineſs of *Gregg:* This manifeſtly appears from thoſe few Facts I have mention'd: Let the *Whigs* agree among them where to fix it. Nay, 'tis plain, by the great Endeavours made to ſtifle his laſt Speech, that they would have ſuborned the poor Man even after he was dead: And is this a Matter now to be call'd in Queſtion, much leſs to be denied?

He compares the Examination of *Guiſcard* with that of *Gregg*, talks of ſeveral great Perſons who examin'd the former in Priſon, and promiſed him the Queen's Pardon if he would make a full Diſcovery. Then the Author puts the Caſe, *How wicked it would be to charge theſe honourable Counſellors with ſuborning* Guiſcard *by Promiſes of Life*, &c. *to accuſe the Innocent, and betray his Friends.* Does it any where appear that thoſe Noble Perſons who examined *Guiſcard*, put *leading Queſtions* to him, or pointed out where they would have him *fix* an Accuſation? Did they name *ſome mortal Enemy* of their own, and then *drop Words of Pardon and Reward, if he would accuſe him?* Did *Guiſcard* leave any Paper behind him, to juſtify the Innocence of *ſome great Perſon* whom he was *tempted* to accuſe? Yet perhaps I could think of certain People, who were much more likely to act in Concert with *Guiſcard*, than ever Mr. *H*—— was to be Confederate with *Gregg*. I can imagine ſeveral who *wiſh'd* the Pen-knife in Mr. *H*——'s Heart, though *Guiſcard* alone was deſperate enough to attempt it. Who were thoſe, that by their Diſcourſes, as well as Countenances, diſcover'd their Joy when the Blow was ſtruck? Who were thoſe that went out, or ſtood ſilent, when the *Addreſs* and *Congratulation* were voted? And who were thoſe that refin'd ſo far as to make Mr. *H*—— Confederate with his own *Aſſaſſin?*

There is one Point which this Author affirms more than once or twice in a tranſient Way, as if he would have us ſuppoſe it a Thing granted; but is of ſuch a Weight, that it wants nothing but Truth to make the late Change of Mi——y a very uſeleſs and dangerous Proceeding: For ſo it muſt be allow'd, if, as he affirms, *Affairs are ſtill under the like Management, and muſt be ſo, becauſe there is no better*; that *this Set of Men muſt take the ſame Courſes in their Miniſtration with their Predeceſſors, or ten Times worſe*; *that the new Servants go on in the old Methods, and give the ſame Counſel and Advice, on the like Occaſions, with the old ones*; with more to the ſame Purpoſe. A Man may affirm, without being of the *Cabinet*, that every Syllable of this is abſolutely falſe; unleſs he means, that Money is ſtill raiſed by Parliament, and borrow'd upon new Funds; that the D. of *M.* ſtill commands the

the Army; that we have a Treaſurer, Keeper, Preſident, and Secretaries, as we had before; and that becauſe the Council meets much about the ſame Times and Places as formerly, therefore they *give the ſame Advice*, and *purſue the ſame Meaſures*. What does he think of finding Funds to pay the old unprovided-for Debt of the Navy, and erecting a Company for the *South-Sea* Trade? What does he think of Mr. *Hill*'s Expedition to preſerve our Trade in the *Weſt-Indies?* What of the Methods taken to make our Allies pay their *Quota*'s to the War, which was a Thing ſo ſcandalouſly either neglected, connived at, or encouraged? What of the Care to retrench the exorbitant Expences of the *Spaniſh* War? What of thoſe many Abuſes and Corruptions at Home, which have been ſo narrowly enquired into, and in a good Part redreſs'd? Evils ſo deeply radicated, muſt require ſome Time to remedy them, and cannot be all ſet right in a few Months. Beſides, there are ſome Circumſtances known by the Names of Honour, Probity, good Senſe, great Capacity for Buſineſs; as likewiſe, certain Principles of Religion and Loyalty, the Want or Poſſeſſion of all which, will make a mighty Difference even in the Purſuit of the ſame Meaſures. There is alſo one Characteriſtick which will ever diſtinguiſh the late Mi——y from the preſent, That the former ſacrificing all Regards to the Increaſe of their Wealth and Power, found thoſe were no otherwiſe to be preſerved, but by Continuance of the War; whereas the Intereſt, as well as Inclinations of the preſent, diſpoſe them to make uſe of the firſt Opportunities for a ſafe and honourable Peace.

The Writer goes on upon another parallel Caſe, which is, the modern Way of reflecting upon a Prince and Mi——y. He tells us, That *the Qu— was brought to diſcard her old Officers through the Multitude of Complaints, ſecret Teazings, and importunate Clamors of a Rout of People, led by their Prieſts, and ſpirited under-hand by crafty Emiſſaries.* Would not any one who reads this imagine, that the whole Rabble, with the Clergy at their Head, were whiſpering in the Qu—n's Ear, or came in Diſguiſe to *deſire a Word with her Ma—y*, like the Army of the two Kings of *Brentford?* The unbias'd Majority of the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom, are call'd, by this Son of Obſcurity, *a Rout of People*, and the *Clergy* their *Leaders*. We have often accus'd that Party for their evil Talent of Railing perpetually againſt the Clergy, which they diſcovered at firſt without any viſible Reaſon or Provocation, as conſcious of the Deſigns they had in View, and therefore wiſely began by villifying thoſe whom they intended to deſtroy. I have obſerv'd formerly, that the Party-Malice againſt the Clergy hath been ſo blind and furious, as to charge them with Crimes wholly inconſiſtent. I find they are ſtill in the ſame Diſpoſition, and that this Writer hath received *Direction from his Superiors*, to purſue the old Style upon that Article. Accordingly, in the Paragraph I am now upon, he repreſents that Reverend Body as *Leaders*, *Cullies*, and *Tools*. Firſt he ſays, That *Root of ſecret Teazers* (meaning the Nobility and Gentry of the Kingdom) were *led by the Prieſts*. Then he aſſures us, that the Qu— will, in a Year or two, begin to conſider,

Who

Who it was that cheated thoſe poor Prieſts. And in caſe Her M——y ſhould have a Mind to bring in the old Mi——y again, he comforts his Party, That *the Prieſts are ſeldom wanting to become the Tools of cunning Managers.* I deſire to know in what Senſe he would have us to underſtand, that *theſe poor Prieſts* have been cheated? Are they cheated by a Fund eſtabliſh'd for Building 50 Churches? Or by the Q——'s Letter, empowering them to proceed on the Buſineſs proper for a Convocation? What one ſingle Advantage could they poſſibly loſe by this Change? They are ſtill indeed abus'd every Day in Print, but it is by thoſe who are without the Power to hurt them; the Serpent has loſt his Sting, is trodden under Foot, and its *hiſſing* is contemned. But he confidently affirms, That when it ſhall be thought fit to reſtore the old Mi——y, *the Prieſts will not be wanting to become the Tools of their cunning Managers.* This I cannot by any Means allow, unleſs they have ſome hidden Reſerve of Cunning, which hath never yet been produced. The cunningeſt Managers I ever knew among them, are of all others moſt deteſted by the Clergy: Neither do I remember they have been ever able to make any of them *Tools*, except by making them *B—ps*; even thoſe few they were able to ſeduce, would not be their *Tools* at a lower Rate.

But becauſe this Author, and others of his Standard, affect to make uſe of that Word *Tool*, when they have a Mind to be ſhrewd and ſatyrical; I deſire once for all to ſet them right. A *Tool* and an *Inſtrument*, in the metaphorical Senſe, differs thus: The former is an Engine in the Hands of *Knaves*, the latter, in thoſe of wiſe and honeſt Men. The greateſt Mi——s are *Inſtruments* in the Hands of Princes, and ſo are Princes themſelves in the Hands of God; and in this Senſe the Clergy are ready to be *Inſtruments* of any Good to the Prince or People. But that the Clergy of *England*, ſince the *Reformation*, have at any Time been the *Tools* of a Party, is a Calumny which Hiſtory and conſtant Experience will immediately confute. *Schiſmatick* and *Fanatick* Preachers have indeed been perpetually employ'd that Way with good Succeſs; by the Faction againſt K. *Charles* I. to murder their Prince, and ruin the Monarchy; by K. *James* II. to bring in Popery: And ever ſince the Revolution, to advance the unmeaſurable Appetite of Power and Wealth, among a Set of profligate Upſtarts. But in all theſe three Inſtances, the eſtabliſhed Clergy (except a very few, like *Tares among Wheat*, and thoſe generally *ſown by the Enemy*) were ſo far from being *Tools*, that in the firſt, they were perſecuted, impriſoned and deprived; and in the two others, they were great *Inſtruments*, under God, for preſerving our Religion and Liberty.

In the ſame Paragraph, which contains a Project for turning out the preſent Mi——y, and reſtoring the laſt, he owns, that the Q—— is *now ſerved with more obſequious Words, more humble Adorations, and a more ſeeming Reſignation to her Will and Pleaſure, then ſhe was before.* And indeed, if this be not true, her M—— has the worſt Luck of any Prince in Chriſtendom. The Reverſe of theſe Phraſes I take to be *rude Expreſſions, inſolent Behaviour*, and a *real Oppoſition to her M——'s moſt juſt and reaſonable Commands*,

mands, which are the mildeſt Terms that the Demeanor of ſome *late Perſons* towards their Prince can deſerve, in return of the higheſt Favours that Subjects ever received, whereof a hundred Particulars might be produced. So that, according to our Author's Way of Reaſoning, I will put a parallel Caſe in my Turn. I have a Servant to whom I am exceeding kind, I reward him infinitely above his Merit: Beſides which, he and his Family ſnap every Thing they can lay their Hands on; they will let none come near me, but themſelves and Dependents; they miſrepreſent my beſt Friends as my greateſt Enemies; beſides, they are ſo ſaucy and malepart, there is no ſpeaking to them; ſo far from any Reſpect, that they treat me as an Inferior. At laſt I pluck up Spirit, turn them all out of Doors, and take in new ones, who are content with what I allow them, tho' I have leſs to ſpare than formerly; give me their beſt Advice when I aſk it, are conſtantly in the Way, do what I bid them, make a Bow when they come in and go out, and always give me a reſpectful Anſwer. I ſuppoſe the Writer of the Letter would tell me that my preſent Domeſticks were indeed a *little more civil*, but the former were *better Servants*.

There are two Things wherewith this Author is peculiarly angry. Firſt, at the *licentious Way of the Scum of Mankind treating the greateſt Peers in the Nation.* Secondly, that *theſe Hedge-Writers* (a Phraſe I unwillingly lend him, becauſe it coſt me ſome Pains to invent) *ſeldom ſpeak a Word againſt any of the late Mi——y, but they preſently fall to compliment my L—d* Tr——, *and others in great Places.* On the firſt, he brings but one Inſtance, but I could produce a good many Hundred; what does he think of the *Obſervator*, the *Review*, and the *Medley?* In his own impartial Judgment, may not they as fairly bid for being the *Scum of Mankind*, as the *Examiner?* And have they not treated *at leaſt* as many, and *almoſt* as *great Peers*, in as infamous a Manner? I grant indeed, that through the great Defect of Truth, Genius, Learning, and common Senſe among the Libellers of that Party, they being of no Entertainment to the World, after ſerving the preſent Turn, were immediately forgotten. But this we can remember in groſs, that there was not a great Man in *England*, diſtinguiſh'd for his Love to the Monarchy or the Church, who, under the Appellations of *Tory*, *Jacobite*, *High-flyer*, and other *Cant Words*, was not repreſented as a publick Enemy, and loaden by Name with all Manner of Obloquy. Nay, have they not even diſturbed the Aſhes, and endeavoured to blaſt the Memories of the Dead, and chiefly of thoſe who loſt their Lives in the Service of the Monarchy and the Church? His other Quarrel is at our *Flattering my L—d* Tr——, *and other Great Perſons in Power.* 'To which I ſhall only ſay, for every Line written in Praiſe of the preſent Miniſtry, I will engage to furniſh the Author with three Pages of the moſt fulſom Panegyricks on the leaſt deſerving Members of the laſt; which is ſomewhat more than by the Proportion of Time, while they were in Power, could fall to their Share. Indeed, I am apt to think that the Men of Wit at leaſt, will be more ſparing in their Incenſe of this Kind for the future, and ſay no more of any Great Man now at the Helm, than they believe

believe he deſerves. Poems, Dedications, and other publick Encomiums, might be of uſe to thoſe, who were obliged to keep up an unnatural Spirit in the Nation, by ſupplying it with Art; and conſequently, the Authors deſerved, and ſometimes met Encouragement and Reward. But thoſe Great Patriots, now at the Head of Affairs, are ſufficiently ſupported by the *uncompelled* Favour of the Qu——, and the *natural* Diſpoſition of the People. We can do them no *Service* by our Applauſes, and therefore can expect no *Payment:* So that I look upon this kind of Stock to have fallen at leaſt 90 *per Cent.* ſince the great Changes at Court.

He puts a few Queſtions, which I am in ſome Pain to Anſwer. *Cannot* (ſays he) *the Succeſſors be excellent Men, unleſs the Predeceſſors be Villains? Cannot the Qu—— change her Mi——s, but they muſt preſently be ſuch as neither God nor Man can endure? Do Noblemen fall from all Honour, Virtue and Religion, becauſe they are ſo unhappy as to fall from their Prince's Favour?* I deſire to ſay ſomething in the firſt Place, to this laſt Queſtion, which I anſwer in the Negative. However, he will own, that *Men ſhould fall from their Prince's Favour, when they are ſo unhappy as to fall from all Honour, Virtue, and Religion*; tho' I muſt confeſs my Belief at the ſame Time, that *ſome certain Perſons* have lately *fallen from Favour*, who could not, for a very manifeſt Reaſon, be ſaid, properly ſpeaking, to *fall from any of the other three.* To his other Queſtions I can only ſay, that the conſtant Language of the Whig-Pamphleteers, has been this Twelvemonth paſt, to tell us how dangerous a Step it was to change the Mi——y at ſo nice a Juncture; to ſhake our Credit, diſoblige our Allies, and encourage the *French.* Then, this Author tells us, that thoſe diſcarded Politicians *were the greateſt Mi——s we ever had:* His Brethren have ſaid the ſame Thing a hundred Times. On t'other Side, the Queen, upon long Deliberation, was reſolv'd to part with them: The univerſal Voice of the People was againſt them: Her Majeſty is the moſt mild and gracious Princeſs that ever reign'd: We have been conſtantly victorious, and are ruin'd; the Enemy flouriſhes under his perpetual Loſſes. If theſe be the Conſequences of an *able, faithful, diligent* and *dutiful* Adminiſtration; *of that aſtoniſhing Succeſs*, he ſays, *Providence hath crown'd us with*, what can be thoſe of one directly contrary? But, not to enter into a wide Field at preſent, I faithfully promiſe the Author of the Letter, his Correſpondents, his Patrons, and his Brethren, that this Myſtery of Iniquity ſhall be very ſhortly laid open to the View of the World; when the moſt ignorant and prejudic'd Reader will, I hope, be convinc'd by Facts not to be controul'd, how miſerably this poor Kingdom has been deluded to the very Brink of Deſtruction.

He would have it, that the People of *England* have *loſt their Senſes*; are *bewitch'd* and *cheated, mad*, and *without Underſtanding*; but that all this *will go off by Degrees*, and then his *Great Men will recover their Eſteem and Credit.* I did, in one of my Papers, overthrow this idle, affected Opinion, which has been a thouſand Times urg'd by thoſe who moſt wiſh'd, and leaſt believ'd it: I there ſhew'd the Difference between *a ſhort Madneſs of the People*, and their

natural Bent or Genius. I remember when King *James* II. went from *England*, he left a Paper behind him, with Expreſſions much to the ſame Purpoſe; *hoping*, among other Things, that *God would open the Eyes of the Nation.* Too much Zeal for his Religion brought us then in Danger of *Popery* and *arbitrary Power*; too much *Infidelity*, *Avarice*, and *Ambition*, brought us lately into *equal* Danger of *Atheiſm* and *Anarchy*. The People have not yet *open'd their Eyes*, to ſee any Advantage in the two former; nor I hope will ever *find their Senſes* enough to diſcover the Bleſſings of the two latter. Cannot I ſee Things in another Light than this Author and his Party do, without being *blind?* Is my *Underſtanding loſt* when it differs from theirs? Am I *cheated*, *bewitch'd*, and *out of my Senſes*, becauſe I think thoſe to have been Betrayers of our Country, whom they call Patriots?

He hopes his ſeven Correſpondents *will never want their Places*; but is in pain for the poor Kingdom, leſt *their Places ſhould never want them.* Now I have examin'd this Matter, and am not at all diſcouraged. Two of them hold their Places ſtill, and are likely to continue in them. Two more were Governors of Iſlands; I believe the Author does not imagine thoſe to be among the *Places* which will *want Men* to fill them. God be thanked, a Man may command the *Beef-Eaters* without being a Soldier; I will at any Time undertake to do it myſelf. Then, it would be a little hard, if the Queen ſhould be at a Loſs for a *Steward* to her Family, So that, upon the Whole, I ſee but one great Employment which is in any Danger of wanting a ſufficient Perſon to execute it. We muſt do as well as we can: Yet I have been told, that the bare Buſineſs of *Preſiding* in Council does not require ſuch very tranſcendent Abilities; and I am miſtaken, if till within theſe late Years, we have not been ſome Ages without that Office. So that I hope Things may go well enough, provided the *Keeper*, *Treaſurer*, and both the *Secretaries* will do their Duties; and 'tis happy for the Nation that none of *their ſeven L—d—s* left any of *thoſe Places* to *want* them.

The Writer of the Letter concludes it with an *Appeal to all the Princes and States of* Europe, *Friends and Enemies* by Name, *to give their Judgment, whether they think the late Mi——y were wanting in Faithfulneſs, Abilities, or Diligence to ſerve their Prince and Country.* Now, if he ſpeaks by Order of his Party, I am humbly of Opinion, they have incurr'd a *Premunire*, for appealing to a Foreign Juriſdiction, and her Majeſty may ſeize their Goods and Chattels whenever ſhe pleaſes. In the mean Time, I will not accept his Appeal; which has been rejected by the Qu—— and both Houſes of Parliament. But let a fair Jury be impanell'd in any County of *England*, and I will be determin'd by their Verdict. Firſt, he names the King of *France*, and all his Counſellors, with the *Pretender*, and all his Favourers and Abettors. Theſe I except againſt: I know they will readily judge the late Mi——y to be faithful, able and diligent in ſerving *their Prince* and Country. The Councils of *ſome People* have, in their Way, ſerv'd very much to promote the Service of the *Pretender*, and to enable the *French King* to aſſiſt him; and is not he, in that Monarch's Opinion, as well as his own, *their lawful Prince?* I except againſt

againſt the *Emperor* and the *States*; becauſe it can be proved upon them, that the Plaintiffs and they have an *Underſtanding* together. I except againſt any Prince who makes unreaſonable Demands, and threatens to recal his Troops if they are not complied with; becauſe they have been forced of late to change their Language, and may perhaps be ſhortly obliged to obſerve their Articles more ſtrictly. I ſhould be ſorry, for the Appealers Sakes, to have their Caſe referred to the Kings of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, who infallibly would decree them to be all hanged up for their Inſolence to their Sovereign. But, above all, the King of *Spain* would certainly be againſt them, when he conſiders, with how ſcandalous a Neglect his Intereſts have been managed; and that the full Poſſeſſion of his Kingdom was made a Sacrifice to thoſe, whoſe private or Party Intereſt ſwayed them to the Continuance of the War. The Author had Reaſon to omit the *Grand Signior* and the *Czar* in the Liſt of his Judges; the Decrees of thoſe Princes are too ſudden and ſanguinary, and their Leſſons to inſtruct Subjects in Behaviour to their Princes, by ſtrangling them with a Bow-ſtring, or flinging them to be devoured alive by Hogs, were enough to deter him from ſubmitting to their Juridiction.

A true and ſummary Report of the Declaration of ſome Part of the Earl of Northumberland's *Treaſons, delivered publickly in the Court at the Star-Chamber by the Lord Chancellor, and others of her Majeſty's moſt Honourable Privy Council, and Council learned, by her Majeſty's ſpecial Commandment, together with the Examinations and Depoſitions of ſundry Perſons, touching the Manner of his moſt wicked and violent Murder, committed upon himſelf with his own Hand, in the* Tower *of* London, *the 20th Day of* June, 1585. *In ædibus* C. Barker, *Printer to the Queen of* England, *her moſt excellent Majeſty.*

To the Reader.

MALICE, *among other eſſential Properties appertaining to her ugly Nature, hath this one not inferior to the reſt and the worſt,* Incredulity, *wherewith ſhe commonly poſſeſſeth the Minds and Affections of all thoſe that are infected with her, ſo blinding the Eyes and Judgment of the beſt and cleareſt ſighted, that they cannot ſee or perceive the bright Beams of the Truth, although the ſame be delivered with never ſo great Purity, Proof, Circumſtance and Probability. It is ſaid, that no Truth paſſeth Abroad unaccompanied with her contrary, and as they go, Truth is ever conſtrained to yield the Precedence and Preheminence to her Yoke-fellow Falſhood, whoſe Lodging is always firſt made and prepared without a Harbinger in the corrupt Nature of Mankind, by whom ſhe is firſt received, entertained, and harboured at all Times: Whereof in our daily Experience there happen many and dangerous Demonſtrations, eſpecially in Matters of the higheſt Moment, tending to excuſe or accuſe the Actions of the greateſt Perſonages.*

There was of late delivered in publick by Perſons of Honour, Credit and Reputation, a large Declaration of certain Treaſons practiſed by the late Earl of Northumberland, *of the Manner of his untimely Death, being with his own Hand murdered in the* Tower, *and of the Cauſes that wrought him thereunto: the Particularities whereof are ſuch and ſo many, as for the Help of my Memory (coming then to the Star-chamber by Occaſion, and not looking for any ſuch Preſence of the Nobility and Privy Council as I found there at that Time, and not looking for any ſuch Cauſe of that Nature to have been handled there that Day) I took Notes of the ſeveral Matters declared by the Lord Chancellor,*

Mr.

Mr. Attorney, and Solicitor-General, the Lord Chief Baron, and Mr. Vice-Chamberlain: For, as I remember, they ſpoke in Order as they are here marſhalled, and therefore I place them in this Sort, and not according to their Precedence in Dignity.

Upon the hearing of the Treaſons, with their Proofs and Circumſtances, and the deſperate Manner of the Earl's Deſtruction delivered in that Place, and by Perſons of that Quality, I ſuppoſed no Man to have been ſo void of Judgment, or the Uſe of common Reaſon, that would have doubted of any one Point or Particle thereof, until it was my Chance (falling in Company with divers Perſons at ſundry Times, as well about the City of London *as Abroad) to hear many Men report variably and corruptly of the Manner and Matter of this publick Declaration, poſſeſſing the Minds and Opinions of the People with manifeſt Untruths: As, that the Earl had been unjuſtly detained in Priſon, without Proof or juſt Cauſe of Suſpicion of Treaſon: And, that he had been murdered by Device and Practice of ſome great Enemies, and not deſtroyed by himſelf. Theſe ſlanderous Reports have miniſtred unto me this Occaſion to ſet forth unto thy View and Conſideration (gentle Reader) this ſhort Collection of the ſaid Treaſons and Murder, as near unto the Truth as my Notes taken may lead and permit me, with the View of ſome of the Examinations themſelves concerning this Cauſe, for my better Satisfaction ſince obtained: Which I have undertaken for two Reſpects; the one, to convince the falſe and malicious Impreſſions and Conſtructions received, and made of theſe Actions, by ſuch as are in Heart Enemies to the happy Eſtate of her Majeſty's preſent Government: the other, becauſe it may be thought neceſſary for the preventing of a further Contagion, like to grow (by this creeping Infection) in the Minds of ſuch as are apt (though otherwiſe indifferent) in theſe and the like Rumours, to receive the bad as the good, and they the moſt in Number. Wherein, if I have ſeemed more bold than wiſe, or intermeddled myſelf in Matters above my Reach, and appertaining unto me, I crave Pardon where it is to be aſked, and commit myſelf to thy friendly Interpretation to be made of my ſimple Travel, and dutiful Meaning herein.*

Upon the three and twentieth Day of June *laſt, aſſembled in the Court of Star-chamber, Sir* Thomas Bromley, *Knt. Lord Chancellor of* England, William *Lord* Burleigh, *Lord High Treaſurer of* England, George *Earl of* Shrewſbury, *Lord Marſhal of* England, Henry *Earl of* Derby, Robert *Earl of* Leiceſter, Charles *Lord* Howard *of* Effingham, *Lord Chamberlain*, Henry *Lord* Hunſdon, *Lord Governor of* Berwick, *Sir* Francis Knollis, *Knt. Treaſurer, Sir* James Crofte, Knt. *Comptroller of her Majeſty's Houſhold, Sir* Chriſtopher Hatton, *Knt. Vice-Chamberlain to the Queen's Majeſty, the Lord Chief Juſtice of her Majeſty's Bench, the Maſter of the Rolls, and the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and others; the Audience very great of Knights, Eſquires, and Men of other Quality, the Lord Chancellor began briefly and ſummarily to declare, that whereas* Henry *late Earl of* Northumberland, *for divers notable Treaſons and Practices by him taken in Hand, to the Danger, not only of her Majeſty's Royal Perſon, but to the Peril of the whole Realm, had been long detained in Priſon, and looking into the Guilt of his own Conſcience, and perceiving*

perceiving by ſuch Means of Intelligence, as he, by corrupting of his Keepers, and other like Devices, had obtained, that his Treaſons were by ſundry Examinations and Confeſſions diſcovered, grew thereby into ſuch a deſperate Eſtate, as that thereupon he moſt wickedly deſtroyed and murdered himſelf; which being made known to the Lords of her Majeſty's Privy Council, Order was thereupon taken, and Direction given to the Lord Chief Juſtice of England, *the Maſter of the Rolls, and the Lord Baron of the Exchequer, to examine the Manner and Circumſtances of his Death, which they with all good Endeavour and Diligence had accordingly performed. And leſt, through the ſiniſter Means of ſuch Perſons as be evil-affected to the preſent Eſtate of her Majeſty's Government, ſome bad and untrue Conceits might be had, as well of the Cauſe of the Earl's Detainment, as of the Manner of his Death, it was therefore thought neceſſary to have the Truth thereof made known in that Preſence: And then he required her Majeſty's learned Council there preſent, to deliver at large the Particularities, both of the Treaſons, and in what Sort the Earl had murdered himſelf. Then began* John Popham, *Eſq; her Majeſty's Attorney General, as followeth:*

THE Earl of *Northumberland*, about the Time of the laſt Rebellion in the North, in the 11th Year of her Majeſty's Reign (then called by the Title of *Henry Piercy*, Knt.) had undertaken the conveying away of the *Scottiſh* Queen; for the which, as appeareth by a Record of the 14th Year of her Majeſty's Reign, in the Court of her Majeſty's Bench he was indicted, he confeſſed the Offence, and put himſelf to her Majeſty's Mercy. At which Time, upon his ſaid Confeſſion, Submiſſion, and faithful Promiſe of his Duty and Allegiance to her Highneſs from thenceforth, the Queen's Majeſty, of her merciful Nature, was pleaſed not to look into his Offence with the Extremity of her Laws, but dealt therein, as by way of Contempt only, as may appear by the Record; the Effect whereof was then ſhewed in Court, under the Hand of one of the Clerks of her Majeſty's ſaid Bench, *in hæc verba.*

Middleſex. MEmorandum, *that* Henry Peircy, *late of* Tinmouth, *in the County of* Northumberland, *Knt. was indicted in the Term of* Eaſter, *in the 14th Year of her Majeſty's Reign, for that he, with divers others, did conſpire for the delivering of the Queen of* Scots *out of the Cuſtody of the Earl of* Shrewſbury: *Upon which Indictment the ſame* Henry Peircy *did confeſs the Offence, and did put himſelf to the Queen's Mercy, and thereupon Judgment was after given by the Court, that the ſaid* Henry *ſhould pay to the Queen for a Fine for his ſaid Offence, five Thouſand Marks, as appeareth by the Record thereof in Court.*

Per Micha. 14 & 15 Elizabethæ *Reginæ, Rotulo quinto inter placiſta Reginæ. Concordat cum Recordo.*

Per Jo. Ive.

BY this Record it may appear, that the Earl had his Hand in that Rebellion: But for a further Proof thereof, it is moſt manifeſtly diſcovered in a certain Tract, written by the Biſhop of *Roſs*, wherein he ſheweth how faithfully he behaved himſelf in the managing of thoſe Treaſons, at and about the Time of that Rebellion, that the ſaid Earl was, in Effect, as far plunged into the ſame, as the late Earl his Brother, howſoever he wound himſelf out of the Danger at that Time.

Notwithſtanding theſe traiterous Practices, the Queen's Majeſty was contented to remit all within a ſhort Time, and then accepted moſt graciouſly of him both in Honour and Favour, though unworthily beſtowed upon him; for that he utterly forgetting thoſe Graces and Favours received at her Majeſty's merciful Hands, with a graceleſs Reſolution was contented to enter into a new Plot, now lately contrived, not only for delivering the *Scottiſh* Queen, but for the invading of the whole Realm, the Overthrow of the Government, as well concerning the State of Religion, as otherwiſe, the Danger of her Majeſty's ſacred Perſon, and advancing of the ſaid *Scottiſh* Queen to the Regal Crown and Scepter of this Realm, whereunto her Majeſty is lineally and lawfully born and deſcended, and wherein God of his Mercy continue her long, in happy State of Government, to the Increaſe of her own Glory, and the Comfort of her loving and obedient Subjects.

Then did Maſter Attorney enter into the Particularities of the Treaſons, leaving many Parts thereof untouched, becauſe the Caſe ſtood ſo as it was not then convenient to reveal them, as he ſaid, in reſpect that they touched ſome other Perſons undealt withal at that Time, ſhewing that *Throckmorton*'s Treaſons were not old, but freſh in every Man's Memory, and how far forth they reached unto the Earl, he declared. And for that the Treaſons of *Throckmorton* tended eſpecially to the invading of the Realm with foreign Forces, the Purpoſe of that Invaſion long before intended, is proved by ſundry Examinations and Confeſſions taken here within the Realm, as well of her Majeſty's own Subjects as others, by Letters intercepted, written from and to the Conſpirators Abroad and at Home, and by other good Advertiſements and Intelligences had from foreign Parts, diſcovering the ſame. He declared, that in a Letter, written from Dr. *Sanders* to Dr. *Allen* out of *Spain*, in the Year 1577, it is ſet down, among other Things, that the State of *Chriſtendom* ſtood upon the ſtout aſſailing of *England*.

That in a Letter ſent to the ſame *Allen* from *Rome*, touching Audience given by the Pope to the Ambaſſadors of certain foreign Princes, between the Pope and whom a League was agreed on againſt the Queen's Majeſty, there were incloſed certain Articles, containing in Effect, that the Realm ſhould be invaded with 20000 Men, at the Charge of the ſaid Pope and Princes, that her Majeſty ſhould be depoſed, and ſome *Engliſh* Catholick elected King.

That

That it was confeſſed, that the coming over of ſo many Prieſts into the Realm, was to win great Numbers to the Catholick Party, to join (if Opportunity ſerved) either with foreign Invaſion, or with Tumult at Home.

That at *Narbonne* in *Provence*, there was met an *Engliſhman*, being the Head Preacher there, who gave Intelligence to one of her Majeſty's Subjects, that the Realm ſhould ſhortly be invaded by a foreign King, and the Popiſh Religion reſtored: And ſaid further, that Prieſts came into *England*, and diſperſed themſelves in Countries, to make their Party ſtrong.

A Meſſage was ſent in *November* 1581 to Dr. *Allen*, from a Subject of this Realm, by a Seminary Prieſt then returning beyond the Seas, that whereas he had received Word from *Allen* at *Allhallow-Tide* before, that Men and all Things were in a Readineſs, if the Place of Landing might be known; that *Allen* ſhould forthwith ſend Word whether Things were in ſuch Readineſs or not; and if they were, he would then ſend him ſuch perfect Inſtructions as he could.

One *Payne*, executed for Treaſon, confeſſed, that this Realm could not continue in the State wherein it was; for that the Pope had a ſpecial Care thereof, and would in a ſhort Time, either by foreign Princes, or by ſome other Means, work a Change of Things here.

From hence, Mr. Attorney fell into the Treaſons confeſſed by *Francis Throckmorton*, ſhewing, that the State of this Realm had been often preſented to the Conſideration of a foreign Prince, who, after long Hearkening to the Motion, had reſolved to yield what Furtherance he might, and to give all Aids neceſſary for the reforming of Religion, ſo they might be backed by ſuch as were well affected within this Country.

That the Duke of *Guiſe* had ſolicited for two Years together the Pope and other Princes, to ſupply him with Forces: But being croſſed by the Death of a great Perſonage, it was now grown to this Paſs, if there could be a Party found in *England* to join in that Action, and convenient Places and Means for Landing, and other Things neceſſary, there ſhould be a Supply for *Guiſe* of foreign Strength.

Francis Throckmorton was recommended from beyond the Seas to Don *Bernardino de Mendoza*, Ambaſſador Reſident for the *Spaniſh* King here in *England*, who acquainted *Throckmorton* what Plot was laid for the Enterprize of the Duke of *Guiſe*, and that he was willed to confer with *Throckmorton* in the Matter; who thereupon acquainted the ſaid Ambaſſador with the Plot of the Havens, and with the Noblemen and Gentlemen that he had ſet down as fit to be dealt withal in that Cauſe.

Throckmorton ſaid, That the Bottom of this Enterprize (which was not to be known to many) was, that if a Toleration of Religion might not be obtained without Alteration of the Government, that then the Government ſhould be altered, and the Queen removed.

That the *Scottiſh* Queen was made acquainted from the Duke of *Guiſe* with the Intention to relieve her by theſe Forces.

It was in Debate between *Throckmorton* and the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador, how the *Scottiſh* Queen might be delivered, as by an Enterprize to be made with a certain Number of Horſe: And it was told *Francis Throckmorton* by his Brother *Thomas Throckmorton*, that it was a principal Matter in Debate beyond the Seas, how ſhe might be delivered with Safety; the Lack of Reſolution wherein was the principal Stay of the Execution of the Attempt of Invaſion.

Mendoza told *Francis Throckmorton* about *Bartholomew-Tide* 1583, that one *Moape* was come into *England* to ſound the Earl of *Northumberland*, and other principal Men in *Suſſex*; and about the End of *September* following, the ſame *Mendoza* told him, that *Moape* was *Charles Paget*, and that he came not only to ſound the Men, but to view the Places, the Havens, the Proviſions and Means, and Nearneſs and Commodity of Men's Abidings that ſhould join with the foreign Forces.

It was deviſed, that ſuch Noblemen and others as would be contented to aſſiſt the foreign Forces (being Juſtices of Peace and of Credit in their Countries) might, by Colour of their Authority, levy Men as for her Majeſty's Defence, and yet employ them to aſſiſt the foreign Forces. The Lord *Paget* was made acquainted with this Deviſe, and anſwered, that it was a good Courſe, and that he had thought upon it before.

Mendoza told *Throckmorton*, that *Charles Paget* had been in *Suſſex*, and had ſpoken with thoſe that were there, and that he came to move the Earl of *Northumberland* and others.

The Night before *Throckmorton* was apprehended, he came to the Lord *Paget*, and deſired him that he would not acquaint the Earl of *Northumberland* and certain others (whom he named) with ſuch Matters as had paſſed between them two, touching the Practice of this Invaſion: And the Lord *Paget* willed him to deal as wiſely for his Part as he would for himſelf, and all ſhould be well: But (quoth the Lord *Paget*) the Earl of *Northumberland* knoweth you well enough.

It was once agreed among the Confederates, that the Duke of *Guiſe* ſhould land in *Suſſex*, being over againſt *Diepe* and *Normandy*; which after was miſliked, becauſe thoſe Parts lay too near to her Majeſty's greateſt Force and Store, and that the People thereabouts for the moſt Part were Proteſtants.

Maſter Attorney ſhewed further, that in *Summer* laſt, there was taken upon the Seas, ſailing towards *Scotland*, a *Scottiſh* Jeſuit, about whom there was found a Diſcourſe, written in *Italian*, of a like Enterprize to be attempted againſt *England*, which ſhould have been executed in *September* or *October* then laſt paſt; wherein Aſſurance is made, that the Earls of *Northumberland* and *Weſtmoreland*, *Dacres* that is dead, whom they termed Lord *Dacres*, and of all the Catholick Lords and Gentlemen in the *North* Parts (where the Invaſion ſhould have been attempted) ſetting it down, that it it is not ſaid by Conjecture that theſe Men are aſſured; but that it is certainly known that they will join with the foreign Forces. In the ſaid Diſcourſe it is alſo af-

firm'd, that the Prieſts diſperſed in the Realm can diſpoſe of the other Catholicks of the Realm as they ſhall be ordered; and that the Pope's Excommunication ſhould be renewed, and pronounced againſt her Majeſty, and all thoſe that ſhall take her Part; and that all ſuch ſhould be holden Traitors that did not join with that Army by a Day.

When Maſter Attorney had thus proved the Purpoſe of Invaſion, he proceeded to the Proof of *Charles Paget*'s coming over about the Practice and Proſecution of that Enterpriſe. And firſt, That *Paget* came to *Petworth*, in *September* 1583, was ſecretly received, and brought in the Night late to the Earl of *Northumberland*, into his Gallery at *Petworth*, by one of the Earl's Servants; where the Earl and he had ſecret Conference together by the Space of a large Hour: From thence *Paget* was likewiſe conveyed back into the Town by the ſame Servant, and there lodg'd all that Night; and the next Night following was conveyed ſecretly to a Lodge in the Earl's Park, at *Petworth*, called *Conigar Lodge*, where he was kept with the like Secrecy by the Space of eight Days, or thereabouts; and the Servant by whom *Paget* was thus convey'd, was by the Earl enjoin'd and commanded in no wiſe to diſcover *Paget*'s being there.

The Earl of *Northumberland*, upon the Arrival of *Charles Paget*, ſent for the Lord *Paget*, with the Privity of this Servant, who was made believe, that *Charles* came over to ſet Things in Order, and to paſs certain Deeds and Conveyances between the Lord *Paget* and him. The Lord *Paget* came to *Petworth*, ſtayed there two Nights, lodg'd in the Earl's Houſe, conferr'd with *Charles Paget* and with the Earl together ſundry Times.

The Earl, after his Apprehenſion, being at ſeveral Times examined what Cauſes or Affairs had paſſed between the Lord *Paget* and *Charles*, his Brother, when they were together at *Petworth*; anſwered one while, that they paſſed certain Deeds and Conveyances; and another while, that there was only a Will or Teſtament ſign'd and ſealed between them: He confeſs'd that he ſet his Hand to the Will, but knew not what the ſame contained: All which appeared to be falſe; for that it hath fallen out by Occaſion of Seizure of the Lands and Goods of the Lord *Paget* (after his Departure out of the Realm) that he had diſpoſed of his Lands and Goods by another Courſe of Aſſurance executed at *London*; and therefore, their Pretence of the paſſing of Deeds and Will at *Petworth*, was but a Deviſe to ſhadow their traiterous Conſpiracies. And for better Proof thereof, it was alledg'd by Maſter Attorney, that *Charles Paget* returning from *Petworh* to the Houſe of one *William Davis*, near to the Place where *Paget* had landed in *Suſſex*, and took ſhipping again at his Departure beyond the Seas, ſent to *William Shelley*, Eſq; reſiding then at his Houſe at *Michelgrove*, diſtant about a Mile from the Houſe of *William Davis*, to come unto him (who within few Days before had been at the Lodge at *Petworth*, with the ſaid *Paget*:) And now at their Meeting in a Coppice near to *Davis*'s Houſe,

Houſe, *Paget* enter'd into Speech and Diſcourſe with him of divers Matters; and at the laſt, among other Things, he began to be inquiſitive of the Strength and Fortification of *Portſmouth*, and what Forces and Strength her Majeſty had in the other Parts *Weſtward*.

Paget broke out, and declared to him, that foreign Princes would ſeek Revenge againſt her Majeſty of the Wrongs by her done unto them, and would take ſuch Time and Opportunity as might beſt ſerve them for that Purpoſe; and ſaid, that thoſe Princes diſdain'd to ſee the *Scottiſh* Queen ſo kept and uſed here as ſhe was, and would uſe all their Forces for her Delivery. That the Duke of *Guiſe* would be a Dealer therein; and that the Earl of *Northumberland* would be an Aſſiſtant unto them; willing *Shelley*, whatſoever ſhould happen, to follow the Earl of *Nothumberland*; affirming, that there was not a Nobleman in *England* of Conduct and Government like to the ſaid Earl: Saying further, that the Earl of *Northumberland* was affected to the *Scottiſh* Queen, and would do what he could for her Advancement.

That the Duke of *Guiſe* had Forces in a Readineſs to be employed for the altering of the State of Religion here in *England*, and to ſet the *Scottiſh* Queen at Liberty.

Shelley gathered by theſe, and other Speeches which paſſed between him and *Paget*, that *Paget* had dealt with the Earl as a chief Party, and a Man forward in theſe Actions; and *Paget* confeſſed that he came over to break, and deal in theſe Matters.

Paget delivered further, that the Catholicks would all join for ſo good a Purpoſe; for that it would be a Means to reform Religion.

He ſaid, the Stir ſhould be in the *North* Parts, becauſe *Suſſex* was not convenient, as well for that there were no ſafe Landing-Places, as for that it was ſo near *London*, where the Queen's Majeſty would be ready to reſiſt them; and that whenſoever any Stir ſhould be, the Earl of *Northumberland* would not ſtay in *Suſſex*, but would go into the *North* Parts.

When Maſter Attorney-General had in this Sort laid down the Particularities of the Treaſons and traiterous Practices of the Confederates for this purpoſed Invaſion, then *Thomas Edgerton*, Eſq; her Majeſty's Solicitor, to prove the Earl guilty of theſe Treaſons by the Circumſtances of his own Proceedings, ſhewed, that the Earl, knowing how far himſelf was touch'd with the ſaid Treaſons, and in what Degree of Danger he ſtood if they ſhould have been reveal'd, found his only Hope of Safety to conſiſt in the cunning concealing of them; and therefore he endeavoured to cover them by all the poſſible Means he could deviſe.

And firſt, by conveying away of the Lord *Paget*, a Man not only privy to the Practices and Treaſons handled by *Francis Throckmorton*, but alſo to the Treaſons of his Brother *Charles*; wherein the Earl and the Lord *Paget* were doubtleſs both Confederates with *Charles*, made acquainted by him

with the Cauſes of his coming over, as principal Men with whom he dealt in thoſe Matters at *Petworth*.

The Occaſion that provoked the Earl to convey away the Lord *Paget*, grew upon the Apprehenſion of *Throckmorton*, who being committed to the *Tower*, and charged with high Matters, was in Caſe to be dealt withal by Way of Extremity, to be made to confeſs the Treaſons charged upon him; in revealing whereof, *Charles Paget*'s coming to *Petworth*, and the Cauſe of his Repair thither could not be concealed.

No Man at this Time within the Realm could accuſe the Earl of theſe Confederacies, but the Lord *Paget* only, who ſtood in Danger to be diſcover'd by *Francis Throckmorton:* The Safety therefore of the Earl reſted altogether upon the Lord *Paget*'s departing out of the Realm, which was procur'd by the Earl with ſo great Expedition, as that *Throckmorton* being committed to the *Tower* about the ſeventh Day of *November* 1583, the Earl made Means the twelfth Day to have the Lord *Paget* provided of ſhipping in all Haſte by *William Shelley*; wherein the Earl uſed ſuch importunate Intreaty, and ſent ſo often to haſten the Preparation of the Ship, that the ſame was provided, and the Lord *Paget* embark'd by the twenty-third Day of the ſame Month following, or thereabouts.

The Departure of the Lord *Paget* was ſoon after diſcover'd, and how, and by whom he was conveyed away: Her Majeſty, upon good Cauſe taking Offence thereat, the Earl, being then at *London*, had Notice thereof, and of the Confeſſions of *Throckmorton* (who began to diſcover the Treaſons) came preſently down to *Petworth*, ſent immediately for *William Shelley*, who coming to him to *Petworth* the next Day about Dinner-Time, met the Earl in a dining Parlour, ready to go to his Dinner. The Earl took *Shelley* aſide into a Chamber, and as a Man greatly diſtracted and troubled in Mind, entered into theſe Speeches: *Alas! I am a Man caſt away*; and *Shelley* demanding what he meant by thoſe Speeches, the Earl anſwered, *The Actions I have entered into, I fear, will be my utter Undoing*; aud thereupon deſired *Shelley* to keep his Counſel, and to diſcover no more of him than he muſt needs.

The Earl, morever, at this Meeting, intreated *William Shelley* to convey away all ſuch as he knew to have been employed, and were privy to the Lord *Paget*'s going away, and of *Charles Paget*'s coming over, which was accordingly performed by *Shelley:* And the Earl, for his Part, conveyed away a principal Man of his own, whom he had often uſed in Meſſages into *France*, and had been of Truſt appointed by the Earl, to attend on *Charles Paget*, all the Time of his Stay at *Connigar Lodge*.

Maſter Solicitor, purſuing the Matters that made the Earl's Practices and Deviſes for the concealing of his Treaſons manifeſt, declared further, that after the Earl and *Shelley* had obtained ſome Liberty in the *Tower* after their firſt Reſtraint, the Earl found Means to have Intelligence with *Shelley*, and was advertiſed from him of all that he had confeſſed in his firſt

Examinations

Examinations, taken before they were laſt reſtrain'd: Sithens which Time, the Earl, by corrupting of his Keeper, hath practiſed to have continual Advertiſements as before, as well of Things done within the *Tower* as Abroad; inſomuch as by his ſaid Keeper, he had ſent and conveyed twelve ſeveral Letters out of the *Tower*, within the Space of nine or ten Weeks, and one of thoſe on *Sunday* the twentieth Day of *June* in the Morning, when he murdered himſelf the Night following.

By the ſame Corruption of his Keepers, he ſent alſo a Meſſage to *William Shelley*, by a Maid-Servant in the *Tower*, by the which he required him to ſtand to his firſt Confeſſions, and to go no further; for ſo it would be beſt for him, and he ſhould keep himſelf out of Danger. Whereunto *Shelley* return'd Anſwer, by the ſame Meſſenger, that he could hold out no longer, that he had concealed the Matters as long as he could, and willed the Earl to conſider, that there was a great Difference between the Earl's Eſtate and his; for that the Earl, in reſpect of his Nobility, was not in Danger to be dealt withal in ſuch ſuch Sort as he the ſaid *Shelley* was like to be, being but a private Gentleman, and therefore to be uſed with all Extremity to be made to confeſs the Truth: Wherefore he adviſed the Earl to deal plainly, and to remember what Speeches had paſſed at his Houſe at *Petworth*, when *Charles Paget* came laſt thither.

James Price, by the ſame Corruption of the Earl's Keeper, came to *William Shelley* on the *Friday* or *Saturday* before *Trinity-Sunday* laſt, and told him, that the Earl was very deſirous to underſtand how far he had gone in his Confeſſions: And at *Price*'s Inſtance, *Shelley* did ſet down in Writing the Effect of the ſaid Confeſſions, and ſent the ſame to the ſaid Earl, who, upon the Sight thereof, perceiving the Treaſons revealed and diſcovered, and knowing thereby how heinous his Offences were, fearing the Juſtice and Severity of the Laws, and alſo the Ruin and Overthrow of his Houſe, fell into Deſperation, and ſo to the Deſtruction of himſelf; for Confirmation whereof, it was confeſſed by one *Jaques Pantins*, a Groom of the Earl's Chamber, who had attended on the Earl in the *Tower*, by the Space of ten Weeks before his Death, that he had heard the Earl often ſay, that Maſter *Shelley* was no faithful Friend unto him, and that he had confeſſed ſuch Things as were ſufficient to overthrow them both: That he was undone by *Shelley*'s Accuſations, affirming, that the Earl began to deſpair of himſelf, often with Tears lamenting his Cauſe, which the Earl ſaid to proceed only of the Remembrance of his Wife and Children; ſaying further, that ſuch Matters were laid to his Charge, that he expected no Favour; but to be brought to his Trial, and then he was but a loſt Man; repeating often that *Shelley* had undone him, and ſtill miſtruſting his Cauſe, wiſhed for Death.

Herewith Maſter Solicitor concluded; and then Sir *Roger Manwood*, Knight, Lord Chief Baron of her Majeſty's *Exchequer*, entered into the Deſcription of the Earl's Death, and in what Sort he had murder'd himſelf; ſhewing firſt, how the ſame had been found by a very ſubſtantial Jury, choſen

choſen among the beſt Commoners of the City, empannell'd by the Coroner, upon the View of the Body, and diligent Enquiry by all due Means had according to the Law, and declared, That, upon the Diſcovery of the Intelligence conveyed between the Earl and *Shelley*, it was thought neceſſary, for the Benefit of her Majeſty's Service, by ſuch of her Highneſs's moſt honourable Privy Council, as were appointed Commiſſioners, to examine the Courſe of theſe Treaſons; that *Jaques Pantins*, attending upon the Earl, and the Earl's corrupt Keepers ſhould be removed: Whereupon *Thomas Bailiff*, Gentleman, ſent to attend on the Earl of *Northumberland*, upon the removing of *Palmer* and *Jaques Pantins* from about the ſaid Earl (who from the Beginning of his laſt Reſtraint attended on him) for the Reaſons laſtly before-mentioned, was by the Lieutenant of the *Tower*, on the *Sunday*, about Two of the Clock in the Afternoon (being the twentieth of *June*) ſhut up with the Earl, as appointed to remain with him, and ſerve him in the Priſon for a Time, until *Palmer*, *Pantins*, and *Price*, then committed cloſe Priſoners, might be examined how the Earl came by ſuch Intelligences as were diſcovered to have paſſed between the Earl and *Shelley*, and between the Earl and others. *Bailiff* ſerved the Earl at his Supper, brought him to his Bed about nine of the Clock; and after ſome Services done by the Earl's Commandment, departed from the Earl to an outer Chamber, where he lay Part of that Night: And being come into his Chamber, the Earl roſe out of his Bed, and came to the Chamber-Door, and bolted the ſame unto him in the inner Side, ſaying to *Bailiff*, he could not ſleep unleſs his Door were faſt. About Twelve of the Clock at Midnight, *Bailiff* being in a Slumber, heard a great Noiſe, ſeeming unto him to be the falling of ſome Door, or rather a Piece of the Houſe: The Noiſe was ſo ſudden and ſo great, that he ſtarted out of his Bed, and crying unto the Earl with a loud Voice, ſaid, My Lord, know you what this is? The Earl not anſwering, *Bailiff* cried, and knocked ſtill at the Earl's Door, ſaying, My Lord, how do you? But finding that the Earl made no Anſwer, continued his Crying and Calling, untill an old Man that lay without ſpake to him, ſaying, Gentleman, ſhall I call the Watch, ſeeing he will not ſpeak? Yea, quoth *Bailiff*, for God's Sake. Then did the old Man riſe, and called one of the Watch, whom *Bailiff* intreated, with all poſſible Speed to call Maſter Lieutenant unto him. In the mean Time, *Bailiff* heard the Earl give a long and moſt grievous Groan, and after that, gave a ſecond Groan; and then the Lieutenant being come called to the Earl, who not anſwering, *Bailiff* cried to the Lieutenant to break open the Earl's Chamber-Door, bolted unto him on the inner Side, which was done, and then they found the Earl dead in his Bed, and by his Bed-Side a Dagger, wherewith he had killed himſelf.

Sir *Owen Hopton*, Knight [a], examined upon his Oath, affirmed, that on *Sunday* laſt at Night, leſs than a Quarter of an Hour before One of the

Clock after Midnight, he was called up by the Watch to come to the Earl of *Northumberland*, who had been called unto by Maſter *Bailiff*, his Keeper, and would not ſpeak (as the Watch told him:) Whereupon the ſaid Sir *Owen* went preſently to the Earl's Lodging, opened the outer Doors till he came to the Chamber where Maſter *Bailiff* lay, which was next to the Earl's Bed-Chamber. *Bailiff* ſaid to this Examinate as he came in, that he was wakened with a Noiſe as it were of a Door, or ſome great Thing falling, and that he had called on the Earl, and could have no Anſwer: And this Examinate going to the Earl's Chamber-Door, finding the ſame bolted faſt on the other Side, within the Earl's Lodging, ſo as he could not go into the Earl, this Examinate called on the Earl, telling him the Lieutenant was there, and prayed his Lordſhip to open the Door: But this Examinate having no Anſwer made unto him, and finding the Door faſt bolted on the inner Side of the Earl's Chamber with a ſtrong Iron Bolt, ſo as they could not enter into the ſame out of the Lodging where the ſaid *Bailiff* lay, without breaking up the Chamber-Door, cauſed the Warders who were with this Examinate, to thruſt in their Halberds, and to wreſt the Door thereby, as much as they could, and withal to run at the Door with their Feet, and with Violence to thruſt it open, which they did accordingly. And when this Exanimate came into the Chamber, in turning up the Sheets he perceived them to be blooded; and then ſearching further, found the Wound, which was very near the Pap, not thinking at the firſt Sight, but that it had been done with a Knife. This Examinate went thereupon preſently to write to the Court, and took the Warders into the outer Chamber, and left them there until he returned, bolting the Door of the Earl's Bed-chamber on the Outſide; and as ſoon as this Examinate returned from writing of his Letter to the Court, he ſearched about the Chamber, and found a Dagger on the Floor, about three Feet from the Bed, near unto a Table, that had a Green Cloth on it, which did ſomewhat ſhadow the Dagger: And after, turning down the Bed-cloaths, found the Box, in the which the Powder and Pellets were, on the Bed under the Coverlet; and ſaith, that the Chamber, where the Earl lay, hath no other Door but that one Door which was broken open as aforeſaid, ſave one Door, that went into a Privy, which hath no Manner of Paſſage out of it; and that the Earl's Lodging Chamber, and the entering to the Privy, are both walled round about with a Stone Wall, and a Brick Wall; and that there is no Door or Paſſage out of or from the ſaid Earl's Bed-chamber or Privy, but that only Door which was broken open by the Appointment of this Examinate. The Warders that were with this Examinate at the Entry into the Priſon, and the breaking up of the Earl's Chamber-Door, and the doing of the other Things aforeſaid, were *Michael Sibley*, *Anthony Davis*, *William Ryland*, and *John Potter*, and one *John Pinner*, this Examinate's Servant, was there alſo.

For

For the Proof and Confirmation of the ſeveral Parts and Points of this Depoſition, *Sibley*, *Davis*, *Ryland*, *Potter*, and *Pinner* were depoſed, and they *viva voce* affirmed ſo much thereof to be true, as was reported by the Examination of the Lieutenant, concerning the coming of the Lieutenant the Earl's Chamber, the breaking up of the Door, being bolted with a ſtrong Bolt on the inner Side, the finding of the Earl dead upon his Bed, the Dagger lying on the Ground, the Powder and Pellets in a Box on the Bed under the Coverlet, with the reſt of the Circumſtances thereunto appertaining. They affirmed alſo, that there was but one Door in the Earl's Chamber, ſaving the Door of the Privy, which, together with the Chamber, was ſtrongly walled about with Stone and Brick: And further, as I remember, the Lord Chief Baron confirmed the ſame, having viewed the Chamber himſelf where the Earl lodg'd, and was found dead.

Jaques Pantins, in his Examination of the twenty-firſt of *June*, confeſſeth, that *James Price* delivered the Dagger to the Earl his Maſter in this Examinate's Preſence: Whereupon he preſently ſuſpected, that the Earl meant Miſchief to himſelf, and therefore did his Endeavour to perſuade the Earl to ſend away the Dagger, and told the Earl that he knew not how the Devil might tempt his Lordſhip, and that the Devil was great; but could by no Means prevail with the Earl in that Behalf: And ſaith moreover, that the Earl required him to hide the Dagger, and he thereupon hanged the ſame on a Nail within the Chimney in the Earl's Bed-Chamber, where the Earl, thinking the ſame not to be ſufficiently ſafe in that Place, it was by the Earl's Appointment taken from thence, and put into a Slit in the Side of a Mattreſs that lay under the Earl's Bed, near to the Bed's Head; and that the ſame *Sunday* Morning that the Earl murdered himſelf at Night, he ſaw the Dagger lying under the Earl's Bed's Head. The Dagger was bought not many Days before of one *Adrian Mulan*, a Dagger-maker, dwelling in *Eaſt-Smithfield*, as by the ſaid *Mulan* was teſtified *viva voce* upon his Oath, in the open Court, at the Time of the publick Declaration made of theſe Matters in the Star-Chamber.

All theſe Particularities conſidered, with the Depoſitions and Proofs of the Witneſs concerning the Earl's Death, *firſt*, how he came by the Dagger: *Secondly*, how long he had kept the ſame, and in what ſecret Manner: *Thirdly*, the Earl's bolting of his Chamber-Door on the Inſide: *Fourthly*, the Blow of the Dagger. *Fifthly*, the breaking up of the Earl's Chamber-Door by the Lieutenant of the *Tower*: And *Laſtly*, the finding of the Earl dead as aforeſaid. Who is he ſo ſimple, that will think, or imagine, or ſo impudent and malicious, that will avouch and report, that the Earl of *Northumberland* ſhould have been murdered of Purpoſe, by Practice or Deviſe of any Perſon, affecting his Deſtruction in that Manner? If Men conſider the Inconvenience happened thereby, as well in Matter of State, as Commodity to the Queen's Majeſty, loſt by the Prevention of his Trial; who can in Reaſon conjecture the Earl to have been murdered of Policy or ſet Purpoſe, as the evil-affected ſeem to conceive? If the Earl had

had lived to have received the Cenſure of the Law for his Offences, all lewd and frivolous Objections had then been anſwered, and all his Goods, Chattles and Lands, by his Attainder, had come unto her Majeſty, and the Honour and State of his Houſe and Poſterity been utterly overthrown: The Conſideration and Fear whereof appeareth without all Doubt to have been the principal, and only Cauſe that made him lay violent Hands upon himſelf. If Objections be made, that to murder him in that Sort might be a Satisfaction to his Enemies, who could be pacified by no Means but with his Blood, that ſeemeth to be as improbable; for that it is commonly diſcerned in the corrupt Nature of Man, that when we are poſſeſs'd with ſo profound a Hatred, as to ſeek the Death of our Enemy, we imagine, and wiſh his Deſtruction to be had with the greateſt Shame and Infamy that can be deviſed. Think you not then, that, if the Earl of *Northumberland* had any ſuch Enemy, who knew the Danger wherein he ſtood, and that his Trial and Conviction by Law would draw upon him the Loſs of his Life, Lands, and Goods, Fame, Honour, and the utter Subverſion of his Houſe, and would be ſo kind hearted unto him, as to help to take away his Life only, and ſave him all the reſt; I ſuppoſe there is no Man of Judgment will believe it.

But to return to the Manner of the Earl's Death: It was declared by the Lord *Hunſdon*, and the Lord Chief Baron; that the Dagger wherewith the Earl murdered himſelf was charged with three Bullets, and ſo of Neceſſity with more than an ordinary Charge of Powder, to force that Weight of Bullets to work their Effect. The Earl lying upon his Back on the left Side of his Bed, took the Dagger charged in his Left-hand (by all Likelihood) laid the Mouth of the Dagger upon his left Pap (having firſt put aſide his Waiſtcoat) and his Shirt being only between the Dagger and his Body, which was burn'd away the Breadth of a large Hand, diſcharged the ſame, wherewith was made a large Wound in his ſaid Pap, his Heart pierc'd and torn in divers Lobes or Pieces, three of his Ribs broken, the Chine-Bone of his Back cut almoſt in ſunder, and under the Point of the Shoulder-blade, on the right Side within the Skin, the three Bullets were found by the Lord *Hunſdon*, which he cauſed the Surgeon in his Preſence to cut out, lying all three cloſe together, within the Breadth and Compaſs of an Inch, or thereabout: The Bullets were ſhewed by his Lordſhip at the Time of the Publication made in the Court of the Star-Chamber.

And whereas it hath been ſlanderouſly given out to the Advantage of the Earl, as the Reporters ſuppoſe, that he was impriſoned, and kept in ſo ſtreight, narrow, and cloſe a Room, with ſuch Penury of Air and Breath, that thereby he grew ſickly, and weary of his Life; and that to have been the Cauſe chiefly why he murdered himſelf, (if it were ſo that he died by the Violence of his own Hand, which they hardly believe:) To anſwer that peeviſh and ſenſeleſs Slander, there was much ſpoken by the Lord Chief Baron, who had viewed, and cauſed very exactly to be meaſured the

Chambers and Rooms within the Priſon where the Earl lay, being Part of her Majeſty's own Lodging in the *Tower:* The particular Length and Breadth of the ſaid Chambers and Rooms, and the Quality of the Lights and Windows, expreſſed by the ſaid Lord Chief Baron, I cannot repeat; but well I do remember, it was declared, that all the Day-time the Earl had the Liberty of five large Chambers, and too long Entries, within the utter Door of his Priſon; three of which Chambers, and one of the Entries, lay upon two fair Gardens within the *Tower-Wall*, and upon the *Tower-Wharf*, with a pleaſant Proſpect of the *Thames*, and to the Country, more than five Miles beyond. The Windows were of a large Proportion, yielding ſo much Air and Light as more cannot be deſired in any Houſe; Note therefore, how maliciouſly thoſe that favour Traitors and Treaſons can deliver out theſe and the like ſlanderous Speeches, to the Diſhonour of her Majeſty, noting her Counſellers and Miniſters with Inhumanity and uncharitable Severity, contrary to all Truth and Honeſty.

When the Lord Chief Baron had finiſhed this Diſcourſe of the Manner of the Earl's Death, with the Circumſtances, and had ſatisfied the Court and Auditory concerning the Quality of the Priſon where the Earl remained, Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, Knight, her Majeſties Vice-Chamberlain, who, as it ſeemed, had been ſpecially employed by her Majeſty, among others of her Privy Council, in the looking into and examining of the Treaſons aforeſaid, as well in the Perſon of the Earl as of others, and at the Time of the Earl's Commitment from his Houſe in *St. Martin's* to the *Tower* of *London*, ſent unto him from her Majeſty, to put the Earl in Mind of her Majeſty's manifold Graces and Favours, in former Times conferr'd upon him, proceeding from the Spring of her Majeſty's princely and bountiful Nature, and not of his Deſervings; and to adviſe him to deliver the Truth of the Matters ſo clearly appearing againſt him, either by his Letters privately to her Majeſty, or by Speech to Maſter Vice-Chamberlain, who ſignified alſo unto him, that if he would determine to take that Courſe, he ſhould not only not be committed to the *Tower*, but ſhould find Grace and Favour at her Majeſty's Hands, in the Mitigation of ſuch Puniſhment as the Law might lay upon him. And here Maſter Vice-Chamberlain repeated at length the Effect of her Majeſty's Meſſage at that Time ſent to the Earl, beginning firſt with the Remembrance of his Practice undertaken for the conveying away of the *Scottiſh* Queen about the Time of the laſt Rebellion (as hath been declared in the Beginning of this Tract) and that he confeſſing the Offence being capital, her Majeſty nevertheleſs was pleaſed to alter the Courſe of his Trial by the Juſtice of her Laws, and ſuffered the ſame to receive a ſlight and eaſy Puniſhment by Way of *Mulcte*, or Fine of five-thouſand Marks, whereof before this his Impriſonment (as it is credibly reported) there was not one Penny paid, or his Land touched with any Extent for the Payment thereof; which Offence was by her Majeſty not only moſt graciouſly forgiven, but alſo moſt chriſtianly for-

forgotten; receiving him not long after to the Place of Honour that his Anceſtors had enjoyed, for many Years before him, and gave him ſuch Entrance into her princely Favour and good Opinion, that no Man of his Quality received greater Countenance and Comfort at her Majeſty's Hands then he; inſomuch that in all Exerciſes of Recreation uſed by her Majeſty, the Earl was always called to be one, and whenſoever her Majeſty ſhewed herſelf Abroad in Publick, ſhe gave to him the Honour of the beſt and higheſt Services about her Perſon, more often than to all the Noblemen of her Court.

But the Remembrance of theſe moſt gracious and more then extraordinary Favours and Benefits received, nor the Hope given unto him by Maſter Vice-Chamberlain, of her Majeſty's Diſpoſition of Mercy towards him, nor the Conſideration of the Depth and Weight of his Treaſons againſt her Majeſty, her Eſtate, her Crown and Dignity, with the Danger thereby like to fall upon him by the Courſe of her Highneſs's Laws, to the utter Ruin and Subverſion of him and his Houſe (ſtanding now at her Majeſty's Mercy) could once move his Heart to that natural and dutiful Care of her Majeſty's Safety that he ought to have borne towards her, and ſhe moſt worthily had merited at his Hands, or any Remorſe or Compaſſion of himſelf and his Poſterity; but reſting upon Terms of his Innocency, having, as you may perceive, conveyed away all thoſe that he thought could or would any Way accuſe him, he made Choice rather to go to the *Tower*, abide the Hazard of her Majeſty's high Indignation, and the Extremity of the Law for his Offences: A notable Augure of his Fall, and that God, by his juſt Judgment, had, for his Sins and Ingratitude, taken from him his Spirit of Grace, and delivered him over to the Enemy of his Soul, who brought him to that moſt dreadful and horrible End, whereunto he is come; from the which, God of his Mercy defend all Chriſtian People, and preſerve the Queen's Majeſty from the Treaſons of her Subjects, that ſhe may live in all Happineſs, to ſee the Ruin of her Enemies Abroad and at Home; and that ſhe, and we, her true and loving Subjects, may be always thankful to God for all his Bleſſings beſtowed upon us by her, the only Maintainer of his Holy Goſpel among us.

A Letter written to the Lower Houſe of Parliament. By *Sir* John Suckling.

To my noble Friends in the Lower Houſe of Parliament.

IF my Country had held me worthy to have ſerved in this Parliament, I had now been a Member of your Lower Houſe, as formerly I have been in ſundry other Parliaments: But how unkindly ſoever ſhe dealeth with me, I will ever ſhew my Thankfulneſs to her, and deliver, by Way of Obſervation, what I have heretofore learned in that grave and wiſe Aſſembly, for Admoniſhment to the elder, and a Path-way for the younger to walk in.

Parliaments, in my Time, have been wont to take up ſome Space at the firſt Meeting to ſettle the Houſe, and to determine of unlawful Elections, and in this Point, they never had greater Cauſe to be circumſpect than at this Time; for, by an Abuſe lately crept in, there is introduced a Cuſtom, which, if it be not foreſeen and prevented, will be a great Derogation to the Honour, and weakening to the Power of the Houſe, where the Law giveth a Freedom to Corporations to elect Burgeſſes, and forbiddeth any indirect Courſe to be taken in their Election; many of the Corporations are become ſo baſe-minded and timorous, that they will not hazard the Indignation of a Lord Lieutenant's Letter, who under-hand ſticks not to threaten them with the Charge of a Muſket, or a Horſe in a Muſter, if that he hath not the Election of the Burgeſſes, and not they themſelves.

And commonly thoſe that the Lords recommend, are ſuch as deſire it for Protection, or are ſo ignorant of the Place they ſerve for, as there being Occaſion to ſpeak of the Corporation for which they are choſen, they have aſked their Neighbours ſitting by, whether it were a Sea or a Land Town.

If you ſeek not to prevent this Kind of Choice, theſe Miſchiefs will follow.

The Freedom of the Subject will be leſſened.

The Privilege of Corporations will be abrogated.

Men outlawed, and Law-breakers, will be the Law-makers. The Voices of the Houſe ſhall be at the Diſpoſe of the Lords of the Upper Houſe, and the Aſſembly of the Commons will be made needleſs; Gentlemen of far remote Countries may ſpare their Labour to come up; for their No's ſhall be contradicted with two Yea's, and that by ſuch Men, if they be examined, as are not liable to Taxes or Subſidies, Loans, or other Payments; they ſhall enjoy their Ends, to wit, Liberty and Freedom, during the

the Time of Parliament, and the Lords diſpoſe of ſuch Laws as they ſhall propoſe.

2. The next Thing that is required is Liberty of Speech, without which, Parliaments have little Force or Power: Speech begets Doubts, and reſolves them, and Doubts in Schools gets Underſtanding; he that doubts much aſketh often, and learns much, and he that fears the worſt, ſooneſt prevents a Miſchief.

This Privilege of Speech is anciently granted by the Teſtimony of *Philip Comines*, a Stranger, who prefers our Parliaments, and the Freedom of the Subject in them, above all other Aſſemblies, which, if it be broke or diminiſhed, is negligently loſt ſince the Days of *Comines*.

If Freedom of Speech ſhould be prohibited, when Men with Modeſty make Repetition of the Grievances and Enormities of the Kingdom, when Men ſhall deſire Reformation of Wrongs and Injuries committed, and have no Relation of evil Thought to his Majeſty; but with open Heart and Zeal expreſs their dutiful and reverent Reſpect to him and his Service; I ſay, if this Kind of Liberty of Speech be not allowed in Time of Parliament, they will extend no further than to a Quarter-Seſſions, and their Meetings and Aſſemblies will be unneceſſary; ſo all Means of Diſorder now crept in, and all Remedies and Redreſſes, will be quite taken away.

As it is no Manners to conteſt with the King in his Election of Counſellors and Servants (for Kings obey no Men, but their Laws) ſo were it a great Negligence, and Part of Treaſon, for a Subject not to be free in Speech, againſt the Abuſes, Wrongs and Offences, that may be occaſioned by Perſons in Authority, what Remedy can be expected from a Prince to the Subject, if the Enormities of his Kingdom be concealed from him, or what King ſo religious or juſt, in his own Nature, that may not hazard the Loſs of his Subjects, without this Liberty of Speech in Parliament? For ſuch is the Misfortunes of moſt Princes, and ſuch is the Unhappineſs of Subjects, where King's Affections are ſettled, and their Loves ſo far tranſported to promote Servants, as they only truſt and credit what they ſhall inform.

In this Caſe, what Subject dares complain, or what Subject dares contradict the Words or Actions of ſuch a Servant, if it be not warranted by Freedom of a Parliament, they ſpeaking with Humility? For nothing obtaineth Favour ſo much with a King as diligent Obedience. The third ſureſt, and ſafeſt Way betwixt the King and his People, and leaſt Scandal of Partiality, is, with Indifference, with Integrity and Sincerity, to examine the Grievances of the Kingdom, without touching upon the Perſon of any Man, further than the Cauſe giveth Occaſion; for otherwiſe, you ſhall conteſt with him that hath the Prince's Ears open to hearken to his enchanted Tongue; he informs ſecretly when you ſhall not be admitted to Excuſe; he will caſt your deſerved Malice againſt him to your Contempt againſt the King, and ſeeking to leſſen his Authority, he will make the Prince the Shield of his Revenge.

These are the ſiniſter Practices of ſuch Servants to deceive their Sovereigns. When theſe Grievances ſhall be authentically proved and made manifeſt to the World, by your Pains to examine, and Freedom to ſpeak, no Prince can be ſo affectionate to a Servant, or ſuch an Enemy to himſelf, as not to admit of this indifferent Proceeding; if his Services be allowable and good, they will appear with Glory; if bad, your Labours ſhall deſerve Thanks, both of Prince and Country. When Juſtice ſhall thus ſhine, People will be animated to ſerve their King with Integrity, for they are naturally inclined to imitate Princes, in good or bad; the Words of *Cicero* will then appear, That malicious and evil Men make Princes poor, and one perfect good Man is able to make a Realm rich.

One Caſe I will inſtance that is common in the Mouths of all People, and generally (*Vox Populi, Vox Dei eſt*) if one of Quality, in the laſt Expedition to the Iſle of *Rhee*, endeavoured to conceal the Number of Men loſt in the laſt Encounter, and confidently affirmed their Number not to exceed three or four Hundred, until a Doctor of Phyſick, out of Tenderneſs of Conſcience, and Duty to his Majeſty, could not diſſemble the vulgar and true Report, but acquainted his Majeſty of two Thouſand of his Subjects there loſt. This was ſo contrary to the firſt Information, and ſo diſpleaſing to the Informer and his Deſigns, that he cauſed the Phyſician's Remove from his Highneſs's Preſence, who, yet remains in Kind of a baniſhed Man.

The Truth of theſe two Reports is eaſily determined by the Clerks of the Bands of each Company, and is worthy to be diſcovered for Truth-Sake; Truth being ſo noble of itſelf, as it will make him honourable that pronounceth it; Lies may ſhadow it, but not darken it; they may blame, but never ſhame it.

By this ſmall Precedent his Majeſty ſhall ſee himſelf abuſed, and it may be a Means for him to reflect both upon Men and Matter. The Men ſlain are no leſs injured by concealing their Names, whoſe Lives were loſt for King and Country.

The *Romans* would have held it the higheſt Honour for their Friends and Poſterity ſo to die. And the Parliament may fear that thoſe that ſtick not ſo palpably to wrong a King, may as unjuſtly caſt Aſperſions upon the Houſe, and other his loving Subjects.

There is no Remedy left for theſe Miſ-reports but a Freedom of Speech in Parliament; for there is no wiſe Man that ſpeaks, but knows what and when to ſpeak, and how to hold his Peace, whilſt Subjects Tongues are ty'd, for Fear they may reach him a Rap whoſe Conſcience cries guilty: The King and his People are kept from Underſtanding one another, the Enemy is heartened Abroad, and the malignant Humours of Diſcontent nouriſhed at Home; and all for one who is like a Dragon, that bites the Ear of the Elephant, becauſe he knows the Elephant cannot reach him with his Trunk; and Princes are abuſed by falſe Reports whiſpered in their Ears by Sycophants and Flatterers. *Diogenes* being aſked what Beaſt bit ſoreſt, anſwered, Of wild Beaſts the Backbiter's, of Tame the Flatterer's.

Now

Now to deſcend to Grievances, which are of two Kinds, ſome concerning the Kingdom in general, ſome in particular, which have Relation to the general.

The grievances in General are ſo many in Number, as will ſerve for every Member of your Houſe to preſent two a Piece to your Views; and becauſe I cannot be admitted among you myſelf, yet in Regard I have been a Member of you, I will preſume ſo far, as to rank myſelf with you, and to tender the Number of two to your Conſideration.

My firſt Complaint is of Titles of Honour, and that in two Kinds: Firſt, in reſpect of the Parties themſelves, their Eſtates and Parentage: Secondly, in reſpect of the Manner of their obtaining thereunto, which is mercenary, baſe, and corrupt, which in Reaſon ſhould not hold, for, by Law, the Conſideration is unlawful.

Trajan commends *Plutarch* for his Precepts in School, when he taught that Men ſhould Labour to deſerve Honours, but to avoid the getting of it baſely; for if it were Reputation to have it by Deſert, it was Infamy to buy it for Money; in that Age where Rich Men were honoured, good Men were deſpiſed.

Honour is not to be valued, according to the vulgar Opinion of Men, but priz'd and eſteemed, as the Sur-name of Virtue, ingendered in the Mind; and ſuch Honour no King can give, or Money can purchaſe. He that will ſtrive to be more honourable than others, ought to abandon Paſſion, Pride and Arrogancy, that ſo his Virtue may ſhine above others; for Honour conſiſts not in the Title of a Lord, but in the Opinion People have of his Virtue; for it is much more Honour to deſerve and not to have it, than to have it and not deſerve it.

There is one of three Things that commonly cauſeth a Man's Advancement, Deſert, Favour and Power: The firſt makes a Man worthy of it, the other two are but Abuſes; for Favour is but a blind Fortune, an Ounce of which at Court is better than a Pound of Wiſdom; Fortune never favoureth, but flattereth; ſhe never promiſeth, but in the End ſhe deceiveth; ſhe never raiſeth, but ſhe caſteth down again, this Advancement is meeter to be called Luck than Merit; that Honour that is compaſſed by Power, takes unto itſelf Liberty, and deſires not to be govern'd by Wiſdom but Force; it knows not what it Deſires, nor hath a Feeling of any Injury; it is neither moved with ſweet Words nor pitiful Tears; ſuch Men live not to do Evil, becauſe they have no Deſire to it; but when their Power faileth to do it, the true Honour amongſt the Honourable is, where Fortune caſts down, where there is no Fault, but it is Infamy, when Fortune raiſeth, where there is no Merit.

Examine the State and Condition of Men raiſed to Honour theſe 25 Years paſt, and whether it be Deſert, Honour or Power that hath preferred them, enter into the Miſchiefs the Kingdom hath ſuffered, and doth ſuffer by it; and the Cauſe of his Majeſty's great Wants will ſoon appear; recollect with yourſelves how many poor, baſe, and needy Companions have been raiſed to the

the higheſt Top of Honour, yea, how many *Will's*, *Jack's*, *Jockies*, *Georgies* and *James's* have attained to the Degrees of Dukes, Earls, Viſcounts and Barons, then will it appear, whether Deſert, Favour or Power advanced them; after this, examine their princely Expences in theſe 25 Years, their Eſtates in preſent, and what is requiſite to maintain their future Degrees of Honour to themſelves and their Poſterity, and you ſhall find his Majeſty's annual Revenues conſumed and ſpent upon thoſe unworthy Perſons. Beſides the impairing and impoveriſhing of the State, it brings with it the Contempt of Greatneſs and Authority; it breeds an inward Malice in Gentlemen better deſerving of their Country, better able to maintain the Degree of Honour, without Charge to King or Kingdom, and whoſe Houſes and Alliances may better challenge than the beſt of them.

It breeds Diſcontent in the meaner Sort of Subjects, to ſee his Majeſty's Wealth and Revenues of the Kingdom thus waſted and conſumed, whereby his Majeſty is inforced to exact from them, who would otherwiſe be able to help himſelf.

The antient and great Nobility of the Land cannot chooſe but inwardly fret, to ſee themſelves ranked, yea overtopp'd by theſe Men, that once would have thought it an Honour to be a Follower of theirs.

The ſecond Abuſe of Honour is the baſe and mercenary buying of it; obſerve commonly what theſe People are by Birth, and mark the Manner of their and their Fathers getting of Wealth to compaſs this Title, and you ſhall find them People moſt hateful, moſt odious to the Common-wealth by their Extortion, Uſury, and other ungodly Kind of Getting, as you may inſtance in *Roberts*, *Craven*, *Sanderſon*, and many others.

Can there be a greater Grievance to a noble Mind, than to ſee theſe upſtart Families by their unſufferable Miſery, Penury and Extortion, grown to Wealth, to precede the beſt of you in Rank, Degree and Calling, whoſe Anceſtors have loſt their Lives for King and Country; and yourſelves in many Reſpects more able and capable of ſerving your Prince and Common-Wealth than they, and every Way better deſerving.

The Character of a covetous Man, is that he getteth his Goods with Care and Envy of his Neighbours, with Sorrow to his Enemies, with Travel to his Body, with Grief to his Spirit, with Scruple to his Conſcience, with Danger to his Soul, with Suit to his Children, and Curſe to his Heirs, his Deſire is to live poor, to die rich; but as theſe Vices are made Virtues, even ſo is he Honoured for them, with Title of Nobility.

It is a ſtrange Ambition of ſome of them to purchaſe the Degrees of Earls, Viſcounts and Barons of other Countries, as of *Scotland* and *Ireland*, only for the Name of a Lord, for no other Privilege they can challenge in *England*; if they commit any criminal Offences they ſhall be try'd by an ordinary Jury and hanged, if they ſtand in Danger of Arreſt (as I think they are not much inrich'd by their Title) they are ſubject to Catch-poles, and a Dungeon in the Counter may be their Sanctuary.

And

And ſince their Pride makes them covet to divide themſelves from you, and to become *Scots* and *Iriſh*, you can do no leſs in Requital, but make an Act, that ſo long as they hold the Title of Foreigners, they be made uncapable to ſet in the Houſe of Parliament, or to enjoy any Freedom more than His Majeſty's Subjects of *Scotland* or *Ireland*.

Few of you are there, that have not ſeen Nobility highly priſed in *England*, and much eſteemed Abroad; and none of you now liveth but do ſee it abuſed, and Liberty with too great Familiarity in Uſe. The State of the Court, and Reputation of Lords, are much decay'd, and Bonednes with Contempt crept in and no Way to be redreſſed, but by a free and gentle Speech in Parliament, that ſo his Majeſty may ſee the Miſchief of it, and reform it, for it reſts only in his Power, who only hath Power to create Honour.

When *Philip* the ſecond, King of *Spain*, entered with Arms upon the Kingdom of *Portugal*, and that with his Sword he might have any fitting Laws, yet were there four Privileges, which the *Portugals* beſought they might enjoy; one whereof was, that the King would make no unworthy Perſon, Noble, or without their Approbation; which was granted them, and to this Day they hold that Freedom which keeps that Kingdom in the antient State, Honour and Dignity, that is to ſay, two Dukes, one Marquis, and eighteen Earls; and thus much for the Point of Honour.

The ſecond Grievance I will recommend to your Views is the Carriage of our Wars, the exceſſive Charges vainly ſpent therein, the Unworthineſs of the People imployed, the grave Experience neglected, the Deſigns not warranted by Reaſon and Diſcretion, and the Executions worſe performed, with many other Circumſtances that depend upon it.

But before I proceed herein, I muſt crave Leave to ſpeak to two Points; the one, to declare the Property and Condition of Impoſtors and Deceivers of Princes; in the other, I muſt clear the Houſe of Parliament of an Imputation caſt upon it.

Abuſers of Princes are they, that perſwade him to War, to become poor, when they may live in Peace, and become rich, when they may be loved, cauſe them to be hated, when they may enjoy their Lives ſecurely, put them in Hazard of croſs Fortune raſhly, and laſtly, having Neceſſity to uſe their Subjects, puts them into that Neceſſity as they refuſe to do for him; all this is Pride of the Perſwader, as *Socrates* ſaith.

In the ſecond, I will clear the Parliament (in which I was a Member) of an ungrateful Aſperſion caſt upon it, that is to ſay, that the Parliament was a Cauſe to draw his Majeſty into War, and failed on their Parts to contribute towards it.

This has been often repeated, and the Parliament accuſed; the Contrary has been as often reiterated, and the Truth expreſſed how far the Parliament proceeded therein; but to ſtop the Mouths of ſuch falſe Reports, and to free the Parliament of much Calumniation, I muſt uſe this Argument.

At the Aſſembly of *Oxford*, the Parliament being prorogued thither, Money was required of us towards furniſhing his Majeſty's Fleet, then pre-

paring, upon many Reaſons alledg'd, too tedious now to repeat; with one Conſent it was refuſed; whereupon there was Offer made by him who next the King ſeemed to have beſt Authority, that if they would but contribute 40000 *l.* they ſhould chuſe their Enemy, whereupon I infer, that before that Propoſition there was no Enemy; and therefore no Wars.

The Motion of Money being denied, the Parliament inſtantly broke up, and ſeeing no Enemy was nominated, nor Money conſented to by us, I ſee not how the Houſe can be taxed for Peace-breakers, but rather the Name caſt upon ſome young Men; for Youth by Nature is prone to Pride, eſpecially where Experience wants; they are credulous in what they hear, that pleaſeth them, and incredulous with what is told them by wiſe Men; they are Deſpiſers of others Counſels, and very poor in their own. They are dangerous for Princes to rely on, for Self-will is of greater Force than Precepts.

Now to proceed, in *October* following the Fleet put to Sea, and what they did is apparent by Relation, written by their General at his Return.

The Voyage being ended, another followed next Summer, under the Command of that Noble Lord, the Earl of *Lindſey*, which through the Weakneſs and Diſability of the Ships, was not able to perform what he had in Charge, and what he deſired.

The laſt and moſt lamentable, was That to the Iſle of *Rhee*, which I likewiſe refer to a Man I have ſeen, and to the Books printed and extant.

This with That to *Algiers*, to make up a Meſs of Iſland-Voyages, I wiſh might be referred to Examination of choice, and experienced Soldiers by Land and by Sea to report their Opinions of it, that ſo their Errors, their waſteful Expences, their Negligences, their weak Deſigns, and Want of Experience may appear with the Succeſs that might have proved, if Advice and Counſel had had Pre-eminence above Will and Arrogance; for he that is ignorant of Truth and Knowledge, and led away with Pride of his own Opinions, muſt needs err.

After it hath paſt your Approbation, it is worthy his Majeſty's View, who then ſhall ſee the Difference of Actions well managed, and raſh and heady Enterprizes, undertook by Ignorance, and performed with Folly.

Buſineſſes of ſo great a Conſequence ought to be conſidered of with Council, and not only of the Neceſſity, Profit and Honour, but of the Poſſibility that was like to follow; for an Action well begun is half ended.

My Experience in Diſcipline of War, by Land and Sea, can ſay no more than to refer it to others; for it is a Courſe I never was bred to in my Youth, and now too late in mine Age to practiſe; only one Thing I obſerve, that in the two Journies of *Cadeſh* and *Rhee:* In the firſt, a Land-Soldier commanded at Sea, who knew not what belonged thereunto; and the other was carried by him that was Soldier neither by Land nor by Sea, and the Succeſs proved accordingly in both, yet their Errors were never queſtioned, but they both highly advanced.

In my Opinion, the Charge they took upon them was as improper, as for a Merchant to become a Judge; for I have ever heard, that there are five

Things

Things neceſſary in a General, to wit, Knowledge, Valour, Prevention, Authority, and Fortune, whereof the laſt but one, had been better ſpared at the Iſle of *Rhee*; for alſo late Authority, joined with Wilfulneſs of the Commander, was the Bane of the Action, as the Relation tells us.

And it is no Marvel; for according to the old Saying (the beſt Fencer is not always the beſt Fighter, the faireſt Tilter, not the beſt experienced Soldier, nor the Ear of a Favourite at Court, the beſt General of an Hoſt) and whoſoever takes upon him that Command, without Knowledge, beholds himſelf in a falſe Glaſs, and makes him ſeem what he is not; as on the contrary, Experience is the Mother of Prudence, and Prudence will not take Counſel, leſt ſhe join her Will with her Will: Haſtineſs cauſeth Repentance, and Frowardneſs cauſeth Hinderance.

For the Evils that follow upon theſe two Voyages, yourſelves are ſufficient Witneſſes, and can judge of it; as, namely, Billetting of Soldiers in the Country, and bringing their Ships into Harbours, not abating the Entertainment of the one, nor the Ways of the other; and yet notwithſtanding this needleſs Coſt and Charges, our Ships and Coaſts are daily infeſted in ſuch Sort, as we dare not peep out of Harbour.

Were the Courage of Things now anſwerable to the Prudence and Precedents of former Times, we cannot pretend a Fear of Invaſion, becauſe our Ships are divided into ſeveral Harbours, and our Soldiers billetted in inward Countries; beſides the Seaſon of the Year giveth no Opportunity to the Enemy to attempt it.

Here is a Maſs of Wealth careleſly conſumed, whether the King or Subject bear it, and no Man bettered, but only thoſe that have the Title of Soldiers, yet never had the Happineſs or Honour to ſee what appertained to Service, they are taught inſtead of Work, by which they have lived and been bred, now to ſpend their Time in Idleneſs and Alehouſes, and to forget their Occupation; their Example of Diſorder encourageth others to follow their Liberty; People that are wont to live poorly, yet ſafely, are now by theſe Fellows and their Followers, robbed and ſpoiled, and no Remedy for Redreſs.

The Rich ſtand upon their Guard, and dare not reſort to Church, leſt in their Abſence, their Houſes be ſurprized and rifled.

The Juſtices have only the Name of Officers, but have no Power to puniſh Injuſtice; all Mens Prayers are now a-days to be defended from the Wrath of a mighty Man, and the Tumult of the People.

Garriſons in *England*, which have no ſtrong walled Towns, nor is uſed but to the Diſorder and looſe Carriage of Soldiers, is more perilous, uncouth, and ſtrange, than where War is practiſed. Innovations in all States are dangerous, eſpecially where there is a Diminution of the Laws, or a Fear to execute Juſtice, through too much Liberty given to Soldiers; no Country but hath more Hurt by their Garriſons, than by their Enemies; Enemies only rob the Frontier, the other the whole Country; the Enemy may be reſiſted, the other not ſpoken againſt; the Enemy giveth a ſudden At-

tempt, and returneth; the others do every Day rob and ſpoil; the Enemy ſurprizeth with Fear; the others have neither Fear nor Shame.

The firſt Leſſening the Greatneſs of the *Roman* Empire was by the Inſolency of Soldiers, and the firſt Raiſing of the Houſe of *Ottoman* was by Permiſſion and conniving at his Army.

What Man is ſo old in *England*, that hath ſeen, or what Youth ſo young, that ever thought to ſee, *Scotchmen* and *Iriſhmen* garriſoned in *England*, and no Enemy appear againſt us? Or who could have imagined he ſhould ever ſee our own People tyrannized over in our own Kingdom, by thoſe of our own Nation, and thoſe *Scotch* and *Iriſh*, yea, and dare not ſo much as complain? Would our Forefathers have thought it Safety or Policy to draw 2000 *Scotchmen* and *Iriſh* in the *Iſle of Wight*, for their Defence againſt *France*, when they of the Iſle deſired it not, nay when they oppoſed it? Would they have thought it Wiſdom, that 2000 Mouths, beſides the Inhabitants, ſhould live on the Food of that Iſland, and ſo bring themſelves into Want and Penury of Victuals? If they ſhould in Earneſt be attempted by an Enemy, would they have thought fit the Charge of it ſhould be required of them, and yet they to ſuffer all Injuries from the Hands of ſtrange Soldiers, where the meaneſt Boy in the Iſland is taught to manage Arms, better than the beſt of them that are billetted? No, but they would rather have thought it Diſcretion, upon the Return of thoſe Voyages, to have cauſed the Men to repair to the Place where they were preſſed, and to have ordered, that each Pariſh ſhould have ſet them on Work for their Maintenance, with Command to be ready upon Warning to repair to the Place of Rendezvous: There is no Part or Place in *England* ſo remote from the Sea, but they muſt have reſorted to the Port aſſigned before the Ships could be furniſhed or drawn together. They would have thought it more Wiſdom to have retired to their own Harbours, and to have had their Men diſcharged, than to have continued this needleſs and expenſive Courſe that is taken.

They would have judged it better to have ſupplied the *Iſle of Wight* with 2000 Men out of the main Land, when they feared any Evil to the Iſland, than to ſend for them into *Scotland*, and to keep them in continual Entertainment.

They would have thought it more fit to have returned the barbarous *Iriſh* into the Country from whence they came, than to make them a Vexation to the Places and Parts where they remain; ſeeing no Shadow of Reaſon can be pretended for it.

England wants no Men, and hath as good and able Men as either of the other two Nations, if his Majeſty had Occaſion to uſe them; *England* with ſmall Charge and Trouble can raiſe what Men his Majeſty pleaſeth to command, and that ſuddenly, and diſcharge them again without Trouble or Charge as quickly. The wiſe Men of *England* would have thought 2 or 300,000 *l.* better ſpared, than thus waſtefully conſumed, and Diſorders committed; we may compute it to that Sum, and yet keep ourſelves within Compaſs, and notwithſtanding the Want of Money, and the Ways to exact it of the Sub-

ject

ject is all the Song now ſung; he that ſees and complains of the evil managing of Things is either impriſoned, baniſhed the Court, or cenſured for a Diſcontent.

There is no *Engliſhman*, but knoweth the Heart of every other true-hearted *Engliſhman*, and with one Conſent will all obey our Prince, and to his Perſon we all do Reverence, and we may truly ſay, no King is more happy in Subjects for their Love, nor no Subjects readier to ſerve their King with their Purſes and Perſons, nor never People was better bleſſed with a King, who is endued with all Kind of Virtues, and ſtained with no Manner of Vice; his Mercy, his Temper, his Chaſtity, and his Meekneſs is ſuch, as we may ſay of him, as of *David*, *he is a Man according to God's own Heart*; but if any Man ſhall poiſon this Opinion of ours, by ſiniſter Reports, he is a Worker of Sedition, he hath a lying Tongue, and ſpeaketh not Truth; he is worthy to be ſpewed out, not only of the Court, but even from the Face of the Earth. Falſe Informers and Miſguiders of good Kings are much more perilous, than if Princes themſelves were evil; for commonly, as Worms breed ſooneſt in ſoft and ſweet Wood; ſo are the beſt Natures, inclined to Honour and Juſtice, ſooneſt abuſed by falſe Flatterers.

The Evil they commit, under the Authority of good Princes, is accounted as done by the Prince himſelf, but commonly ſuch People in the End pay for it; for he that deſires not to do Good, cannot be wiſe, but will fall into a thouſand Follies.

One of the firſt Propoſitions made to the Houſe, will be for Money to ſupport his Majeſty's vaſt Expence at this Time, that the Enemy threatens Thunder againſt the Kingdom; your often Alarms upon ſuch Pretences, may make you now too ſecure; for true it is, that the laſt Parliament-Books were publiſhed of invincible Preparation intended againſt us, and Nothing came of it, but beware you be not deceived by an old Saying, that when one uſually tells Lies, he is not truſted when he ſpeaks Truth; for certainly the Danger is much more than by the Power and Greatneſs of another Enemy.

In this Caſe, you muſt give for your own Sakes, that ſo you may be ſure to enjoy what is yours; for your Sovereign's Sake, to maintain his Greatneſs and State; and for your Country's Sake, to keep it from Oppreſſion of the Enemy; but with all, you ought to lay down the Condition of the Kingdom, and to ſhew that your Neceſſities cannot parallel with your Hearts and Deſires, that your Minds will be carried with a Willingneſs to give, but your Hands will keep back your Hearts for Want of Ability to give.

Themiſtocles demanding Tribute of the *Athenians*, told them, he brought two Gods with him, that is to ſay, *Perſuaſion* and *Violence*; they anſwered they had two other Gods in their Country, Both great and powerful, which were *Poverty* and *Impoſſibility*, which hindered them from giving.

But, leaſt this Anſwer ſhould be poiſoned, or miſrepreſented to his Majeſty, and wreſted to the worſt Senſe, I pray you to examine the Eſtate and Condition of every Man in particular, and their Impoſſibility of giving, will appear.

What

What can be hoped from the Merchant, that is prohibited the greateſt Trade of Profit and Gain, and daily damnified by the Spoil of *Dunkirkers*?

What can we expect from the Owners of Ships, that have ſuffered more Shipwreck lately, than in one hundred Years before?

What can we look for from the Huſbandmen, when Corn and Wool is under Foot? For it was an Obſervation of the wiſe Lord *Burleigh*, that every Shilling abated in a Stone of Wool was 100,000 *l.* Loſs to the Kingdom.

What can be required from the Multitude, conſidering the little Commerce, the daily Payments to the King, to the Houſes of Correction, to the Poor, to the maim'd Soldiers, to the often appearing at Muſters, the altering of Beacons, and other Services at the Juſtices Command?

What can Knights or Gentlemen give, their Sheep dying, their Tenants decaying, and their Rents falling and failing?

What can be looked for from the Clergy, conſidering their Charge of Induction, their firſt Fruits, the Maintenance of their Wives, Children and Families; yea, although they came freely to their Benefices?

What can be expected from the Artificers or Tradeſmen, when all the other either want or decay; now People will be contented with one Suit of Cloaths, that two heretofore would not have ſerved; Shoes, Boots, and Hats, and all other Apparel they will huſband after that Proportion?

There are two Sorts of People in the Common-wealth well able to give; the One, the Uſurer, who commonly is free from all Payments, in regard the Neceſſities of moſt, making them beholding to them in one Kind or other, for themſelves and their Friends; they in Requital ſhew them all poſſible Eaſe and Favour in publick Diſburſements; the Other are Noblemen and Gentlemen, formerly ſpoken of, that have had their Advancements from the King and his Father, though not immediately, but collaterally; for, if you caſt your Eyes upon divers Servants of great Perſons, and remember what you have known them ten or twelve Years paſt, it would put you to an Admiration, yea ſome from Horſe-keepers and other baſe Callings, are now promoted to the Degrees of Baronets, Knights, and the like; for though that new-deviſed Order of Baronets was firſt inſtituted for Money, yet ſuch is the Fortune of the Servants; if one great Man that is their Maſter once prefer them to the King, the firſt Day they enjoy the Dignities of Baronets, when Gentlemen of great Rank and Quality, that have long ſerved their Princes, cannot compaſs it, without Conſideration-Money.

When theſe Things you ſhall collect, and ſeriouſly call to Mind, you would think yourſelves theſe twelve Years laſt paſt aſleep, and that you are now newly awakened, you ſhall hear of many Things paſt in that Space, as making and removing of Treaſurers, Keepers, Secretaries, Judges, and all Manner of Counſellors and Officers, with a Million of ſuch memorable and unlooked-for Accidents; but leaving theſe as Grievances and Vexations to the Subjects, let us come to a nearer Point, which is the Safety of the Kingdom, that the Enemy threatens ſo in Danger, we may truly ſay, that God hath ſo placed and ſeated this Iſle of *England*, that Nothing but evil Counſel

can

can hurt it; but true it is, Advice that is not warranted from Wiſemen, proves more forceable and perilous than the Power of an Enemy.

The Scripture telleth us, that the Thought periſheth that taketh not Counſel.

A King of the *Lacedemonians* aſked how a Kingdom might ever ſtand? was anſwered two Ways, If a King take Counſel of wiſe, honeſt Men, that they ſpeak freely, and do Juſtice uprightly; there was never Cenſor that judged, Senator that ordered, Emperor that commanded, Counſel that executed, Orator that perſuaded; nor any other mortal Man, but ſometimes he committed Errors, and deſerved either Blame or Puniſhment for his Miſdoings, and if he were wiſe, deſired what to do.

St. *Gregory* ſaith, no Man can give ſo faithful Counſel, as he who loves one more than his Gifts; then who are, or can be ſo true Counſellors to our noble King, as a Houſe of Commons, that hath no Relation to a King's Gift, but only to his Honour, flouriſhing Eſtate, and Safety?

This is the Time to amend evil Counſellors paſt, and to let evil Counſellors ſee their Errors. This is the Time for all Men to put to their Helps, ſome with their Hands to fight; others with their Advice to counſel; and for mine Advice, this it is, that you preſent to his Majeſty in all Humbleneſs your willing Minds and Hearts to repair, and fit to Sea his Majeſty's Navy, yourſelves to have Power to make them able and ſerviceable with the Advice of experienced Men, that you may call unto you. This a Matter of great Importance at this preſent, for the Safety of King, Realm, and Subject; for the Strength of the Kingdom much depends upon this Bulwark, which we may well term the Wails of *England*.

His Majeſty ſhall find himſelf much eaſed by its Buſineſs; ſhall be carried without his Trouble or Care; Money ſhall not be ſought, but that ever be provided by you, his Majeſty may diſpoſe of the reſt of his Revenue at his Pleaſure.

By your Frugality and Huſbandry, his Majeſty ſhall have Occaſion to judge of Things paſt, of yours in preſent, and hereafter it will ſerve for a Precedent to walk after; it will ſtop the Mouths of malignant Tongues, that inform his Majeſty of the Unwillingneſs of the Subject to give, and it will make it apparent that their true Grief is not in the Matter of giving, but to ſee the evil employing of it, when it is given.

If any Man ſhall pervert this good Meaning and Motion of yours, and inform his Majeſty, it is a Derogation from his Honour to yield to his Subjects upon Conditions, his Majeſty ſhall have good Cauſe to prove ſuch Mens Eyes malicious and unthankful, and thereby to diſprove them in all their other Actions; for what can it leſſen the Reputation of a Prince, whom the Subjects only and wholly obeyeth, that a Parliament, which his Majeſty doth acknowledge to be his higheſt Counſel, ſhould adviſe him, and he follow Advice of ſuch a Counſel? What Diſhonour rather were it to be

adviſed

adviſed and ruled by one Counſellor alone, againſt whom there is juſt Exception taken of the whole Common-wealth?

Marcus Purtio ſaith, That that Common-wealth is ever laſting, where the Prince ſeeks to get Obedience and Love, and the Subjects to gain the Affection of the Prince; and that Kingdom is unhappy where their Prince is ſerved out of Ends and Hope of Reward, and hath no other Aſſurance of them, but their Services.

The End of Volume the Third.

ERRATA. In the Account of the Earl of *Northumberland*'s Death in the *Tower*, for *Dagger*, read *Dagge*.